# TABAKĀT-I-NĀṢIRĪ :

# ṬABAḲĀT-I-NĀṢIRĪ:

## A GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

## MUHAMMADAN DYNASTIES OF ASIA,

INCLUDING HINDUSTAN,

from A.H. 194 (810 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (1260 A.D.)

*and the*

## Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam

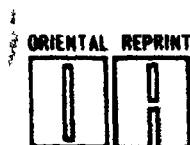
*by*

## MAULĀNĀ, MINHĀJ-UD-DĪN, ABŪ-'UMAR-I-'USMĀN

*Translated from Original Persian Manuscripts*

*by*

## MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY

## VOL. II

*Oriental Books Reprint Corporation*
*Book Publishers 54 Rani Jhansi Road New Delhi-[illegible]*

*Reprinted February 1970*

FIRST PUBLISHED 1881 IN THE
BIBLIOTHECA INDICA SERIES BY
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

*Published by Mrs. Nirmal D Jain for Oriental Book Reprint Corporation
Post Box 1165, 54 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-55 and printed by
Mr. K L. Sachadeva at Skylark Printers, Idgah Road New Delhi-55*

## SECTION XXII

### ACCOUNT OF THE SHAMSĪAH MALIKS IN HIND

[OUR author—after laying much stress on the necessity of showing due gratitude to benefactors for favours and benefits conferred by them, which necessity is clear to every well ordered mind, and which the most wise and pious men have inculcated and enjoined, for, as philosophers have said 'They who have no gratitude for man have no gratitude for God,' therefore returns his grateful thanks, as in duty bound—in highly-coloured terms—to the august Sultān of the Sultāns of Islām Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, and to those sovereigns, his children [and grandchildren], who have placed the foot of dignity on the throne of empire, for their manifold donations and benefactions, and also to those Maliks and Khāns, the servants of that dynasty, who have attained to the hall of their sovereignty—the arena of dominion—for their kindnesses and favours towards himself, his children, his dependents, and his followers, from the year 625 H., up to this present time which is the year 658 H., and which benefits and favours, day by day, and hour by hour, have been increasing and augmenting by the granting of offices and dignities, by gifts and benefactions, the enumeration of which cannot be contained within the limits of this abbreviated work. "I have now," he says, "reached the point of my design," and here I must render what he says, as nearly as possible, in his own words.]

SINCE Almighty God of His favour prolonged the reign of the Sultāns of the I-yal-timishī dynasty, and raised on

high the standards of jurisdiction of HIS servants in the decree of duration, this frail one, in repayment of some of those many debts of gratitude, desired that he should thread upon the thread of description, and string on the string of writing, an account of those Maliks and Khāns, the servants of that Court which is the asylum of the universe, more particularly the mention of the successive benefits, and increasing generosity of that Khākān-i-Mu'azzam[1], Shahr-yār-i-'Adil wa Akram, Khusrau-i-Banī Adam, Bahā-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dīn, Mughis-ul-Mulūk-i-Islām wa ul-Muslimīn, Zil-l-ullah fi ul-'Alamīn, 'Uzd-ud-Daulah wa us-Sultanat, Yamīn-ul-Mamlakat, Kutb-ul-Ma'ālī, Rukn-ul-'Alā, Ulugh Kutlugh-i-A'zam, ULUGH KHĀN-I-BALBAN-US-SULTĀNI[2], Abī-Salātīn, Zahīr-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn [The Great King, the Most Just and Most Generous Prince, the Khusrau of the race of Adam, the precious of God and of the Faith, the auxiliary of the Maliks of Islām and of Musalmāns, the shadow of the Almighty upon the worlds, the pole-star of grandeur, the sublime prop, the arm of the kingdom and empire,

[1] It must not be supposed that these are his *actual* titles: the greater part of them are *conferred on him by our author* out of gratitude for favours received; neither do these titles prove that Ulugh Khān-i-Balban was Sultān of Dihlī when these words were penned. The contrary is proved over and over again in the following pages. As to the word Khākān, which signifies a king or emperor [particularly the rulers of Īrān and Chīn] being applied to a great noble, without his being a sovereign prince, I have myself seen it applied to a petty Afghān of Multān, who had been a servant of the late Dīwān Mulrāj on the liberal salary of 15 rūpīs monthly. Our author has also styled Ulugh Khān the father of kings, although he could not tell whether either of Balban's sons would succeed their father, who was not king in 658 H., when he finished this History. Moreover, had Ulugh Khān been Sultān of Dihlī at this time, he would not have been styled "the right arm of the state," &c. See next page, and note [6].

[2] In his titles given further on, as here, he is styled "Khākān-i-Mu'azzam," in the same line being called "the Sultān's [illegible]." His brother also is styled "Ulugh Kutlugh" by our author after the same fashion.

It will also be noticed that, with some of these titles, our author uses the Arabic article ال but with others no ال [illegible] *[illegible]*, although no *izāfats* are *written* he means them to be used, otherwise the names and titles would be unintelligible nonsense. I suppose, however, after the fashion of "Fīrūz-jang," "Khān-Zamān," "Khān-Khānān," Mr. BLOCHMANN will consider this too "a dangerous innovation," but I prefer to read them according to the Īrānī fashion, which by the bye Mr. Blochmann is sometimes guilty of—see "Khān-i-Zamān," "Khān-i-A'ẓam," "Khān-i-Kalān," &c.

the right hand of the state, the most great Ulugh Kutlugh, ULUGH KHĀN-I-BALBAN of the [time of the] I-yal-timishī dynasty, the father of Sulṭāns, the Supporter of the Lord of the Faithful]—May the Almighty exalt his Helper and double his power!—for, since the pen of the orbit of existence on the pages of the dawn of empire delineated the tracery of prosperity and the figure of dominion, it hath not depicted a countenance of felicity more charming than the aspect of his power; and the exalting hand of time, a standard more sublime than his precious and superb banner, hath never raised. The Court of no sovereign of the universe, either in the east or the west, who hath placed the foot on the throne of dominion, hath had a servant more sagacious, and no ear hath heard a tale of the might of dominion more brilliant than the narration of his rule, for verily his equitable age appears like the succession of 'Umr, his benevolence tells of the liberality of Ḥātim, his sword reminds [one] of the force of Rustam's blow, and his arrow the penetration of the arm of Arash [3]. May God crown his banner with victory: make strong his nobles and chiefs: and annihilate his foes!

In the way of repayment therefore of debts [of gratitude] due to those renowned Maliks, and more particularly for the mention of the rule of that powerful prince [Ulugh Khān], this ṬABAKĀT has been written after the manner of a miscellany, in order that scrutinizers, when they look into these pages, may, according to the benediction for those departed and the invocation for the preservation of those remaining, have the character of every one of them clearly defined upon the page of the mind. In the arrangement also of this ṬABAKĀT, some Maliks were earlier, in time, than they appear here, and some have been mentioned later, arising from the period that the author arrived at this Court [4]. May the Most High God preserve the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns and [5] the Ulugh-i-A'zam, Ulugh Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam,

[3] One of the old Persian heroes—the famous archer—who is also mentioned in the Shāh-Nāmah.

[4] Several are not mentioned at all, the reason of which does not appear.

[5] This proves what I have already alluded to at page 720. Our author would scarcely have invoked blessings upon Ulugh Khān, as "a great monarch," while Naṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, was alive, and prayed for in the same sentence. His manumission is never noticed.

**in the hall of existence to the utmost limits of possibility. Amīn[6]!**

### I. TĀJ-UD-DĪN, SANJAR-I-GAJZ-LAK KHĀN[7].

The arrival of the author [of this history] at the Court—the asylum of the world—of the beneficent king of kings [I-yal-timish] took place on Wednesday, the 1st of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 625 H., before [the walls of] the preserved city of Ūchchah, at the period when the Shamsī forces had marched from the capital city of Dihlī for the purpose of taking possession of the kingdom of Sind, and had turned their faces towards that country. Fifteen days prior to this, the victorious troops of that monarch, comprising the force under Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān—The Almighty's mercy be upon him!—had arrived before Ūchchah; and the first personage among the Maliks of that Court who was seen by the author was Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān.

When, on Wednesday, the 16th of the month of Ṣafar, the author proceeded from the city of Ūchchah, and reached the camp of the victorious [forces], that Malik of good disposition treated him with reverence, and rose from his *masnad*, and went through the ceremonial of receiving him, and came to meet him, and seated the author in his own place, and put a rosy apple[8] into his hand, and

[6] To translate that portion of our author's work referring to the kings of Dihlī, without translating this Section, which throws much light on the previous ones, would be much like the play of Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out.

[7] He is also called Gaz-lak Khān.

[8] Literally "apple of ruby." Apples grow in Upper Sind, but they are small. The description of apple here referred to, was probably such as the traders, up to this day, bring down from above the Passes. It is usual to carry an apple in the hand for its grateful perfume. I have witnessed this constantly, and, probably, the custom is not new.

The printed text, which has lately become of considerable authority, because its statements, in its very defective state, happen to coincide with some errors and erroneous statements made on the faith of translations from Firishtah, has, contrary to all MSS. copies collated, the words بیست لعل—i.e. *twenty rubies*—instead of سیب لعل. If these words—*seb la'l*—are translated without that "dangerous innovation," the *kasrah* of description—کسرهٔ توصیفی—they mean "apple ruby"—which is nonsense of course, but, with the necessary "innovation," would be *seb-i-la'l*—an apple of ruby, that is an apple red as a ruby.

observed: "Take this Maulānā, that it may be a good omen." I found Malik Taj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān, a Malik of sufficiently formidable aspect, his form of magnitude, and his piety pure, and with a numerous suite, and followers countless.

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that the august Sulṭān [I-yal-timish] purchased Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān, during the reign of the late Sulṭān, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, from the Khwājah, 'Alī, the Bastābādī [of Bastābād *], when he held the government of the fief of Baran, and gave him to his eldest son, the late Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, and in the hall of felicity, along with him, was he nurtured and brought up. After some time, when the Sulṭān perceived signs of merit upon his forehead, he removed him from attendance on Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, and took him into his own immediate service, and gave him the office of Chāshni-gīr [Comptroller of the [royal] Kitchen]. After serving [in this office] for some time, he became Amīr-i-Ākhur [Lord or Head of the Stables]. Subsequently, in the year in which the Sulṭān proceeded towards Multān, namely, in 625 H., the territory of Wanj-rūṭ [1] of Multān was made over to him. When the Sulṭān returned from thence, he conferred upon Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān, the fief of Kuhṛām After some time, the preserved city of Tabarhindah was given to him, and, in that year, the author reached the Court.

The Sultān had despatched him [Gajz-lak Khān] in advance, at the head of a force, in concert with Malik 'Izz-ud-

These words might, certainly, be translated "a ruby like an apple in shape," but I think this very unlikely for the reasons above stated; and a ruby of that size would be a very costly present, and not to be carried about in one's hand.

* Or might be, Bust-ābād The name is doubtful.

[1] This place, in most of the copies of the text is written لنروت for ونروت—Lanj-rūt for Hanj-rūt, and also كنروت—Ganj-rūt, but Wanj rūt is a well-known place, giving name to a *pargunah*. At present there is a tolerably strong fort there, and it is now contained in the Bahāwal-pūr state At the period Gajz-lak Khān held it, it was in the Multān province, the river Bīāh then flowed in its old bed. Between Wanj-rūṭ and Multān no river then existed, whilst the Lost River—the Hakṛā and its feeders, n w the Sutlaj or Ghārā, separated it from Bīkānīr. In Persian words ب is sometimes used for و but in Sanskrit words, or words derived from that language, व is often substituted for ब and *vice versa*. The printed text, which displays such a profound knowledge of the geography of India, has Gujarat and Multān ! !

Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sālārī—The Almighty's mercy be upon him!—from the frontier of the territory of Sind to the foot [of the walls] of Ūchchah.

When Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn [I-yal-timish], with his army, pitched his camp before the fortress of Ūchchah, in the year 625 H., Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān, was despatched [at the head of a force] in attendance on the Wazīr of the realm, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, Muhammad, the Junaidī, against the fortress of Bakhar[3]. After some time, that fortress was taken, and Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah—The Almighty's mercy be on him!—was drowned in the river Sind, and the fortress fell into their hands, as has been before recorded. The preserved city[4] of Ūchchah, with its dependencies and territories, was all placed in Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar's charge.

When the Sultān with his forces returned towards the glorious capital, Dihlī, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān, assumed jurisdiction over those territories, and caused them to flourish and prosper; and he brought the scattered people, both gentle and simple, together, who dwelt happily under the justice and benevolence of this Malik of good disposition. He continued to pursue the beaten track of impartiality and kindness towards all, and exerted his powers for the security, safety, and repose of the peasantry, and the welfare of all [the people], and, after some time, under the safeguard of faith, and alms for pious uses, charitable foundations, and works of public utility, he came to a happy end, and was removed from the house of this world to the mansions of life eternal, in the year 629 H. The Almighty's mercy and pardon be upon him!

### II. MALIK 'IZZ-UD-DĪN, KABĪR KHĀN, AYAZ-I-HĀZAR MARDAH, UL-MU'IZZĪ[5]

Malik Kabīr Khān-i-Ayaz was a Rūmī Turk, and he had been the slave of Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, the

[3] Turned into Thangir in the printed text.

[4] What Ūchchah was in those days may be gathered from the account of its investment by the Mughals in the last Section.

[5] So styled because he was the slave of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī.

Amīr-i-Shikār [Chief Huntsman] of Ghaznīn, and, after he was put to death, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, along with his children, reached the country of Hindūstān. He attracted the benevolent notice of the august Sulṭān [I-yal-timish], and served him in every degree of employment. He was a Turk, wise, prudent, and experienced, and, in agility and martial accomplishments, was the incomparable of his time. Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, the Amīr-i-Shikār of Ghaznīn, who was his owner and lord, was the theme of every tongue throughout the whole of the countries of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, Khurāsān, and Khwārazm, for warlike powers and skill; and Malik Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz had accompanied his master, in all circumstances and situations, and had learnt from him martial accomplishments and the modes of warfare, and had become a perfect master in the art.

When Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, was put to death by the Turks of Ghaznīn[5], his sons, namely Sher Khān-i-Surkh [the Red], and his brother reached the presence of the sublime Court, and Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, purchased 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, direct from them. Some have related on this wise, that, when the august Sulṭān brought the territory of Multān under his sway in the year 625 H., he conferred upon 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, the city and fortress of Multān, with the whole of its towns, districts, and dependencies[6], and installed him in the government of that territory, and exalted him to the title of Kabīr Khān-i-Man-girnī[7], and, although he used to be styled by people Ayaz-i-Hazār-Mardah—the name he was famed by—he, consequently, became celebrated under the title of Kabīr Khān-i-Man-girnī. On the return of the Sulṭān, [with his forces] to Dihlī, the capital, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz took possession of that territory and brought it under his jurisdiction, and

[5] He had shown disaffection, and, when I-yal-dūz marched towards Dihlī against I-yal-timish, the Turkish chiefs of Ghaznīn put him, as well as the former Wazīr, to death. See page 504-5.

[6] This fact is not mentioned under the reign of I-yal-timish, and, in the account of the preceding Malik, it is stated that he—Gazlak Khān—had the territory of Wanj-rūd of Multān conferred upon him in that same year, 625 H.

[7] This name is somewhat doubtful. In the most trustworthy copies of the text it is منکرنی—Man-girnī—as above, and also منکرنی—Man girnī; but in others it is written all sorts of ways—منکری—مکوی—مکری and ملهوی. The word is Turkish, in all probability.

caused it to flourish; and, after a period of two, three, or four years, he was recalled to the capital, and Palwal was assigned to him for his maintenance [8].

When the Shamsī reign came to its termination, and Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, succeeded, he conferred upon Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz the district of Sunām [9]; and, when Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, from Lohor, and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Kūjī, from Hānsī, assembled with hostile intent against the Court, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz joined them; and, for a considerable period, they alarmed and distracted the forces of Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh. At last, when Sulṭān Raẓiyyat [1] ascended the throne, they advanced upon the capital, and for a considerable period molested the city and parts around, and engaged in conflict with the servants of the Court of the Sulṭān of Islām, until Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, secretly, by promises of favour, detached him from that party, and he, in concert with Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sālārī, went over to the service of the Court. Through their coming [over to the Court party], the Sulṭān, the servants of her Court, and the people of the city, gained a great accession of strength, and Malik Jānī and Malik Kūjī, baffled, withdrew.

Sulṭān Raẓiyyat showed Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz great honour, and conferred upon him the province of Lohor, with the whole of the dependencies and districts belonging to that territory; but, after a year or two [2], a slight change manifested itself in the mind of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat towards him, and, in the year 636 H., her sublime standards advanced towards Lohor. Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz retired before her, crossed the Rāwah [3] of Lohor, and retreated as far as the borders of Sūdharah, and the army marched in pursuit of him. Finding it was impossible to follow any other course [4],

[8] He must have, consequently, fallen under the Sulṭān's displeasure, for some reason.

[9] See under the reign of Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, at page 633.

[1] Here too is a "dangerous innovation:" I have ventured to spell the name of this queen the right way, and different to the "best authorities."

[2] Most copies of the text have "some years," and a few "some time." Raẓiyyat only reigned three years and a half.

[3] Thus written in the oldest copies of the text— [illegible]. See also the account of the march against the Mughals in 643 H. in the notice of Ulugh Khān farther on.

[4] See the reign under, page 645.

he made his submission, and Multān was again placed under his charge[5]. After a considerable period had passed away, and, when an army of Mughals, under the accursed Mangūtah, the Nū-īn, and the Bahādur, Ṭā-ïr, turned its face towards Lohor, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz [assumed sovereignty] in the territory of Sind[6], and a canopy of state, and possessed himself of Ūchchah. Shortly after this disaffection, in the year 639 H., he died.

After his decease, his son, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr-i-Ayāz, who was a young man of good disposition, fiery, very impetuous, and courageous, brought the territory of Sind under his sway. Several times he attacked the Ḳarlugh[7] army before the gate of Multān and put it to flight, and showed such great skill and high-spiritedness that he was noted for his manliness and valour, when, suddenly, in the morning of life and flower of his youth, he passed to the Almighty's mercy. May God have mercy upon them both [father and son].

### III. MALIK NAṢĪR-UD-DĪN, AI-YITIM-UL-BAHĀ-Ī.

Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Ai-yitim, was the slave of Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril, the slave of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, and some [persons] have related that the august Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, had purchased Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Ai-yitim, from the heirs of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril[8].

[5] The feudatory of Multān got the fief of Lāhor in lieu of it. See page 747.

[6] This indicates that the province of Multān, as well as Ūchchah, was called Sind in those days. Some writers style all the tract as far north as the Salt Range by the name of Sind, but see next page.

[7] Also Ḳārlūgh. I have given an account of them in the last Section. See note [4], para. 2, page 374. This was the second invasion of the Ḳarlughs. See page 730.

This shows the state of the Dihlī kingdom at this time, for, although the father had openly thrown off allegiance to its sovereign, the latter appears to have been unable to recover possession of those provinces until after some time elapsed on the death of the son, Abū-Bikr-i-Ayāz. Nothing whatever respecting this assumption of sovereignty is mentioned under Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh's reign. The iẓāfat here stands for *bin* Ayāz was the father's name, another of thousands of undoubted proofs, were any wanting, to show that "the use of the iẓāfat" is *not* "restricted to poetry, and that it *constantly occurs* in prose for *bin* or *pusar* See Blochmann's "*Contributions*," Part III., page 138, last line, and note ‡

[8] See page 544 for an account of Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril.

Malik Naṣir-ud-Dīn, Ai-yitim, was a man of great prudence and experience, intrepid and steadfast, and just. When he first was honoured by the august Sulṭān's service, he became Sar-i-Jān-dāi [Chief or Head of the Jān dārs[9]], and, after some time, having done good service, the fief of Lohor was assigned to him. When in the year 625 H.[1], the august Sulṭān [I-yal-timish] came for the purpose of seizing the territory of Sind, and Ūchchah and Multān, by the Sultān's command, Malik Naṣir-ud-Dīn, Ai-yitim, advanced from Lohor and appeared before the fortress of Multān, and did good service in the acquisition of that fortification; and, at length, that stronghold and city he gained possession of by capitulation[2] When the Sulṭān came back from the territory of Sind, and returned to the capital, Dihlī, the Siwālikh country, and Ajmīr, Lāwah, Kāsilī, and Sanbhar Namak[3], he made over to his charge, and the Sultān assigned him an elephant, and in this honour he was distinguished above the other Maliks.

On Malik Naṣir-ud-Dīn, Ai-yitim's proceeding to Ajmīr, he showed many proofs of vigour and judgment, in undertaking expeditions and making holy-war upon the infidel Hindūs and devastating their country, and performed great achievements. Once, during the time he held that government, the author found him in the territory of Sanbhar Namak, and he was pleased to show him much honour and respect, and, of a verity, he was a Malik of exemplary faith Suddenly, he set out on an expedition against the infidel Hindūs into the Bundī territory, and came upon the Hindūs in a position in a defile, and was under the necessity of passing a river which lay at that place. Being heavily armed with cuirass, and other defensive armour, he sank in that river, and was drowned.—The Almighty's mercy be upon him!

[9] Already described, in note [7], page 603

[1] He says 624 H. at page 542 at pages 723, 725, and 731, we have 625 H. See also under the reign of I-yal-timish

[2] See under Ḳabā-jah page 544, and I-yal-timish's reign, pages 611 and 612

[3] Sānbhar—سانبهر—which our author writes as above, and also Sanbhal, with *l*, is the name of a town and district, on the great Salt Lake in Rājpūtānah, north of Ajmīr Kāsilī is written Kassullie in Tod's map, but, in the Indian Atlas, sheet No 33, it is turned into *Kasli* Lāwah is more to the S W, in Long 74°, Lat 25°, 10

### IV. MALIK SAIF-UD-DĪN, Ī-BAK[4]-I-UCHCHAH.

Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, was the slave of the august Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, and was a Turk of energy and sagacity, and exemplary faith, and the Sulṭān had purchased him from Jamāl ud-Dīn, the Armourer[5], at Budā'ūn.

At first he was made Sar-i-Jān-dār [Head of the Jān-dārs]. He was directed to enter upon that office against his wishes, and the sum of three laks of *jītals* for the maintenance of his position he did not receive with appreciation. When this came to the Sulṭān's hearing he in-

[4] From the fact of so many chiefs, mentioned in this work, being styled ايبك as well as Sulṭān Kutb-ud-Dīn, there is some room to doubt whether this word may not here be intended to be pronounced otherwise than Ī-bak, since all of them would have fingers, although *all* could scarcely have had any peculiarity of finger, and, as regards Kutb-ud-Dīn, the matter is cleared up by the adjective *shil* or *shal* added to it. With other vowel points—the word *Ai-bak*—signifies *but*—idol, or, may be a compound word, from اي *ai*—moon, and بك *bak*—lord—the moon-lord—which, although it *might be* the by name of one, could scarcely be the by name of *several* individuals, all of whom were sold as slaves. The probability however is that *Ai-buk* is the most correct meaning here, viz. *ai*—moon, and *buk*—face, countenance—*the moon-faced*, but even then it would be strange that there were so many of them. Another matter for consideration is, that the word بك has several other meanings, and is written with پ—p, not described as Persian *b*, which signifies پ—*p*, and that the vowel points also may change its meaning; for example—*pak* means a finger joint, and the heel, and also, beauty, grace, &c., and *puk* signifies a frog.

I have never met with the word written ايبك and but once met with آي with *madd* over the *Alif*—and that is Turkish and signifies *female*, not moon. Another matter for consideration is, that, if we divide the word ايبك—assuming it to be a compound word—and take the last portion of it—بك—it has various significations, most of which are said to be Turkish, according to the pronunciation as shown by the vowel points, and also whether the ب and ك are described as 'Arabic or Persian letters, the former being *b* and *k*, and the latter *p* and *g*; but, at the same time, it must be understood that they are continually used indiscriminately, for example—*Bak*, a lord or chief. 2. A wild cucumber. *Buk*, cheek, countenance. 2. Ignorant, stupid. 3. *Weak, languid*, &c. *Bik*, finger. 2. A live coal. *Puk*, aid, help. 2. A defender, patron. 3. The *finger joint*, the heel. 4. A turban. *Puk*, in Persian is the same in signification as the 'Arabic [illegible], which means, relaxed, weak, languid. 2. Lean, ignorant, &c. As well as 3. Delicate, beautiful. There are some other meanings which I need not mention, but I fear we shall be unable to come to any certain or satisfactory conclusion until some competent scholar, who is thoroughly acquainted with the old Turkish dialects, shall examine this and several other titles in this Section which are undoubtedly Turkish.

[5] Literally, one who gives to swords or armour the fine water, as it is termed, so much esteemed in the east.

quired of him the reason of his not regarding it. Appre-h nsive, he replied : " My lord, the Sulṭān, in the first place, commands his slave to take an office of affliction, while his humble servant is unable to practise blood-shedding, torture, extortion, and oppression upon Muslims and subjects. Let the Sulṭān be pleased to assign other employment to his slave." The Sulṭān showed great reliance on him [in consequence] and made Nārnūl his fief. He served in the government of that fief for sometime, and, subsequently, the fief of Baran was assigned to him, and, after that again, the fief of Sunām was conferred upon him. When the expedition into Lakhaṇawaṭī was undertaken, and the force had reduced Balkā, the Khalj, and was on its way back to the capital, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān, died at Ūchchah [while holding the government of Sind], and the august Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, assigned the fief of Ūchchah, and the fortress and city of Ūchchah to Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak.

For a considerable period he exercised the government, and was guardian of the people of that country, and brought it under his control. When the Sultān passed to the Creator's mercy, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak, became very powerful; and, at that juncture, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh, became covetous of the possession of Ūchchah and the Panjāb territory, and he arrived before the gate of the city of Ūchchah, from the direction of Baniān[6] with a large army. Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak, with a well organized force, in battle array, marched out of the fortress of Ūchchah and encountered them in battle. Almighty God gave him the victory, and the Ḳarlugh forces were routed, and retired without gaining their object[7]

This, truly, was a very important victory, at this time, because, at this period, through the decease of Sulṭān

[6] This is the tract of country so often mentioned in these pages and which I have already indicated the position of, but it is often written in a very careless manner [the Calcutta printed text sometimes turns it into Multān], and this fact has led Thomas into a great error, at page 76 of his "PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI" All the references made by him to the printed text in the foot-note to that page refer to Baniān—بنیان, and not to Multān

[7] This, of course, has been omitted under the reign to which it properly belongs. It was the first occasion on which the Ḳār-lūghs, or Ḳarlughs—the word is written both ways—invaded the Dihlī kingdom after Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish's decease See also page 677.

Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, awe and fear of the kingdom of Hindūstān in [people's] hearts had sustained detriment, and enemies had sprung up on all sides of the empire, and the vain desire of appropriating its territory began to trouble their minds, when Almighty God bestowed this victory on him. The good name of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, remained in that country, and in all the territory of Hindūstān his renown was diffused.

Shortly after this victory, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, sustained a fall from his horse, and the animal kicked him in a mortal place, and he was killed. The mercy and forgiveness of the Almighty be upon him!

### V. MALIK SAIF-UD-DĪN, Ī-BAK-I-YUGHĀN-TAT.

Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Yughān-tat, was a Khiṭā-ī Turk, and was, both externally and internally, adorned and endowed with divers manly qualities. The august Sulṭān [Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish] had purchased him from the heirs of Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn-i-Çhust-Ḳabā [*] [of the tight-fitting vest], and he distinguished him by his intimacy, and conferred upon him the office of Amīr-i-Majlis [Lord of the Assembly or Council]. After he had performed good service in that appointment, he was raised to a high position, and the fief of the district of Sursutī was bestowed upon him. At the time of this honour being conferred upon him, he gave directions for the presentation of a horse to each of the Amīrs, Maliks, and Grandees; and this gift caused him to be remembered, and his acquirement of some influence.

In the year 625 H., at the time that the author found the Sulṭān's camp in the territory of Ūchchah of Multān, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, was the feudatory of Sursutī, and, in the presence of the Sulṭān, he possessed much influence and intimacy; and when, after some time, he had done distinguished services, the fief of Bihār was entrusted to his charge. On Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī's [*] being deposed from

[*] This appears to have been the nick-name of two persons who dealt in slaves, since I-yal-timish himself was sold to Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, by Jamāl-ud-Dīn-i-Chust-Ḳabā.

[*] Referred to in the List of Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish's Maliks as Prince of Turkistān, who gave such trouble in the reign of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat.

the fief of Lakhanawatī, that country was made over to Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak.

In that territory he displayed great vigour, and captured several elephants from the country of Bang, and despatched them to the most sublime Court; and, from the Sulṭān, he received the title of Yug͟hān-tat, and his name became great. He held the government of that country for some time, and in the year 631 H.[1] he died. The Almighty's mercy and pardon be upon him!

### VI. MALIK NUṢRAT-UD-DĪN, TĀ-YASA'Ī[2].

Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī, was the slave of the illustrious martyr, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām. He was a Turk of short sight, but Almighty God had adorned him with all manly virtues and humanity, and he was endowed with great resolution, gallantry, and vigour, and possessed perfect sense, and sagacity.

At the time that the writer of this ṬABAḲĀT, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, attached himself to the sublime S͟hamsī court, Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī, was the feudatory of Jīnd [Jhīnd], Barwālah, and Hānsī. After some time, as he had performed approved services, two years subsequent to the taking of the fortress of Gwāliyūr, the august Sulṭān [S͟hams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timis͟h] entrusted Bhīānah and Sulṭān-koṭ to[3] his charge, together with the Superintendency[4] of the territory of Gwāliyūr, and he received directions likewise to make Gwāliyūr [the fortress] his

[1] Stewart in his "HISTORY OF BENGAL" says [page 65] that Sief Addeen Yugan Tunt [' !] died in 651 H.—a mistake of only *twenty years*

[2] In nearly every copy of the text this word or title is somewhat differently written; but the above—تايسى—Tā-yasa'ī—seems most correct. In one copy it is written with vowel points thus تايسى

VAMBÉRY considers it is a Chinese word, and that it means a writer, or secretary, but that does not seem applicable here. I think it undoubtedly Turkish, and it possibly *may* refer to his shortsightedness, but more probably to the name of some place. A somewhat similar term occurs in S͟harf-ud-Dīn, 'Alī's, History, but written Tāus͟hī, but it may be wholly different from the above.

[3] Its being founded is mentioned in the account of Malik Bahā-ud-Ṭug͟hril, at page 545.

[4] The word here used is شحنكى—*s͟haḥnagī*—which is rarely used by our author except with reference to those states and territories over which the Mug͟hals obtained sway. The meaning of S͟haḥnah has been already given.

residence. The contingents of Ḳinnauj, and Mahir [or Mihar], and Mahā'ūn were all placed under his control, in order that he might undertake an inroad into the Kālinjar and Chandirī territories. In the year 631 H.[5], he accordingly led an army from Gwāliyūr towards the Kālinjar country, and the Rāe of Kālinjar fled discomfited before him. He plundered the townships of that territory, and, in a very short period, obtained vast booty, in such wise, that, in the space of fifty days, the Sulṭān's fifth share was set down at twenty-five *laks* [of *jītals* or *dirams*?].

On the return of Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī, the Rānah of Ajār[6], Chāhar, by name, occupied the route of the Musalmān forces, and blocked up the road in the narrow parts of [some] deep ravines, and was drawn up [with his forces], at the head of the road, prepared to oppose their passage[7]. Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī, was somewhat weak in body [from sickness?] at the time, and he divided his force into three bodies, at the head of three roads—the first body consisted of the unincumbered horsemen [under his own command]; the second body of the baggage, material, and the followers of the force, with an Amīr in charge; and the third consisted of the booty and the cattle with an Amīr with it also. I heard Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn himself state, saying: "Through the divine favour,

[5] In the account of Ulugh Khān farther on, it is stated that this took place in 632 H., and *Jamū* is mentioned as well as Ḳinnauj and the other places just mentioned, but 632 H. was the year in which I-yal-timish himself advanced into Mālwah, and took Bhīlsān and Ujjain. See under his reign, page 621.

[6] This is according to the best copies of the text, which style him, respectively, رانه اجار—رانه اجاركى and رانه اجارنه—all have the *hamzah* denoting the genitive case—Rānah *of* Ajār, Ajārkī, or Ajārnah [probably Ajārīah or Achārīah], and state that his name was Chāhir. See page 691, and the account of Ulugh Khān farther on.

[7] In his account of Ulugh Khān farther on, our author, in all the oldest copies, mentions "the ravines of the river كرانه—*Karānah* or *Garānah*" which, in the more modern copies of the text, is سندى—*Sindī*. This latter river flows by the fortress of Nurwul, previously referred to at page 690, bounds the Gwāliyūr territory on the east, and falls into the Jūn or Yamunā. In about the direction Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn must have taken on his return to Gwāliyūr, this river is about 200 yards broad in the rainy season, and about forty in the dry, and some two feet deep; and, at this part of its course, its banks are steep, and cut into numerous ravines. Whether the Karānah or Garānah and the Sindī be one and the same river it is difficult to say; but it is not improbable that the first is its proper name, as Sindī is, of course, derived from سند—a river, and that one and the same river is referred to.

never in Hindūstān had an enemy seen my back; and, on that day, that Hindū fellow fell upon me like a wolf upon a flock of sheep. I divided my force into three bodies in order that, in the event of the Hindū confronting me and the unincumbered horsemen, the baggage and war material and cattle might pass on in safety, and, in case he should show a desire towards the baggage and war material or cattle, I, together with the auxiliaries of the true faith, would come behind him and take satisfaction on his malignity." The Hindū confronted Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn's own division, and Almighty God gave him the victory. The Hindūs were routed, and numbers of them sent to hell, and he returned with his booty to the fortress of Gwāliyūr in safety

An anecdote of an occurrence, showing his perfect sagacity, which happened during this expedition, which was made known [to the author], is here related, that readers may derive profit therefrom: and that anecdote is as follows. A milch sheep, from among his flocks, had been lost for some time—nearly a month and a half—during this inroad One day, Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn was moving round the camp among the tents, after the force had been encamped at that same place a week, and every one had set up something or other to shade himself. Suddenly, during his perambulation, the bleating of a sheep reached his ear. He immediately said to his attendants: "That is the bleating of my sheep" They proceeded in the direction, and found that it was as that Amīr-i-Ghāzī had said. the animal was there, and they brought back the [stray] sheep again

Many other acts of his sagacity and intelligence occurred during this expedition, and one of them is as follows. At the time when the Rāe of Kālinjar faced about and retired routed before him, Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī, pursued him Having succeeded in obtaining a Hindū guide, he set out, on their track, in pursuit of the fugitive [Hindūs] and pushed on for four nights and days, and part of the fifth night until half the night had passed, when the Hindū guide stated that he had lost the road, and was unacquainted with the route in advance Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn commanded so that they sent the Hindū to hell, and began to

act as guide himself. So they reached some high ground[*], at which place the fugitives had watered, and the cattle of their army had cast the water and heavy baggage away. In the victorious army every one said: "It is night and the enemy near: let it not be that we fall among them. Their camp must be near by." Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dín Tā-yasa'í dismounted from his horse, and went up round the place on foot, and examined the water cast away by the horses of the infidels. He exclaimed [after his examination]: "Be of good cheer, my friends: the force, which is here and has watered here, is the rearmost column of the enemy's army, by this proof. Had it been the van or the main body, in this place would have been the tracks of the rest of their army, but, on this place, there are no tracks: keep up your hearts, for we are on the rear of the enemy!" With these prognostics of victory he remounted, and, at dawn the following morning, came up with those infidels, and sent the whole [!] of them to hell, and captured the canopy of state, and the standards of the Rāe of Kālinjar and returned in safety from that expedition[*].

When the reign of the Sulṭān [Rukn-ud-Dín, Fírūz Shāh] terminated, and Malik Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dín, Muhammad Shāh [his brother], son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish, became the victim of misfortune[1], Sulṭān Raẓiyyat conferred [the fief of] Awadh upon Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dín, Tā-yasa'í; and, at the period when Malik 'Alā-ud-Dín, Jání, and Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Kūjí, advanced to the gate of the city [of Dihlí], and began to act in a rebellious manner, he set out from Awadh for the sublime Court of Sovereignty to render his services. Suddenly and unexpectedly, Malik Kūjí moved against him, and took Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dín, Tā-yasa'í, prisoner[2]. He was overcome by sickness

[*] The untrustworthy Calcutta printed text makes [illegible]—*a bridge*, of [illegible]—high ground, a height, &c.

[*] This important expedition took place during the reign of I-yal-timish, in the year after he gained possession of Gwāliyūr, and the year before he took Bhílsān and Ujjain, but not the least reference is made to it under that Sulṭān's reign, and no reference is made to either Rānah Chāhar nor to the Rāe of Kālinjar. See the account of Ulugh Khān farther on, and page 690, and note [1].

[1] This refers to his rebellion. See page 633.

[2] See page 639.

at the time, and the malady carried him off, and he died. The mercy of the Almighty be upon him!

## VII. MALIK 'IZZ-UD-DĪN, ṬUGHRIL[3]-I-ṬUGHĀN KHĀN.

Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān was a Turk of good looks and good disposition, and his origin was from Ḳarah[4] Khiṭā. He was adorned with all sorts of humanity and sagacity, and graced with many virtues and noble qualities, and in liberality, generosity, and winning men's hearts, he had no equal, in that day, among the [royal] retinue or military.

When the Sulṭān [I-yal-timish] first purchased Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān, he made him his Sāḳī-i-Khāṣ [own personal Cup-bearer][5]; and, having served in that capacity for sometime, he became Sar-Dawāt-dār [Chief Keeper of the Private Writing-case], when, suddenly, he lost the Sulṭān's own jeweled pen-case. The Sulṭān administered to him a sound chastisement, but, subsequently, bestowed upon him a rich dress of honour and made him Chashnī-gīr [Comptroller of the Royal Kitchen] After a considerable time, Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān became Amīr-i-Ākhur [Lord of the Stable], and, subsequently, in 630 H, was made feudatory of Budā'ūn. When the territory of Lakhanawatī was made the fief of Malik [Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i]-Yughān-tat, the country of Bihār was conferred upon Malik Ṭughril; and, when Malik Yughān-tat died [in 631 H.], Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān became feudatory of the country of Lakhanawatī, and he brought that territory under his jurisdiction.

After the decease of the august Sulṭān [I-yal-timish], between him and the feudatory of Lakhanawatī-Lakhanor, Ī-bak, by name, whom they used to style Aor Khān, a Turk of great daring and impetuosity, enmity arose, and a

[3] For the pronunciation of this Turkish word see note [4], page 544. Ṭughān, in the Turkish language, is equivalent to the Persian word چرغ—a species of hawk.

[4] Our author writes this Turkish word Ḳarā and Ḳarah indiscriminately.

[5] It is worthy of notice regarding these great men of the so-called "PATHĀN" dynasties, that nearly every one of these Maliks were Turkish Mamlūks or purchased *slaves*; but did any one ever hear of an Afghān or Paṭān a slave?

battle took place between them for [the possession of] the town of Basan-koṭ of Lakhaṇawaṭī, within the environs of the city of Lakhaṇawaṭī itself. During the engagement, Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān pierced Aor Khān with an arrow in a mortal place, and he forthwith died[6]. Ṭughril's name became great [in consequence], and both sides of the country of Lakhaṇawaṭī—the one part of which they style Rāl [Rāṛh] which is towards Lakhaṇ-or, and the other is named Barind [Barindah] on the side of Basan-koṭ—became one, and came into Malik Ṭughril's possession[7].

When the throne of the kingdom passed to Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān despatched some persons of note to the sublime Court, and he was dignified by being honoured with a canopy of state and standards[8], and was paid high honour. He made an inroad into the country of Tirhut from Lakhaṇawatī, and acquired much valuable booty.

When the throne devolved upon Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān was distinguished in the same manner, and was in the continual habit of sending for the service of the sublime Court offerings of great value. After the termination of the Mu'izzī dynasty, in the beginning of the 'Alā-ī reign [the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd-Shāh], his confidential adviser, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Hilāl, the Sūriānī [Syrian], instigated him to take possession of the territory of Awadh, and Karah and Mānik-pūr, and An-desah-i-Balā-tar [Upper-most An-des—or Urnā-desa][9]. In the year 640 H., when this author, with his dependents, and children, set out from the capital,

[6] All this is omitted from the reign in which it took place.

[7] This indicates then that at this time there were two great fiefs in this part—Lakhaṇawaṭī and Lakhaṇ-or, one on each side of the Ganges, but that, by way of distinction, as stated above, the Rāṛh "wing" was called Lakhaṇawatī-Lakhaṇ-or. See also page 585, and note [4].

[8] This is equivalent to acknowledging him as a sovereign, but tributary, of course. Some few copies have *red* standards. He duly publishes this in his Bihār inscription given in Blochmann's "*Contributions*," page 37.

[9] That part of Tibbat through which the Sutlaj flows on issuing from the lake Rāwan Hṛida, and bounded by the Kailās and Himālaya ridges. In the time here referred to this name may have been applied to a larger extent of country, farther to the south-east, now included in Nepāl.

In the Calcutta printed text An-desah is turned into اندیشه—*andeshah*—"consideration, meditation, thought," &c.

Dihlī, for Lakhanawatī, when he arrived in Awadh, Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān had reached the country of Karah and Mānik-pūr. The author, taking his family along with him, proceeded from Awadh and waited on him; and Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān remained for sometime in that vicinity, close upon Awadh, but afterwards returned to Lakhanawatī again. The author accompanied him [1].

In the year 641 H., the Rāe of Jāj-nagar commenced molesting the Lakhanawatī territory; and, in the month of Shawwāl, 641 H., Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān marched towards the Jāj-nagar country, and this servant of the state accompanied him on that holy expedition On reaching Katāsin [2], which was the boundary of Jāj-nagar [on the side of Lakhanawatī], on Saturday, the 6th of the month of Ẓī-Ḳa'dah, 641 H, Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān made his troops mount, and an engagement commenced The holy-warriors of Islām passed over two ditches, and the Hindū infidels took to flight. So far as they continued in the author's sight, except the fodder which was before their elephants, nothing fell into the hands of the foot-men of the army of Islām, and, moreover, Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān's commands were that no one should molest the elephants, and, for this reason, the fierce fire of battle subsided.

When the engagement had been kept up until mid-day the foot-men of the Musalmān army—every one of them—returned [to the camp?] to eat their food, and the Hindūs, in another direction, stole through the cane *jangal*, and took five elephants; and about two hundred foot and fifty horsemen came upon the rear of a portion of the Musalmān army [3]. The Muḥammadans sustained an overthrow, and a great number of those holy warriors attained martyrdom, and Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān retired from that place without having effected his object, and returned to Lakhanawatī. He despatched the Sharf-ul-Mulk [4], the Ash'arī,

[1] See pages 662 and 663.

[2] See note [4], para 8, page 587.

[3] In every copy of the text collated this sentence, like the preceding, is very defective—no two copies being alike—and, altogether, our author's account of this affair seems imperfect It appears improbable that 250 Hindūs only should throw a whole army into confusion, in broad daylight.

[4] The title of the Malik's minister probably, not his name. At page 664 it is stated that Ḳāẓī Jalal ud-Dīn, who was Ḳāẓī of Awadh, was directed to

to the Court of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, to solicit assistance. Ḳāẓī Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Kāsānī—on whom be peace!—was deputed, along with the Sharf-ul-Mulk, bearing a rich robe of honour, a canopy of state, a standard and tent, coupled with [expressions of] much honour and reverence, to return to Lakhaṇawatī; and the forces of Hindūstān[5], under the orders of Ḳamar-ud-Dīn, Tamur Khān-i Ḳī-rān, who was feudatory of Awadh, moved towards Lakhaṇawaṭī, by the sublime command of the Sulṭān, to operate against the infidels of Jāj-nagar.

In this same year likewise [642 H.], the Rāe of Jāj-nagar[6], in order to avenge the plundering of Katāsin, which had taken place the preceding year, as has been already recorded, having turned his face towards the Lakhaṇawatī territory, on Tuesday, the 13th of the month of Shawwāl, 642 H., the army of infidels of Jāj-nagar, consisting of elephants, and *pāyiks* [foot-men] in great numbers, arrived opposite Lakhaṇawaṭī Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān came out of the city to confront them. The infidel host, on coming beyond the frontier of the Jāj-nagar territory, first took Lakhaṇ-or; and Fakhr-ul-Mulk, Karīm-ud-Dīn, Lāghrī[7], who was the feudatory of Lakhaṇ-or, with a body of

proceed to Lakhanawaṭī along with the Sharf-ul-Mulk, bearing a red canopy of state, and a robe of honour, and that they reached Lakhanawatī on the 11th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 641 H This is impossible, as the repulse before Katāsin took place *eight months after this date*. The year must be 642 H. Another discrepancy is that [page 664], under the reign, it is said that the agent was sent to the Court, when Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān *returned from* Karah towards Lakhanawatī!

[5] That is of the Antarbed Do-ābah and districts lying immediately east of the Gang.

[6] Mr. Blochmann ["*Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal*," page 143, para. 4] is really *too* magnanimous when he says that "Regarding Jājnagar" I *have* "come to the same conclusion" he "*had*." I beg leave to state that I HAD come to the conclusion in 1865, when I first made translations of the history of Bengal from as many works as I could find—eight in all, I think, or more—and then collected the materials which enabled me to insert the notes in question in this translation. I hope to publish the fruit of these translations not long hence, with additions since obtained.

The italics noticed in the same "*Contributions*" [note §, page 144] namely, Jāt-nagar, page 592 of my translation, *I daresay*, do *not* imply a reference to Jāj-nagar; and, further, whether it be a mistake or not, the work I quoted has the word, and also the account of Kaḍhah-Katankah. Perhaps Mr. Blochmann will refer to the Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Aḥmadī and satisfy himself.

[7] He must have succeeded Ī-bak-i-Aor Khān in that fief, under Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān perhaps. See page 736.

Musalmāns, they made martyrs of, and, after that, appeared before the gate of Lakhaṇawatī [*]. The second day after that, swift messengers arrived from above [the Do-ābah and Awadh, &c.] and gave information respecting the army of Islām that it was near at hand. Panic now took possession of the infidels, and they decamped.

When the army from above reached the gate of Lakhaṇawatī, distrust arose between Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān and Malik Tamur Khān-i-Ḳī-rān, and led to strife; and a conflict took place between the two armies of Musalmāns before the gate of the city of Lakhaṇawatī, and continued from day-dawn to the early forenoon, when certain people appealed to them, and the two forces disengaged from each other, and each returned to its own camp. As Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān's own quarters were before the city gate, by the time he had alighted at his own tent, the whole of his troops had returned to their own dwellings within the city, and he remained alone Malik Tamur Khān-i-Ḳī-rān however, on returning to his camp, continued ready armed as before, when, finding opportunity, and becoming aware that Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān was all alone in his tent within his camp, he mounted with his whole force, and made a dash upon Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān's camp. The latter was under the necessity of mounting and flying within the city; and this event took place on Tuesday, the 5th of the month of Ẓi-Ḥijjah, 642 H.

On Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān's reaching the city, he employed the author, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, and despatched him out of the city to seek an accommodation and his safety; and a truce and compact were entered into between the two Maliks, under the engagement that Lakhanawatī should be delivered up to Malik Tamur Khān-i-Ḳī-rān, and that Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān should proceed to the Sublime Court, taking along with him his treasures

[*] The Jāj-nagar forces must have crossed the Ganges before they could invest the city of Lakhanawatī, if the course of that river was then as it is at present. For further details of this—for our author appears to have been totally unable to give the details of *one* affair in one place—see the account of Malik Tamur Khān-i-Ḳī-rān at page 763, where the name of the leader of the infidels is also mentioned These are the Mughals of Chingiz Khān referred to at page 665, and note [*]

and elephants, his dependents and followers [9]. Under this agreement, Lakhanawatī was delivered up to Malik Tamur Khān-i-Ḳī-rān, and Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān, in company with Malik Ḳarā-Ḳash Khān, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Māh-peshānī [of the moon-like brow], and the [other ?] Amīrs of the Court [1], returned to the sublime presence. The author, with his family and dependents, returned to Dihlī along with Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān, and the Sublime Court was reached, on Monday, the 14th of the month of Ṣafar, 643 H. [2]

On Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān's arrival at Court, he was distinguished by great honour and reverence, and, in the [following] month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal of that same year, the territory of Awadh was consigned to him, and he received much comfort and encouragement.

When the throne of sovereignty acquired additional glory from [the accession of] the Sulṭān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, in the year 644 H., Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān proceeded into Awadh; and, a short time afterwards, on the night of Friday, the end of the month of Shawwāl of that year, he passed to the Almighty's mercy. Of destiny's wonderful decrees one was this, that, enmity and contest having arisen between Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān and Malik Tamur Khān-i-Ḳī-rān, and each having seized [3] the other's territory, Tamur Khān should have died in Lakhanawatī, and Ṭughān Khān in Awadh [the same night], in such wise that neither of the two, in this world, was aware of the other's death.

On this subject, that prince of mortals of the great

[9] The sending of a robe of honour and standards to Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān must have been merely for the purpose of putting him off his guard, and it must have been previously determined to deprive him of his government. See pages 665—667.

[1] Who had accompanied the troops sent to the relief of Lakhanawatī, or, rather, under pretence of relieving it.

[2] See Blochmann's "*Contributions*" previously referred to, page 38. 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān, did not withdraw from Lakhanawatī *direct* into Awadh, but proceeded to Dihlī first, and then, in Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's reign, proceeded to take charge of the latter fief, as shown immediately under, and at page 744.

[3] Not so, by the writer's own account: Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān's territory was seized by treachery, but he had not seized his rival's.

and of the less, Sharf-ud-Dīn, the Balkhī, composed a verse [4]:—

"On Friday, the end of the month entitled Shawwāl,
In the year, according to the 'Arab era, khā, mīm, dāl,
Was Tamur Khān's and Tughān Khān's march from the world
This [one] at the beginning of the night went, that at its close [5]."

Doubtless, their meeting will have taken place in the Court of the King of Glory in the everlasting mansion in the other world. The Almighty's mercy be upon them !

## VIII MALIK ḲAMAR-UD-DĪN, ḲĪ RĀN-I-TAMUR KHĀN-US-SULṬĀNĪ.

Malik Tamur [6] Khān-i-Ḳi-rān was a Turk of good qualities and excellent disposition, and very hasty and impetuous, prudent and intrepid. His origin was from Khifchāk, and he was good looking, and had a long beard and mustachios. The Sulṭān [I-yal-timish], at the outset [of his career], purchased him of Asad-ud-Dīn, Mankalī, the brother's son of Malik Fīrūz [7], for the sum of fifty thousand Sulṭānī *dirams* [8].

During the expedition to Chand-wāl [9] [i. e. Chand-wār],

[4] This paragraph, and these lines may be looked upon as an interpolation, for they are only contained in some of the more modern copies of the text.

[5] The printed text has *sin*—س—but that letter stands for *sixty*, which is not correct *Khā*—خ—stands for 600, *mīm*—م—for 40, and *dāl*—د—for 4= 644 H. The last day of the month is the 29th.

[6] Tamur, in Turkish, signifies iron

[7] In some copies, "brother" of Malik Fīrūz This is the person who stands first in the list of the Maliks of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, and bore likewise the latter Turkish name See page 625

[8] All the old copies have *dirams*, but the modern ones *jītals*

[9] Chand-wāl and Chand-wār are synonymous It is, no doubt, the place referred to at page 470, near which Jai-Chand, Rājah of Ḳinnauj and Banāras, was overthrown by Sulṭān Mu'izz ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī Its name even has nearly perished, and Fīrūzābād has arisen almost upon its ruins. It is situated about twenty-five miles east of Āgrah on the banks of the Jūn or Yamunā. There are other places bearing similar names which led me to suppose, as stated in note [1], page 470, and, also from the loose manner in which native writers refer to it, as noticed in para 5 to note at page 518, that it was a different place, several authors stating that the battle above referred to took place "*in the neighbourhood* of Chand-wār and Itāwah," while, at the same time, these two places are some forty or more miles apart The ruins of the ancient city of Chand wār cover the surrounding country for miles round Fīrūzābād—masjids, mausoleums, gateways, and other extensive buildings—indicating the size and importance of the place.

unexpectedly, the son of the Rāe of Chand-wāl, Laddah, by name, fell into his hands; and, when he brought him to the Sultān's presence, Tamur Khān-i-Ḳi-rān received suitable commendation. Subsequently, he became Nā'ib Amīr-i-Ākhur [Deputy Lord of the Stable], and, at that time, the Amīr-i-Ākhur was Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān [No. vii.]. Having obtained this office, he performed approved service therein; and, when Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān was assigned the fief of Budā'ūn, Tamur Khān-i-Ḳi-rān became Amīr-i-Ākhur.

During the reign of Sultān Raẓiyyat—on whom be the Almighty's mercy!—he became feudatory of Ḳinnauj; and, during that reign, by the sublime command, he was despatched towards Gwāliyūr and Mālwah in command of the Islāmī forces, and, during that expedition, he did good service[1]. Subsequently, after he returned to the Court, the fief of Karah was entrusted to him, and, in that part, he undertook many expeditions against the infidels, and discharged, in a complete manner, all the duties of good general-ship.

When Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī, who was feudatory of Awadh, died, the territory of Awadh, with its dependencies, was entrusted to Malik Tamur Khān-i-Ḳi-rān's charge. In that part, as far as the frontier of the Tirhut territory, he performed great deeds, and obtained possession of vast booty; and compelled the Rāes and Rānās, and independent [Hindū] tribes[2], of that country, to pay him tribute. On several occasions he plundered the territory of Bhatī-ghor[3], and extorted tribute.

In the year 642 H., when he proceeded to Lakhanawatī, his behaviour towards Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān, and to what point it reached, has been previously recorded in this Section[4]; and, whilst Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān

[1] No mention of this expedition occurs in the account of her reign.

[2] Here the word مواسات referred to in note [7], page 705, is used evidently as the plural of مواس. The meaning is apparent.

[3] Bhatī-Ghorā, or Bhath-Ghorah—the tract lying on the left bank of the Son, east of Banāras, in the centre of which Kālinjar is situated.

[4] See pages 664—667. His death occurred on the 29th of Shawwāl, 644 H. There is an inscription respecting him in the Bihār Museum, dated in the first month of this year, which has been published in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal* for 1871. That inscription tends to show that he considered himself inde-

was at the capital, he came, unattended, to Mānis͟h[5], and removed his family, and the whole of his effects, from Awadh to Lakhanawatī. For a period of two years he continued, in rebellion[6], at Lakhaṇawaṭī, and afterwards died, on the same night in which Ṭug͟hril-i-Ṭug͟hān K͟hān took his departure from the world; and, as the daughter[7] of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak-i-Yug͟hān-tat, was his wife, she duly performed her obligation [to him], and took his corpse to Awadh from Lakhaṇawaṭī, and there he was buried. The Almighty's mercy be upon him!

## IX. MALIK HINDŪ K͟HĀN, MU-AYYID-UD-DĪN, MIHTAR-I-MUBĀRAK-UL-K͟HĀZĪN-US-SULṬĀNĪ.

Hindū K͟hān, Mihtar[8]-i-Mubārak, was, by origin, of Mahir[9]. When he first came into the august Sulṭān's service, the Sulṭān [I-yal-timis͟h] purchased him of Fak͟hr-ud-Dīn, the Ṣafahānī. Hindū K͟hān was a man of exceeding good disposition, and of exemplary conduct, of sincere piety, and, in the Sulṭān's service, had attained great intimacy with him, and had reached a position of the most

pendent, unless, as is often the case, and as repeatedly shown in this work, his subordinate has given him titles after his own fancy This inscription is also given in Blochmann's "*Contributions*," page 37, with a translation. There is an error in the last however, the words Ṭug͟hril-us-Sulṭānī do not mean Ṭug͟hril, *the Royal*, but Ṭug͟hril, the Sulṭān's [I-yal-timis͟h's] slave—the Sulṭānī Ṭug͟hril—a term applied to the following Malik and to several of the great Maliks herein mentioned See also note *, to page 41 of the same paper

[5] This name is doubtful. In the most reliable copies it is ماشی as above, but in others مالش and مالس The Calcutta printed text has تاس—Tābas.

[6] Some copies of the text have شکر نشی—organization and conduct of troops—but it is evidently a mistake for سر کشی—rebellion—from the facts of the matter, as the inscription previously referred to shows It was the stormy period preceding the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd S͟hāh See the latter part of 'Alā-ud Dīn, Mas'ūd S͟hāh's reign, pages 667—669 Some modern copies have کام رانی—happiness, felicity, &c.

[7] In the printed text, the word *farzand*—child or daughter of—has been left out, so it may be imagined what a sentence it makes.

[8] The word Mihtar signifies greater, and a lord, the head or chief of a tribe, &c. It is here probably used as a title.

[9] If he was originally from Mihir or Mihīr, which is probably intended for the place of that name in the Sāgar and Narbadah territories, in Lat. 24° 16′, Long. 80° 49′—for I know of no place of such name in Turkistān—Hindū K͟hān was probably a converted Hindū. This seems to show that there was a brisk trade carried on in Hindū as well as Turkish slaves.

perfect confidence. Throughout the whole reign of Sulṭān I-yal-timish—from the beginning to the close—and the reign of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat likewise, he was honoured and esteemed, had held the office of Treasurer, and had done good services. All Sulṭān I-yal-timish's slaves who attained offices in the state, and positions of greatness, were objects of his regard and affection; and they all looked upon him as a kind and loving father.

When Hindū Khān first came into the Sulṭān's service, he became Yūz-bān [Keeper of the hunting leopards], and, subsequently, he was made Torch-bearer; and, whilst holding that office, within the limits of the territory of Baran, at the time when the Sulṭān [I-yal-timish] was feudatory of Baran [before he succeeded to the throne], in the reign of the beneficent Sulṭān, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, during a raid against one of the independent tribes of Hindū infidels, Hindū Khān Mihtar-i-Mubārak, with the spike of his torch, unhorsed a Hindū and sent the man to Hell. The Sulṭān [afterwards] made him his Ṭasht-dār [Ewer-bearer], and, in that capacity, he served for a considerable time.

When the affairs of the kingdom came under the administration of the Shamsī dynasty, the Mihtar-i-Mubārak became Treasurer to Sulṭān I-yal-timish, but he did not ever give up the office of Ṭasht-dār up to the end of the Sulṭān's lifetime, and used, as heretofore, to perform the duties of personal Ewer-bearer. When the august Sulṭān encamped before the preserved fortress of Gwāliyūr, and took that place, this servant of the victorious dynasty, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, during that expedition, for a period of seven months, in accordance with commands, was in the habit of delivering a discourse, twice in each week, at the entrance of the royal pavilion; and, throughout the month of Ramaẓān, and on the 10th of Ẕī-Ḥijjah, and 10th of Muḥarram, the author used to perform the service daily[1]. After the fortress was taken possession of, as the just claims of his priestly duties had been established, the administration of all matters of law and religion of that fortress was entrusted to the author, and this installation took place in the year 630 H[2] This is mentioned because,

[1] See page 619. There our author makes a different statement.

[2] This appears to have been our author's first appointment under the government of Dihlī, at least the first one he mentions.

at the time of investing the author with the direction of law affairs, that Mihtar of Mihtars, Mihtar-i-Mubārak, Hindū Khān himself, was present in the royal treasury, and treated him with such kindness and encouragement that this servant of the state was much beholden to him for such honour on his part. Almighty God reward him, and have mercy on him!

When the Shamsī reign came to a termination, in the reign of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, the territory and fortress of Ūchchah was entrusted to Malik Hindū Khān's charge; and, when the throne passed to Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, he returned from that province to the Court, and the territory of Jalandhar [Jalhandar] was conferred upon him, and there also he died

### X. MALIK IKHTIYĀR-UD-DĪN, ḲARĀ-ḲASH[3] KHĀN-I-AET-KĪN.

Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Ḳarā-Ḳash Khān-i-Aet-kīn[4], was from Ḳarah-Khitā, and was a man of exceeding amiable disposition, magnanimous, pure in mind, and adorned with all manliness and valour, and was one of the ancient slaves of the Sulṭān [I-yal-timish].

When the august Sulṭān first purchased him, he made him his personal Cup-bearer, and, after he had served in that capacity for a considerable time, he acquired the fief of Barīhūn and Darangawān [Daran-gā-on?][5]. Some years subsequently, he became the Superintendent of the Khāliṣah [crown province] of Tabarhindah, and, after that, also during the reign of the august Sulṭān, Multān became his fief, after Malik Kabīr Khān[6] [Izz-ud-Dīn, Ayāz-i-Hazār-Mardah], and his title then became Ḳarā-Ḳash Khān.

On the expiration of the Shamsī reign, Sulṭān Raẓiyyat

[3] Also written قرا قوش—Ḳarā-Kūsh.

[4] Some writers give the pronunciation of this word Aytkīn, instead of Aet-kīn, but the last, I think, is the most correct. See page 318 Under the reign he is styled Malik-al-Kabīr—the Great Malik.

[5] I fail to recognize these places satisfactorily. One may be meant for Dharam-gā-on, a very common name. The words are written—برهون—برلهون—ترهون—and برلهون and درنكوان and درنكون

[6] See page 725

took Lohor from Malik Kabir Khān-i-Ayāz, and made over to him, in lieu thereof, the fief of Multān, as has been previously narrated[7]. What befell Malik Ḳarā-Ḳash at Lohor, and his evacuation of that city, during the inroad of the infidel Mughals and their appearance before Lohor, will be recorded in the account of the Lohor disaster[8]. He [then] had the territory of Bhīānah conferred upon him, and he continued in that part some time. When the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, came, and the Maliks revolted, Malik Ḳarā-Ḳash Khān, with Malik Yūz-Bak [Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril Khān], came to the capital and attached themselves to Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh. As Mihtar-i-Mubārak [Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mubārak Shāh, the Farrāsh], Farrukhī, conspired against the Turk Maliks and Amīrs, he influenced Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, against Malik Ḳarā-Ḳash and Malik Yūz-Bak, and the Sulṭān imprisoned both of them[9].

After the city of Dihlī was taken, and the throne passed to Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, Malik Ḳarā-Ḳash Khān, became Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and, shortly afterwards, on Friday, the 25th of the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 640 H., Bhīānah became his fief[1]. After some time Kaṛah was assigned to him; and, from thence, in company with Malik Tamur Khān-i-Ḳī-rān, with troops, he marched towards Lakhanawāṭī, and returned from thence along with Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān[2].

When the throne of sovereignty acquired beauty and adornment from the auspicious dignity of the Sulṭān of the Universe, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, in the year 644 H., Malik Ḳarā-Ḳash Khān was killed within the limits of Kaṛah[3]. The Almighty's mercy be upon him!

[7] At pages 644 and 727.

[8] In the account of the Mughal irruption in the next Section. See also page 655.

[9] See pages 659 and 761.

[1] This must mean that he was restored to that fief again, because, just before, it is stated that he was made feudatory of Bhīānah after the evacuation of Lāhor, and that, from Bhīānah, he marched to support Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh.

[2] See page 741.

[3] No particulars of this affair occur anywhere throughout this work

## XI. MALIK IKHTIYĀR-UD-DĪN, ALTŪNĪAH, OF TABARHINDAH.

Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah of Tabarhindah, was a great Malik, of vast boldness and gallantry, manliness and energy, lion-heartedness and magnanimity; and the whole of the Maliks of that time were unanimous as to his manliness and valour. At the time of the imprisonment of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat—on whom be peace!—he had fought encounters with the forces of the disaffected Maliks, in conjunction with Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, and had displayed great heroism[4].

When the august Sulṭān [I-yal-timish] first purchased him, he gave him the Sharāb-dārī [office—the care of the liquors][5]. After some time, as the Sulṭān had remarked proofs of manliness depicted upon his brow, he gave him the office of Sar Chatar-dār [Head of the state canopy-bearers]; and, when the Shamsī rule came to its termination, during the reign of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, the fief of Baran was conferred upon Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn. Subsequently, Tabarhindah[6] was given to him; and, at the time when the hearts of the Turk Maliks and Amīrs, who were the slaves of the Shamsī dynasty, became changed towards Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, on account of the favour Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Yā-ḳūt, the Abyssinian, had found with her, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn-i-Aet-kīn, and Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah, of Tabarhindah, were connected by a firm compact of unanimity and friendship, and bonds of intimacy; and, by virtue of this fabric of union, Malik Aet-kīn, secretly, gave intimation of this change to the latter. Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah, in the fortress of Tabarhindah, began openly to rebel, and withdrew his head from the yoke of obedience to that Sulṭān.

Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, in the month of Ahāṛ[7], moved from the

[4] The ambitious and rebellious conduct of himself and his colleagues in sedition was the cause of her downfall, as is stated under

[5] Not necessarily intoxicating

[6] This was a *Khāliṣah* district, as mentioned at page 746

[7] Ahāṛ, from the Sanskrit—आषाढ—the third solar month of the Hindūs—June—July. The Muḥammadans, as early as this, it seems, had begun to use the names of the Hindū months. Under her reign it is said to have been the

capital towards Tabarhindah with the [contingents] comprising the centre[6] [division] of her forces, as has been related [under her reign]; and, when Sulṭān Raẓiyyat was seized and imprisoned, and the Maliks and Amīrs returned to the capital again[9], and the throne of sovereignty came to Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah, contracted marriage with Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, who was in duress [under his charge in the fort of Tabarhindah], and, by reason of that union, began to evince contumacy[1]. When Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn [Altūnīah's confederate], was assassinated, and Malik Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Sunḳar, the Rūmī, became Amīr-i-Ḥājib, Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah, brought forth Sulṭān Raẓiyyat from the fortress of Tabarhindah, assembled forces, and marched towards the capital. In the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwāl, however, they retired unsuccessful. Sulṭān Raẓiyyat was taken prisoner within the limits of Kaithal; and Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah, was taken in the Manṣūr-pūr[2] district, and was martyred by Hindūs on Tuesday, the 25th of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 638 H.[3] The Almighty's mercy be upon him!

## XII. MALIK IKHTIYĀR-UD-DĪN, AET-KĪN.

Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn, was a Ḳarah-Khitā-ī, a well-favoured Turk, a man of good disposition and of handsome countenance, dignity, wisdom, and sagacity.

The august Sulṭān [I-yal-timish] purchased him from Amīr I-bak, Sannā-ī[4], and he had served the Sulṭān long in

9th of Ramaẓān 637 H.—May, 1230, A.D. It was a great object with the rebels to make Sulṭān Raẓiyyat move in the hot season.

[6] See note [3], page 634.

[9] They lost no time, for on the 28th of the same month they set up Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh.

[1] Contumacy towards the usurper of her throne. See under Raẓiyyat's reign, page 645, and 647. His confederates in sedition against Raẓiyyat had now been removed from the scene and their ambitious designs frustrated, and therefore Altūnīah thought it to his advantage to espouse her cause.

[2] West of Dihlī, and north-west of Kaithal, Lat. 30° 21', Long. 76° 5'.

[3] These events are related differently under Raẓiyyat's reign, which see.

[4] In some copies Nisāwī—native of Nisā, and, in the list of Maliks at the beginning of the Nāṣirī reign, page 673, there is a Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Balkā Khān, styled, *Sana-ī*, but not the person here referred to. He may have been the son of the above.

every office and degree, and become deserving of royal kindness and dignities of greatness. In the beginning of the Sulṭān's reign, he was made Sar-i-Jān-dār [Head of the Jān-dārs][5], and, after some time, as proofs of merit were conspicuous upon his brow, Manṣūr-pūr was given to him in fief. Some time after, Kūjāh[6] and Nandanah were entrusted to his charge, and, on that frontier, he performed distinguished services. When the period of sovereignty devolved upon Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, she summoned him to the Court, and assigned him the fief of Budā'ūn. After some farther period, he attained the dignity of Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and performed approved services before the throne; but, on account of the favour which Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Yā-ḳūt, the Abyssinian, had acquired, the whole of the Maliks and Amīrs, Turks, Ghūrīs, and Tājiks[7], were withdrawing from their attendance on the Court of Sulṭān Raziyyat, and were afflicted in heart, particularly Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn[8], the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, as has been recorded in the account of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat. For this reason, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Yā-ḳūt, was martyred, and the throne passed to Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh[9].

On the day of rendering fealty at the Kūshk [the

[5] In some copies, Sar-i-Jamadār [Sar-i-Jāmah-dār?] or Head of the Wardrobe, and, in one good copy, Sharṭ-badār

[6] This place is generally mentioned in connexion with Banīān and the Ḳārlūgh Turks. The word might be spelt with *g*—Gūjāh. The majority of copies and the oldest have كوهاه but one has كوهان and a second كوهاه The ج likewise *may be* intended for چ See list of victories, page 627

[7] At pages 304 and 333, our author says the Ghūrīs are Tājiks, or Tāzīks—i. e. descendants of Arabs born in 'Ajam—but here he evidently applies the term as it originally means, and Ghūrīs to natives of Ghūr only The compilers of "*Pathán*" dynasties may see that such a term as theirs never occurs in *any* Muḥammadan History Tājiks are not Scythians, I beg leave to say

[8] The "affliction" that appears to have troubled him was ambition and sedition, as may be gathered from the statement in the account of Malik Altūnīah, just related, and a little farther on

[9] The modern copies of the text have an additional sentence and a verse here, but it is evidently an interpolation · they are as follows :—"As sovereignty turned its face from Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, on this account, a wag gives these lines :—

'Sovereignty from her robe's skirt turned away,
When it perceived black dust on the hem thereof'"

Our author, who was resident at her Court, does not attempt to make us believe that Sulṭān Raẓiyyat was *guilty* of any criminal familiarity with the Abyssinian, although more modern writers do insinuate it, but, I believe, without reason.

Castle], the royal residence, when they seated the [new] Sulṭān on the throne of the kingdom, and the Maliks, Amīrs, 'Ulamā, Ṣadrs, and the Chiefs of the troops and Grandees of the capital were assembled together in the sublime audience hall for the purpose of the public rendering of fealty[1], all pledged their allegiance to the sovereignty of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, and the Deputy-ship [Lieutenantcy] of Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn; and he stipulated with Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, that, as he, the Sulṭān, was young in years, he should, for the period of one year, leave the administration of the affairs of the realm to his slave [Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn], and that the Sulṭān should issue an order in accordance with all this[2].

His petition having been complied with, Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn, in union with the Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, proceeded to administer the affairs of the kingdom. He requested [permission] from the Sulṭān to assume the *naubat* and to have an elephant. He took a sister of the Sulṭān to wife, and the whole of the affairs of the country appertained to him[3]. From these circumstances jealousy entered into the heart of the Sulṭān, and, secretly, several times he plotted against him, to get rid of him, but did not succeed, until, on Monday, the 8th of the month of Muḥarram, 638 H. They related on this wise, that the Sālār [chief, leader], Aḥmad-i-Sa'd—the Almighty's mercy be upon him!—came secretly to the Sulṭān's presence and made a representation, in consequence of which intoxicating drink was given to several Turks, and he [the Sulṭān] gave directions to those inebriated Turks, who descended from the upper part [upper apartments] of the Ḳaṣr-i-Safed [White Castle], and came down in front of the dais in the Audience Hall[4], and with a wound from a knife martyred Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn[5]. They

[1] On Sunday, the 11th of Shawwāl, 637 H.

[2] The period for which he was to act is not mentioned under the Sulṭān's reign.

[3] See under Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh's reign. There it is stated that he *assumed* the triple *naubat*, and stationed an elephant at his gate. The Sulṭān's sister had previously been married to a Ḳāẓī's son. See page 650.

[4] Where Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn, as Deputy, would be transacting state affairs.

[5] This is related in a very different manner under the reign, which see, at page 651.

**inflicted several wounds on the Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, but he got away from them, wounded as he was, and made his escape.**

## XIII. MALIK BADR-UD-DĪN, SUNḲAR[6]-I-RŪMĪ.

Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunḳar, was a Rūmī [of Rūm—Rūmīliah] by origin, and some of the trustworthy have related after this manner, that he was the son of a Musalmān and had fallen into slavery; but he was a man of exceedingly good disposition, with comeliness and dignity, of admirable morality, humble, and endowed with kindness and laudable qualities for winning men.

When the Sulṭān [I-yal-timish] first purchased him, he became Ṭasht-dār [Ewer-bearer], and, after he had performed that office for some time, he became Bahlah-dār [Bearer of the Privy Purse]. Subsequently, he became Shaḥnah[7] [Superintendent] of the Zarrād Khānah of Budā'ūn[8]; and, after some farther time, he rose to be Nā-ib Amīr-i-Ākhur [Deputy Lord of the Stable], and served the Sulṭān in every capacity, and did approved services. After he became Amīr-i-Ākhur, he used never to be absent from the gate of the royal stable for a moment save through unavoidable necessity; and, whether on the move or stationary, he used to be always present in attendance at the threshold of sovereignty Whilst the fortress of Gwāliyūr was being invested, he was pleased to show such goodness and countenance towards the writer of these words, and to treat him with such honour and respect, that the impression of such benevolence will never be effaced from his heart. May the Almighty have mercy on him!

When the sovereignty passed to Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, the fief of Budā'ūn was given him , and, in the year 638 H[9], at the time that Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn, was

[6] Sunḳar, in the Rūmī [Turkish] dialect, is said to signify a black-eyed falcon, which lives to a great age, and to have the same meaning as Shunghār or Shunḳār.

[7] See note [4], page 732.

[8] Whilst I-yal-timish held that fief before he came to the throne. The office was the same as that of Sar-i Jān-dār. ee note [7], page 603.

[9] On the 8th of Muḥarram, 638 H

assassinated, in the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, the latter summoned Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunḳar, from Budā'ūn, and conferred upon him the office of Amīr-i-Ḥājib. When Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah, of Tabar-hindah, along with Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, resolved to march upon the capital, and they arrived in the vicinity of Dihlī, in the quelling of that sedition, Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunḳar, performed excellent services; but, after a short time, disagreement arose between him and the Khwājah, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, through a trifling cause which it behoveth not to mention. This irritation continued to increase, and, on this account, the Khwājah, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn [1], incited the Sulṭān against him, and the Sulṭān's confidence in Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunḳar, departed, and his faith in the Sulṭān likewise ceased. He [Badr-ud-Dīn Sunḳar] convoked the great men of the capital, for the purpose [of discussing] a change in the government, at the mansion of Sayyid Tāj-ud-Dīn, Mūsāwī, on Monday, the 14th [2] of the month of Ṣafar, 639 H. The Khwājah, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn, gave intimation to the Sulṭān of this circumstance, and the Sulṭān mounted, and called upon Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunḳar, to give up his intentions [3]. He joined the Sulṭān, and, on that same day, he was sent off [on his way] to Budā'ūn.

After some time, the decree of destiny having gone forth, it brought him back to the capital again, without having received orders to return, and he came to the city of Dihlī, and alighted at the dwelling of Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn [Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, the Ghūrī]—on whom be the Almighty's mercy!—thinking that perhaps, under his protection, he might obtain mercy. A mandate was issued from the sovereign's Court so that they seized him, and he was cast into prison. He continued in imprisonment and confinement for some time, and, in the end, on the night of

[1] This is the "upright officer" in ELLIOT, referred to in note [6], page 641.

[2] Some copies here, as well as under the reign, disagree about this date. Some have the 10th, and some, the 17th, but two of the best copies have here, as well as previously, the 14th of Ṣafar.

[3] The particulars of this affair have been already given under the reign, pages 652 and 653. Here likewise is additional proof, were any required, to show who the parties were, and who betrayed Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunḳar.

**Wednesday, the 14th of the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal [4], 639 H., he attained *martyrdom* [5]. The Almighty's mercy be upon him!**

XIV. MALIK TĀJ-UD-DĪN, SANJAR-I-ḲĪḲ-LUḲ.

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Ḳīḳ-luḳ, was a thorough man, and his native country was Khifchāḳ. He was a person of vast energy, manliness, sagacity, stateliness, gallantry, and valour, and in all endowments he had reached the acme. He was of great rectitude and continence, and no intoxicating drink was ever allowed to come near him.

The august Sulṭān [I-yal-timish] had purchased him from the Khwājah, Jamāl-ud-Dīn-i-Nadīmān; and, in the beginning of the Sultān's reign, he became Jāma-dār [Keeper of the Wardrobe]; and, after some time, he became Shaḥnah [6] [Superintendent] of the Stable, and in every department he performed distinguished services for the Sulṭān.

When the Shamsī reign came to a termination, and the throne devolved on Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Ḳīḳ-luk, became feudatory of Baran, and was appointed to proceed at the head of a body of troops towards the fortress of Gwāliyūr, and in Sha'bān, 635 H., the writer of these words, the servant of the victorious dynasty, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in company with Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Ḳīḳ-luk, came out of the fortress of Gwāliyūr [7] and proceeded, and presented himself at the Court of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat. On the road Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar, showed

[4] See note [8], page 654.

[5] There must have been some reason why he returned to the capital—probably to sue for pardon in person—*and our author could, evidently, have said* more, had he chosen to do so. Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, the Ghūrī, is the same venerable chief as mentioned, at pages 658 and 661 He was one of the greatest of *I-yal-timish's* Maliks, and his name is entered in the list of them at the end of his reign He too was made away with, *in some* mysterious manner, during the reign of that paragon of perfection, according to our author, Nāṣir-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, in 653 H. The events, which induced him to seek an asylum in Hind, will be found in the account of the Mughal irruption in the next Section

[6] See note [4], page 732

[7] See page 643, and *note* [4]

such goodness towards the author as cannot be expressed
At the time of removing from Gwāliyūr he carried tw
chests of books, the private property of this servant, upo
one of his own camels, and brought them to Mahā'ūn, and
upon other occasions, had treated the author with manifol
kindness—May the Almighty make him be acceptable, an
have mercy upon him!

On his reaching the capital again, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, San
jar, became feudatory of the district of Sursutī; and, whe
the throne of sovereignty came to Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrār
Shāh, he performed abundant services. On the termina
tion of the Mu'izzī reign, and the throne passing to 'Alā-ud
Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, he became feudatory of Budā'ūn[8]; and
in the year 640 H., he overthrew the independent [Hindū
tribes[9] of Kathehr of Budā'ūn, and performed many ex
ploits against the infidels, and founded Jāmi' Masjids i
several places, and established pulpits for the Khaṭībs
He assembled a numerous body of forces—8000 horse an
foot, besides *pāyiks* with horses[2]—and his determinatio
was to lead a force towards Kālinjar and Mahobah, an
reduce that tract of country to subjection. A certai
party [however] began to be envious of the number of hi
following, the quantity and efficiency of his war materia
the greatness of his power, the awe in which he was hel
and his intrepidity in leading troops. The deceitfu
promptings of the spirit of devilry moved them, so that the
prepared some poison placed in a betel leaf and adminis
tered it to him, and disease of the bowels supervened, and
from that disorder, in a few days, he joined the Almighty
mercy. May the Most High God accept, in behalf of tha
amiable Malik, in repayment of the many debts of grati
tude he owed him, the prayers of this frail one!

One among those debts of gratitude due to him is thi
In the year 640 H., when the author resolved upon leavin

[8] In the oldest copy of the text the name of this city and district is alwa
written بداؤن—Budāṇūn—the middle *n* is *nasal*, and thus is the correct mode
writing the word.

[9] There seem to have been numbers of the Mew tribe in that part in tho
days.

[1] The preacher who pronounces the Khuṭbah already explained.

[2] All the copies of the text are alike here—mounted pāyiks is a novel ter
I think—considering that the word means foot-man.

the capital city of Dihlī, on a journey to Lakhaṇawatī [3], and sent off his family and dependents, in advance, towards Budā'ūn, that Malik of excellent disposition assigned a stipend for his family and children, and treated them with all sorts of honour and reverence. Five months afterwards, when the author, following after his family, reached Budā'ūn, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar, bestowed upon him so many gifts, and treated him with such honour as cannot be contained within the area of writing. He was pleased to assign the author a fief with a residence at Budā'ūn, together with ample benefits and favours; but, as destiny, and the means of livelihood, was attracting him to the country of Lakhaṇawatī, and the decree of fate was carrying him, the writer proceeded thither. May Almighty God accept in his favour the kindness [towards the author] of that Malik of good disposition!

## XV. MALIK TĀJ-UD-DĪN, SANJAR-I-KURET KHĀN [4]

Malik Kuret Khān was a Turk of Khifchāk, of great manhood and courage, energy and wisdom, and among warriors, for warlike accomplishments, he was the peerless in all the ranks of the army of Islām; and, in horsemanship and skill in arms, he had no equal. For example, he would have two horses under saddle, one of which he would ride, and the other he would lead after him, and thus used to dash on, and, whilst the horses were galloping, he would leap from this horse to that with agility, would return to this first one again, so that, during a gallop, he used several times to mount two horses. In archery he was so skilful that no enemy in battle, and no animal in the chase used to escape his arrow. He never used to take along with him into any Shikār-gāh [chase] either leopard, hawk, or sporting dog: he brought down all with his own arrow; and in every fastness in which he imagined there would be game he would be in advance of the whole of his retinue.

[3] Our author was evidently unable to remain at Dihlī, in safety after the attack made upon him by the Khwājah Muhazzab-ud Dīn's creatures, and hence resolved to retire for a time. See under the reign of 'Alā ud Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, pages 659 to 662.

[4] This is the only Malik among twenty-five who was not a slave.

He was the Shaḥnah [Superintendent] of rivers [5] and vessels; and this author had a great regard and affection for him. May Almighty God immerse him in forgiveness! When the Turks of the [late] Sulṭān [I-yal-timish] first rose against the Khwājah, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, on Wednesday, the 2nd of the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 640 H., the ring-leader of the party in that outbreak was Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Kuret Khān; and a slave of the Khwājah, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn, Mihtar Jattā [by name], a Farrāsh [carpet-spreader, &c.], wounded the Malik on the face with a sword in such manner that the mark of it ever after remained [6].

After the Khwājah, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn, was put to death, Malik Sanjar-i-Kuret Khān became Shaḥnah [Superintendent] of the elephants, and, after that, was made Sar-i-Jān-dār [Head of the Jān-dārs]. Subsequently, he was made feudatory of Budā'ūn, and, some time after that again, obtained the fief of Awadh. In that part he undertook many holy expeditions against infidels, achieved numerous gallant exploits, and reduced several powerful independent [Hindū] tribes. From Awadh he proceeded into Bihār and plundered that territory. Suddenly, when before the preserved city of Bihār, an arrow struck him in a mortal place, and he attained martyrdom [7]. The mercy of the Almighty be upon him!

## XVI. MALIK SAIF-UD-DĪN, BAT KHĀN-I-Ī-BAK, THE KHIṬĀ-Ī.

Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Bat Khān-i-Ī-bak, the Khiṭā-ī, was a

[5] The word used is بحر—ocean, sea, great river, which last meaning must be intended here, as the Dihlī kings had no more to do with the *sea* and *sea-going* vessels than Sher Shāh the Afghān had, who is said, by a modern translator, to have "built great ships to convey Pilgrims to Makkah," by land, possibly.

[6] It was when the "upright officer"—the Khwājah, met with his deserts in the plain of the Rānī's *ḥauẓ*, or reservoir.

[7] From this it is apparent that, after the fall of the Khalj dynasty, and the death of I-yal-timish, Bihār could not have remained in Musalmān hands. We hear of the fief of Karah, Mānik-pūr, Awadh, and Lakhanawatī, but never of Bihār, which must have been recovered by the Hindūs in the same way as Kālinjar, Mahobah, and other places which, previously, our author says, were conquered, and as mentioned in the lists of victories of some of the Sulṭāns. The particulars respecting this chief's death before Bihār, which would have been so interesting to us, our author either considered not worth mentioning, or has purposely suppressed.

person of very excellent qualities, gentle, humble, and of exemplary piety, and, in skill and warlike accomplishments, had become a master, and for manliness and sagacity was famed.

The august Sultān [I-yal-timish̲] purchased him in the beginning of his reign, and he became Sar Jāma-dār [Head Keeper of the Wardrobe]. Subsequently, in the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd S̲h̲āh, he became Sar-i-Jān-dār [Head of the Jān-dārs] [8], and Kuhṛām and Sāmānah became his fief. Afterwards he obtained the fief of Baran, and was appointed to proceed at the head of [a body of] forces for the purpose of taking possession of the territory of Ūc̲h̲c̲h̲ah and Multān [9]. During that expedition, one of his sons, who, at the very outset of his youth, had become a proficient in manliness and skill, together with his horse, was drowned in the river Sind.

Some time after his return from thence, during the reign of the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the K̲h̲iṭā-ī, became Wakīl-i-Dar [Representative in Dar-bār], and, in the service of the Sublime Court, performed distinguished services [1].

He served for a considerable time during the Sulṭān's reign, and during the expedition to Santūr he suddenly sustained a fall from his horse and was killed [2]. The mercy and pardon of the Almighty be upon him!

[8] See the printed text. the editors are sorely puzzled here.

[9] This expedition is not referred to under the reign, but probably has reference, in some way, to the advance of the Dihlī forces to the Bīāh, the Mug̲h̲als having appeared before Ūc̲h̲c̲h̲ah mentioned at page 667 Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, was probably sent to Ūc̲h̲c̲h̲ah to take charge of it after the death of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, son of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr K̲h̲ān-i-Ayāz, mentioned at page 727.

There are two other persons named Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, an account of one of whom has been given at page 729, and the other is Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān's brother, an account of whom will be found farther on.

[1] See page 699. He appears to have become Wakīl-i-Dar, when 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān was disgraced, from what is stated in the account of Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān farther on, in which the events of this period are much more detailed than under the different reigns.

[2] On Sunday, the 6th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 655 H., the 12th year of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh's reign.

## XVII. MALIK TĀJ-UD-DĪN, SANJAR-I-TEZ KHĀN.

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tez Khān, is a Karakhī [of Karakh] [3], and is exceedingly impetuous, manly, sagacious, and intelligent, and is endowed with many excellent qualities, and numberless worthy habits. He is famed for his valour and military talents, and distinguished for his amiable disposition.

The august Sultān [I-yal-timish] purchased him; and, in the reign of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, he became Amīr-i-Ākhur. Subsequently, in the reign of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, he was made Nā-ib Amīr-i-Ḥājib [4] [Deputy Lord Chamberlain] and Jhanjhānah was made his fief; and, when the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, in felicity, proceeded towards Nāg-awr, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tez Khān, who was particularly devoted to his interest and friendship, received charge of the fief of Kasmandī [5] and Mandīānah, of the country of Hindūstān, and there he continued some time. When the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, again joined the Court, Malik Tez Khān again returned to the capital, and Baran was made his fief, and there he remained a considerable time.

In the year 654 H., he became Wakīl-i-Dar [Representative in Dar-bār] to the sovereign of Islām, and obtained the fief of Budā'ūn. Since Malik Kutlugh Khān [6] remained in Awadh [as feudatory], contrary to the commands of the Sublime Court, and, with the forces of Hindūstān advanced

[3] Karkh is the name of a village near Baghdād, but the name of this place is pronounced Karakh, with the difference of a vowel point. It is the name of a place [township] in Māwar-un-Nahr.

[4] In Rajab, 647 H., shortly after the marriage of Ulugh Khān's daughter to the Sultān.

[5] A district in Awadh, a few miles N.W. of Lakhnau, also written Kasmandhī in some copies of the text.

[6] Who married Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's mother, and who appears to have held the fief in conjunction with her husband. These matters are related in quite a different way under the reign of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, page 703. There our author says that Malik Bak-Tamur, the Ruknī [i. e. of Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh's, reign] was sent from the capital to expel Kutlugh Khān from Awadh, and that Bak-Tamur was defeated and slain, and that, upon this, the Sultān had to take the field with Ulugh Khān. See also in the account of Ulugh Khān farther on, where these events are again differently related.

towards Budā'ūn, Malik Tez Khān, at the head of a body of troops, was nominated, along with Malik Bak-tam-i-Aor Khān, to march from the capital for the purpose of repelling the troops of Hindūstān. When the two armies met within the limits of Sihrā-mū[7], Malik Tez Khān was under the necessity of retiring, and he returned to the capital again. The fief of Awadh was now given to him, and he proceeded into that part, and brought that territory under his control; and gave the independent communities of infidels of Hindūstān a thorough chastisement, and extorted tribute from them.

Malik Tez Khān returned to the sublime presence in conformity with orders, and, at all times, kept the neck of service within the yoke of obedience; and, in the year in which this history was written, namely the year 658 H., he returned to the capital in conformity with the sublime command, and by the counsel of the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, at the head of the [contingents forming the] centre [division] of the forces, and those at the capital[8], marched towards the Koh-pāyah of Mewāt, and performed distinguished services, and returned again to the presence of the Court, the asylum of the universe.

On a second occasion[9], in attendance at the illustrious stirrup of the Khān-i-Mu'azzam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, he again proceeded to the Koh-pāyah of Mewāt on an expedition and holy war against the Hindūs, and displayed great gallantry and activity On his return to the capital, he was distinguished by being presented with ample honours; and he returned again towards [his fief of] Awadh. May the Almighty God preserve and continue the servants of the Nāṣirī dynasty in power and dominion. Amīn!

[7] A place west of the Ghograh river, in Lat 28° 19', Long 80° 24', the Sera-Mow of the Indian Atlas.

[8] The available troops at the capital probably The *kalb*—or centre contingents forming it—has been explained in a previous note See also the latter part of the year 657 H., under Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's reign, page 714.

[9] Our author ends his history, under Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's reign, with the force leaving upon this expedition, on the 13th of Ṣafar, 658 H., and the events of the following day. These operations, on this occasion, were against the Mew or Mewrā. See page 715, and in the account of Ulugh Khān farther on, where these events are related in a totally different manner

## XVIII. MALIK IKHTIYĀR-UD-DĪN, YŪZ-BAK-I-TUGHRIL KHĀN.

Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Yūz-Bak-i-Ṭughril Khān, was a native of Khifchāk, and the slave of the august Sulṯān, Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish; and during the investment of the preserved fortress of Gwāliyūr he was Nā-ib Chāshnī-gīr [Deputy Comptroller of the Royal Kitchen]. When Sulṯān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, came to the throne, the office of Amīr i-Majlis [Lord of the Council] was entrusted to Malik Yūz-Bak, and he was confirmed therein. Subsequently, the Shāḥnagī [Superintendency] of the elephants was assigned to him; and, during this reign, he became especially distinguished by the Sulṯān's intimacy and favour.

When the Turkish slaves of the Sulṯān broke out into rebellion in the plain of Tarā'in [1], and a number of grandees, such as Tāj-ul-Mulk, Muḥammad [Maḥmūd?], the Secretary, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan [Ḥusain?] -i-Ash'arī, Karīm-ud-Dīn-i-Zāhid [the Recluse], and Niẓām-ud-Dīn, the Shafurḳānī, were put to death, one of the ringleaders of the faction was Malik Yūz-Bak-i-Ṭughril Khān. [2]

When the throne came to Sulṯān Raẓiyyat, he was made Amīr-i-Ākhur [Lord of the Stable], and on Sulṯān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh's, ascending the throne, and when, subsequently, a party of the Turkish Maliks and Amīrs invested the city of Dihlī [3], Malik Yūz-Bak, along with Malik Ḳarā-Ḳash, came into the city and attached themselves to Sulṯān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh's party [4], on Tuesday, the last day of the month of Sha'bān, 639 H., and, upon several occasions, rendered approved service. Mihtar-i-Mubārak Shāh, Farrukhī, who had acquired entire power over the Sulṯān, and had caused the Turkish Maliks and Amīrs to be expelled from the capital, instigated the Sulṯān in such manner that he seized Malik Yūz-Bak and

[1] The scene of Rāe Pithorā's victory over the forces of Sulṯān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, and of his own total overthrow in the following year—the present Talāwarī.

[2] See under the reign at page 635.

[3] See the account of Malik Ḳarā Ḳash Khān, page 747.

[4] See under the reign, pages 658 and 659

Malik Ḳarā-Ḳash, and they were imprisoned[5] on Wednesday, the 9th of the month of Ramaẓān, 639 H. When the city was taken, on Tuesday, the 8th of the month of Zī-Ḳa'dah, Malik Yūz-Bak was liberated[6].

When Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, ascended the throne, Tabarhindah was entrusted to his charge, and, subsequently, Lohor was made his fief. There he continued some time, when a feud arose between him and Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad of Bindār[7], and, subsequently, he began to rebel against the Court, for rashness and imperiousness were implanted in his nature and constitution, until Ulugh Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, unexpectedly, brought him to the Court, and he was made much of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam likewise made a representation for the royal consideration so that Malik Yūz-Bak was distinguished by the Sulṭān's favour, and his disobedient conduct was pardoned. Subsequently, for some time, Ḳinnauj was his fief, when he again began to act in a contumacious manner, and Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain [son of 'Alī, the Ghūrī], on whom be peace!—was despatched from the capital, at the head of a body of troops, against him. He reduced Malik Yūz-Bak to duty and obedience, and brought him back to the sublime Court again[8].

After some time had passed, Awadh was entrusted to his charge. When he again returned to the capital, the territory of Lakhanawaṭī was made over to him[9]. After he went to that part, and brought that country under his jurisdiction, hostility arose between him and the Rāe of Jāj-nagar. The leader of the forces of Jāj-nagar was a

[5] See page 747.

[6] Malik Ḳarā-Ḳash was liberated at the same time.

[7] The same person, no doubt, who is styled Chā-ūsh, or Pursuivant, in the list of I-yal-timish's Maliks at page 626.

[8] There is *nothing of all this* referred to either under the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, or in the account of Ulugh Khān.

[9] This also is not mentioned under the two last reigns. STEWART, in his "HISTORY OF BENGAL," page 65, states that "Ikhtyar Addeen Toghril Khan, Mulk [*mulk* signifies a country] Yuzbek," succeeded "Sief Addeen Yugan Tunt," who died in 651 H., as governor of Bengal, but, as he makes a mistake of only *twenty years* respecting the death of Saif-ud-Dīn, I bak i-Yughān-Tat, it may be imagined what dependence can be placed upon the statements in that work.

person, by name, Sāban-tar [Sāwan-tara?][10], the son-in-law of the Rāe, who, during the time of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Tughril-i-Tughān-Khān, had advanced to the bank of the river[1] of Lakhanawatī, and, having shown the greatest audacity, had driven the Musalmān forces as far as the gate [of the city] of Lakhanawatī[2]. In Malik Tughril Khān-i-Yūz-Bak's time, judging from the past, he [the Jāj-nagar leader] manifested great boldness, and fought, and was defeated. Again, another time, Malik Tughril Khān-i-Yūz-Bak fought an engagement with the Rāe of Jāj-nagar, and again came out victorious.

On a third occasion[3], Malik Yūz-Bak sustained a slight reverse, and a white elephant, than which there was no other more valuable in that part, and which was ruttish, got out of his hands in the field of battle, and fell into the hands of the infidels of Jāj-nagar.

The following year, however, Malik Yūz-Bak asked assistance from the Court of Dihlī, and, then, marched an army from Lakhanawatī into the territory of Ūmurdan, and, unexpectedly, reached the Rāe's capital, which city [town] they style Ūmurdan[4]. The Rāe of that place retired before Malik Yūz-Bak, and the whole of the Rāe's family, dependents, and followers, and his wealth, and elephants, fell into the hands of the Musalmān forces.

On his return to Lakhanawatī, Malik Yūz-Bak began to act contumaciously towards the Court, and assumed three canopies of state, red, black, and white. He then marched an army from Lakhanawatī towards Awadh, and entered the city of Awadh; and directed that the Khutbah should

[10] Evidently the Sanskrit—[illegible]—brave, heroic, and—तल or तर—nature, bottom.

[1] A branch of the Ganges is probably meant here, as it is styled in the original, the Āb-i-Lakhanawatī.

[2] See page 740.

[3] Compare STEWART, [page 65], who states that Tughril Khān-i-Yūz-Bak, "*invaded* the dominions of that prince"—the Rāe of Jāj-nagar, and "was completely defeated, and lost *all his elephants*; among which was a white one, esteemed a great curiosity."

[4] This evidently refers to the capital of Jāj-nagar, and not a different territory—Sylhet—as STEWART makes it out.

In the oldest copies the word is اومردن as above, but in others ارمردن Armurdan or Urmardan, and ازمردن—Azmurdan or Uzmurdan. See note [4], page 587, para. 8.

be read for him, and styled himself Sulṭān Mug͟his-ud-Dīn. After a couple of weeks, one among the Turkish Amírs, belonging to the troops of the sovereign which were [located] in the vicinity of [the territory of] Awadh, unawares, pushed forward into Awadh [giving out] that the Sulṭān's troops were at hand. Malik Yūz-Bak, discomfited, embarked on board a vessel and returned to Lakhanawatī again.

This rebellious act on the part of Malik Yūz-Bak, the whole of the people of the realm of Hindūstan—both clergy and laity, Musalmāns and Hindūs [5]—condemned, that he should have become a traitor to his sovereign, and displayed such hostility and sedition. Undoubtedly the evil consequences attending such conduct befell him, and he fell from foundation and root. After he returned from Awadh to Lakhanawatī, he determined upon marching into Kāmrud, and transported an army across the river Beg-matī [6]. As the Rāe of Kamrūd had not the power to resist him, he retired precipitately some whither. Malik Yūz-Bak took the city of Kamrūd and possessed himself of countless wealth and treasure, to such extent, that the amount and weight thereof cannot be contained within the area of record.

The author, at the time he was sojourning at Lakhanawatī, had heard from travellers whose statements are to be relied upon, that from the reign of Gus͟htasib [7], S͟hah of 'Ajam, who had invaded C͟hīn, and had come towards Hindūstān by that route [by way of Kamrud], twelve hundred hoards of treasure, all sealed which were [there deposited], and any portion of which wealth and treasures not one of the Raes had availed himself of, the whole fell into the hands of the Musalmān troops. The reading of the K͟hutbah, and Friday religious service were instituted

[5] This remark would seem to show that the Hindus were actually begun to be thought something of, or that even infidels reprobated such conduct.

[6] Also written Beg-hatī and B-k-matī, as in the account of Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yar, and it is the same river. The old capital of Kamrud was Komata-pūr on the west bank of the Darla river, and the mention of it and the Beg-matī here tends to elucidate what I have before stated respecting the route taken by Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yar, referred to at page 561. See also notes [3] and [4] in the same page.

[7] Garshasib, as at page 561, in some copies.

in Kāmrūd, and signs of the people of Islām appeared there. But of what avail was all this, when the whole, from phrensy, he gave to the winds? for the wise have said that, "the seeking to perform overmuch work hath never turned out fortunate for the seeker." Distich:—

> "Wealth is best which will be falling and rising:
> Wealth will be quick in springing up."

After Kāmrūd was taken [possession of], so they related, several times the Rāe sent confidential persons [to Malik Yūz-Bak], saying: "Thou hast subdued this territory, and no Malik of the Musalmān people ever before obtained such success. Now do thou return, and replace me upon the throne, and I will send to thee tribute every year so many bags of gold, and so many elephants, and I will continue the Khutbah unchanged, and the Musalmān stamped coin as established *."

Malik Yūz-Bak did not become willing to agree to this in any way; and the Rāe gave command that all his train, and the peasantry, should go to Malik Yūz-Bak, and get him to pledge his right hand [for their safety], and buy up all the grain procurable in [the city and country of?] Kām-rūd, at whatever price he might require, so that the Musal-mān troops might have no provisions left. They did so accordingly, and bought up from them all the produce that was obtainable at a heavy rate.

Depending on the cultivated state and flourishing con-dition of the country, Malik Yūz-Bak did not lay up any stores of grain; and, when the time of the spring harvest came round, the Rāe, with the whole of his subjects, rose, and opened the water dykes all around, and brought Malik Yūz-Bak and the troops of Islām to a state of helplessness, in such wise, that they were near perishing through destitu-tion. They now took counsel together, and came to the conclusion that it was necessary to retreat, otherwise they would die of starvation.

* Out of this passage STEWART [History of Bengal, page 66] makes the following, which is rather a *free* translation, certainly—"*Mulk* [Malik pro-bably: Mulk means *country*] Yuzbek ordered a mosque to be built *and, after the* accustomary prayers and thanksgiving, for the success of the Moham-medan arms, *had been read, he was proclaimed Sovereign of the United Kingdoms of Bengal and Kamroop*"!

They accordingly set out from Kāmrūd with the intention of proceeding towards Lakhaṇawatī. The route through the plain [country] was flooded with water, and occupied by the Hindūs. The Musalmāns obtained a guide to bring them out of that country by conducting them towards the skirt of the mountains. After they had proceeded some few stages, they got entangled among passes and defiles, and narrow roads, and both their front and rear was seized by the Hindūs. In a narrow place a fight took place in front of the leading rank between two elephants, the force fell into confusion, the Hindūs came upon them from every side, and Musalmān and Hindū mingled pell mell together. Suddenly an arrow struck Malik Yūz-Bak, who was mounted on an elephant, in the breast, and he fell, and was made prisoner; and all his children, family, and dependents, and the whole of his force, were made captive

When they carried Malik Yūz-Bak before the Rāe, he made a request that they would bring his son to him, and, when they brought his son to him, he placed his face to the face of his son, and yielded his soul to God[9]. The Almighty's mercy be upon him!

## XIX. MALIK TĀJ-UD-DĪN, ARSALĀN KHĀN, SANJAR I-CHAST.

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān, was an impetuous and warlike man, and had attained the acme of capacity and intrepidity. The august Sultān [I-yal-timish] had purchased him from Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk, Abū-Bikr, the Ḥabash [Abyssinian]. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk had brought him from 'Adan[1]; and some have narrated on this wise, that he was one among the sons of the Khwārazmī Amīrs, in the territory of Shām [Syria], and Miṣr [Egypt][2], and had been carried away captive from those parts and sold to Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk, Abū-Bikr.

When the Sultān first purchased him, he became Jāmah-dār[3] [Keeper of the Wardrobe], and in that office he served

[9] See pages 769 to 776, farther on, where our author makes a totally different statement from this, and also in the account of Ulugh Khān farther on.

[1] Anglicized, Aden.

[2] See page 230

[3] Some copies have Khāṣah-dār, instead of Jāmah-dār.

the Sulṭān some time. When the period of the Shamsī sovereignty terminated, and the reign of Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, also came to its conclusion, he became Chāshnī-gīr [Comptroller of the Royal Kitchen] in the reign of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat. After some time, he obtained the fief of Balārām [4].

During his own lifetime, the august [5] Sulṭān [I-yal-timish] conferred upon him, in marriage, a daughter of Malik [Sulṭān] Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril, of Bhiānah [6], which territory and adjacent parts were, in the beginning of the Musalmān rule, rendered flourishing and cultivated by him. By this connexion, in the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh—May his sovereignty continue!—Bhīānah was made Arsalān Khān's fief. Some years subsequent to this, the dignity of Wakīl-i-Dar [Representative in Darbār] was entrusted to him. Subsequently, when the preserved city of Tabarhindah was recovered from the dependents of Sher Khān [Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Sher Khān-i-Sunkar], it was made over to his charge, in the month of Zī-Ḥijjah, 651 H.[7] After that, when by the sublime order of the Court, the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, had departed, and gone to Nāg-awr [8], and proposed to return again to the service of the Court, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar attached himself to his service and accompanied him [9]. When they arrived at the capital, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar received honour at the Court, the asylum of the universe, and returned again to Tabarhindah [1].

[4] In Awadh. In some copies Balarām or Balrām.

[5] Nearly every copy of the text here, the Calcutta Text included, has the words سعید شهید—august martyr, but it is a blunder of course.

[6] It does not appear how I-yal-timish became possessed of the right to dispose of another man's daughter, and we must suppose that, after Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril's death, his family, in some way, came under Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak's authority, and from him to I-yal-timish. See the account of Ṭughril, page 544.

[7] See page 695.

[8] This occurred some time after Ulugh Khān had been banished from the Court, and directed to proceed to Hānsī. See in the account of Ulugh Khān farther on.

[9] Joined in the outbreak against 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān, in the middle of the year 652 H.

[1] This must have been early in 653 H.—in Muḥarram probably—as Ulugh Khān, having recovered power again, returned to Dihlī, in company with the

Malik Sher Khān, having come back again from Turkistān, determined upon [re-]possessing himself of Tabarhindah. He brought a large number of cavalry and infantry from the side of Lohor along with him against Tabarhindah, and, at night, appeared before the walls of the fortress. Sher Khān's troops dispersed themselves in the town, and about the fortress; and when, in the morning, the world became illumined with the sun's light, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, with his sons and principal retainers, attacked him. As his cavalry had become dispersed, Sher Khān was under the necessity of retiring. When Sher Khān, subsequently to this affair, came to the sublime Court, in conformity with the royal command, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar likewise presented himself there [2].

He continued to sojourn at the capital for some time, after which Awadh was entrusted to his charge. On several occasions, Ḳutlugh Khān [3], with those Amīrs who had confederated themselves with him, began to harass the borders of Awadh and Karah. Arsalān Khān averted this annoyance: he led a body of troops against them, and compelled that faction to disperse. After that, a slight change in his mind, antagonistic to the Court, became manifest, and the sublime standards moved towards Awadh [4] and Karah for the purpose of suppressing his designs. When the sublime standards cast their shadow upon that country, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar retired before the [contingents forming the] centre division of the royal forces, and he despatched confidential persons, and sought safety for himself, under the

Sulṭān, on the 9th of Zī-Ḥijjah, 652 H. See also the account of Sher Khan farther on.

[2] See page 793. Sher Khān's fief of Tabarhindah was restored to him, together with others he had previously held. The year is not mentioned, but, from the occurrence of other events, it appears to have been early in 653 H.

[3] The second husband of the Sulṭān's mother. The fief of Awadh was assigned to them, our author says, on the 6th of Muḥarram, 653 H. See page 701, and note [9]. The statements there and in the account of Ulugh Khān, farther on, differ greatly from this.

[4] In one of the oldest copies of the text, and a more modern one, "Awadh and the Koh-pāyah." The reason for this movement is very differently stated in the account of Ulugh Khān. Arsalān Khān is said there to have delayed joining the Sulṭān's army concentrated before Dihlī, on the invasion of Sind by the Mughals at the end of 655 H., and Ḳutlugh Khān—there styled Ḳutlugh Khān, Mas'ūd-i-Jānī—had done the same, and, consequently, they were in a state of apprehension.

stipulation that, when the Sulṭān's troops returned [to the capital], he, Arsalān Khān, along with Ḳutlugh Khān [4], son of [the late] Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, should present themselves there. Their supplication was graciously complied with; and, when the royal army returned again to the abode of sovereignty and illustrious seat of government, Dihlī, after some time, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar again attached himself to the sublime Court, and was distinguished by ample honour and deference.

After he had remained in attendance at the Court for some time, in the year 657 H., the city of Karah [5] was assigned to him as a fief, and, in the beginning of that same year, he led an army from Karah with the intention of pillaging the country of Malwah and Kālinjar. After he had advanced some stages, he turned aside and marched towards the territory of Lakhanawatī. At this time, the feudatory of Lakhanawatī [Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī] had proceeded towards the country of Bang and left the city of Lakhanawatī empty [of troops]. Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar had not unfolded this secret to a single person among his Amīrs and Maliks, his sons and slaves, that he was entertaining the intention of marching against Lakhanawatī, and he had neither permission nor orders from the sublime Court for this undertaking. When he reached the frontier of that country, a number of his sons, Amīrs, and slaves, discovered that which he had resolved in his mind, and they refused to follow him. As, however, there was no means of returning, out of necessity, they accompanied him.

When Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar arrived before the gate of the city of Lakhanawatī, the inhabitants thereof took refuge within the walls [and defended themselves]. Annalists have stated on this wise, that, for a space of three days, they fought, and, at the end of that time, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar took the city, and gave orders to sack it. The property, cattle, and Musalmān captives that fell into

[4] This second Ḳutlugh Khān cannot be correct, and does not refer to the Sulṭān's step-father. The person here referred to, as stated in the previous note, is, in some places, styled Ḳulij and Ḳulich Khān. See also the List at page 673, and page 712, where he is styled Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd.

[5] See following note, para. third. This is not mentioned in the account of Naṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign.

the hands of his followers was very great; and, for a period of three days, that plunder, sack, and rapine was kept up. When that tumult had been allayed, and he had taken possession of the city, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī, who was the feudatory of Lakhanawaṭī, at the place he then was in, became acquainted with this misfortune. He returned from thence, and between him and Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar an engagement took place.

From the sublime Court an order granting the investiture of the government of Lakhanawatī had been [previously] issued to Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī [7], after that he had despatched, to the presence of the sublime Court, two elephants, valuable property, and precious things to a large amount.

Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar thus gained the upper hand, and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn [8], Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī, became a captive, and it is so stated that he was martyred [9]. This much,

[7] STEWART appears to have used the I O L. *MS*, No 1952, of our author's work, for his History of Bengal as well as another mentioned subsequently; and, when I mention that, on the margin of that *MS*, which is quite correct, he has written, in pencil, that "this person"—from his being also named *Balban*, I suppose—"is *The Vizier*," it is not surprising that the HISTORY OF BENGAL, in that place, contains so many absurd errors

[8] One of the oldest and best copies has 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Balban, here, but in other places agrees with the above

[9] Very great discrepancy occurs here, and in other places in this work, with respect to the history of Lakhanawatī, which is the more to be regretted because our author is the sole authority, as a contemporary writer, for the events of this early period This discrepancy is occasioned chiefly from the loose manner in which he records important events, which may have appeared to him of minor consequence, and from the fact of his mentioning them in different places, with, very often, considerable difference in the details Another cause of confusion is his omission of dates, and, as his history is brought to conclusion in 658 H, just six years of the reign of Sulṭan Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, is a perfect blank in the history of Muḥammadan India which no other writer has supplied

Since I wrote note [5] to page 617, some further facts have been gleaned about the previous obscure period in the history of Lakhanawatī, viz from the putting to death or butchery of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, the Khalj, by the eldest son of Sulṭān I-yal-timish—Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh [the first of that name]—who invaded his territory from Awadh whilst he was absent on an expedition into Bang and Kāmrūd, and had left the capital, the city of Lakhanawaṭī, denuded of troops, and the appointment, as feudatory, but of which the date is not given, of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak-i-Yughān-Tat [Malik, No V.], who died there in 631 H.

I must, therefore, go back a little, in order to make the facts stand out a little more clearly; but, first, I must refer to Mr. Blochmann's "*Contributions*

that the author was aware of, as to the state of affairs in

*to the Geography and History of Bengal,*" as there are some errors and discrepancies therein which require to be noticed and corrected.

At page 37 of Part I., he says the Muḥammadan period of the history of Bengal may be "conveniently divided into five parts. I. The 'Initial period,' or *reigns* of the *governors* of Lak'hnautí appointed by the Dihlí sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muḥammad Bakhtyár Khiljí [i. e. Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, the Khalj] A.D. 1203 to 1338 A.D."

In Part III. of his "*Contributions,*" page 134 [See also APPENDIX D, page xxiv.], he criticizes my statement respecting the year of the conquest of Bengal by the Khalj chief, and says it was conquered in 594 H., or A.D. 1198, whilst A.D. 1203, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, is equivalent to 600 H.—a difference of *only* six years! He also calls these rulers "governors," and says they were "appointed by the Dihlí sovereigns," but this is erroneous. The Khalj rulers, from the "conquest" to the acknowledgment of I-yal-timish's suzerainty by Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, in 622 H., were entirely independent of the Dihlī rulers with the single exception of the mad-man, 'Alī-i-Mardān

Mr Blochmann also commences his 'Initial period' [Part I., page 38] with "Tughril" in 613 H., but 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ṭughril-i-Tughān Khān, was the third feudatory of Lakhaṇawaṭī after the downfall of the Khalj sovereigns. Mr. Blochmann's List [condensed] is as follows:—

"Saifuddín Aibak Dies at Lak'hnautí in 631 H.

"Ṭughril, 631 H., to 5th Zí Qa'dah, 642 H.

"Qamarud-dín Timur [?] [See page 742, note *] Khán, governor from 5th Zí Qa'dah, 642, to 29th Shawwál, 644.

"Ikhtiyáruddín Yuzbak Tughril Khán, proclaims himself king under the title of Sultán Mughisuddín. Perishes in Kámrúp. No dates are given

"Jalaluddín Mas'úd, Malik Jání Khiljí [!] Khan becomes governor, 18th Zí Qa'dah 656"

[Mr Blochmann eschews iẓáfats, and criticizes my use of them as *un*-Persian. By not using an iẓāfat here, as is meant in the original, he turns Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, *into his father*, Malik Jānī, who was killed in 634 H., and at page 206 of the Calcutta Printed Text, what Mr Thomas styles the impossible name of Khiljī Khān is not given, but خلج—which is an error in the "*official text*," "officially imperfect" I suppose is meant—for قلج—Ḳulich. He is also styled قتلغ—Ḳutlugh, in some copies, but Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, who is styled, at page 626 of this Translation [Calcutta Text, page 187, with جانی for جانی], Shāh-zādah of Turkistān, was his father ]

"'Izzuddín Balban, was governor in 657, in which year he was attacked by Tájuddín Arsalán Khán Sanjar i Khwárazmí, who, however, was captured or killed by 'Izzuddín. *Tabq* p. 267 [in a foot-note]—Hence Tájuddín Arsalán Khán *should not be put among the governors of Bengal.*"

[He must be put among the Sulṭāns then, for he ruled some years. The "official text" here kills the wrong man. It was 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī, who was made captive *by* Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, and "some say was put to death." The certainty of this is proved from the fact that Tatār Khān, who now follows in Mr. Blochmann's list, was Arsālan Khān-i-Sanjar's son.]

"Muhammad Arsalán Tatar Khán, son of Arsalán Khan Sanjar. He had been for some time governor, when the *emperor* Balban ascended the throne [664]. *Baraní*, p. 66 After a few years he was succeeded by—

that country, and of the events which happened in those parts, is here recorded. May Almighty God have mercy

"Tughril, who proclaimed himself king under the name of Sultán Mughiṣ-uddín. His fate has been mentioned above. No dates are given."

See also note at page 589 of this translation.

In Part II. of his "*Contributions*," Mr. Blochmann varies the latter part of the above list; and, after "Muhammad Arsalán Tátár Khán," we have two additional names, "Sher Khán," "Amín Khán," and then Tughril [II.], Amín Khán's *Náib*, but, as I do not propose, at present, to go into matters relating to the successor of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, I will here return to the Khalj dynasty, with the object of giving a brief consecutive account of those rulers and the feudatories who succeeded them, from the time that Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, was forced to acknowledge the supremacy of I-yal-timish.

This event happened about the middle of 622 H., and the coins of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn 'Iwaẓ [See THOMAS "Initial Coinage of Bengal," *Journal R. A. Soc.*, vol. vi., 1873, pages 352—357], prove that he was an independent sovereign up to that period, and used the title of Kasīm-i-Amīr ul-Mūminīn, which was peculiar to the Shansabānīs of Fīrūz-koh, and never assumed by their *mamlūk* successors, but he did not necessarily "*share* his property" with the Khalīfah. For the origin of the title see note [8], page 315. and pages 365 and 389.

Mr. Thomas also gives, in the same paper, coins of Sultān I-yal-timish as early as 614 H. and 616 H.—eight and six years *before* Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, had to acknowledge a superior, and these coins are attributed by him to the Bengal mints. I am not aware how this conclusion has been arrived at, for I-yal-timish had certainly not been acknowledged by the ruler of Lakhanawatī at that time. I think the issue of these coins may be well accounted for, from a passage in our author [see pages 590—591], which may not have received such attention as it ought to have received, namely, that I-yal-timish, "on several occasions, *sent forces* from Dihlī towards Lakhanawatī, possessed himself of Bihār, and installed his own Amīrs therein;' but our author, unfortunately, mentions nothing definite until 622 H., when Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, was reduced.

We may therefore conclude that the coins bearing I-yal-timish's name and titles, attributed to the Bengal mints, were struck in Bihār on the occasions mentioned by our author in the passage above referred to, and before he had obtained any decided advantage over the Khalj Sultān.

However, having compelled Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, about the middle of 622 H., to acknowledge him as suzerain and to coin the money in his name [page 593], I-yal-timish left Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī [who is called 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Jānī, at page 594], Shāh-zādah of Turkistān [see List, page 626] in charge of Bihār, but I-yal-timish had no sooner withdrawn than Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, marched into Bihār, compelled Malik Jānī to fly into Awadh, and took possession of that territory again. I should imagine the coins bearing the high-sounding titles given by Thomas, at page 357 of the same paper, must have been issued at that time—622 H. or 623 H.—but he reads the date 620. This, however, is not very material to the present subject.

With this fact before him, it seems inexplicable to me why Mr. Thomas calls him "this self-made king," and that "Altamsh" [I-yal-timish] "con-

**on that great Khān, and long preserve the Sulṭān of Sul-**

ceded the tardy justice of decreeing, that, in virtue of his good works, Ghíyás-ud-dín 'Awz ['Iwaẓ?] *should, in his grave, be endowed* with that coveted title of *Sultán*, which had been *denied to him* while living." Who denied it to him? Minhāj-ud-Dīn, even at page 163 of the Calcutta "Official Text," does not say so. What he did say will be found literally rendered at page 587 of this Translation. Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, was equally as much entitled to the "coveted title" of Sulṭān as his adversary, I-yal-timish, was. He had been chosen precisely in the same way, by the chief men of the country, he owed no fealty whatever to Dihlī or its sovereigns, was a Turk like his rival, what is more, was a free-born man, and not a manumitted slave—the slave of a slave—which I-yal-timish was, and was included among the great Maliks of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, master of I-yal-timish's master.

These erroneous ideas respecting the two Sulṭāns I have felt myself bound to correct, according to historical facts, and our author's statements

I would also remark, *en passant*, that Naṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, was not overcome by I-yal-timish until *ten* years after 614 H. See page 348 of "Initial Coinage of Bengal," and page 542 of this Translation, and Printed Text, page 144

At the time Malik Jānī fled before the Khalj Sulṭān into Awadh, Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, the eldest son and heir-apparent of I-yal-timish, was there located, having been entrusted with the fief of Awadh in 623 H About two years and a half after he had been compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Dihlī Sulṭān, as shown by his coins, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, having set out on an expedition against the infidels of Bang and Kāmrūd [See page 594], Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, incited by Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī [I-yal-timish was occupied elsewhere in 624 H, but he sent reinforcements to his son, see page 611], whom the Khalj Sulṭān had expelled from Bihār, seized the opportunity—no intimation, of course, having been given beforehand—and invaded Lakhanawaṭī, which had been left nearly empty of troops, seized the fortress of Basan-kot, and took possession of the city of Lakhanawaṭī Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, on becoming aware of this perfidious act, flew to the rescue—with a portion only of his forces, from what our author states at page 595—encountered the son of I-yal-timish, but was defeated, and taken captive, along with "all the Khalj Amīrs," and the whole of them were butchered.

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, died, or was killed, *for there is some* mystery about it, seemingly, some time in the month of Rabī'-uṣ-Sānī probably, since the news reached Dihlī in the following month, or it may have happened in that same month How or where he died our author, "the sole authority for this period," does not say, but he repeatedly styles him "the martyred Malik" [See note ¹, page 630] Firishtah's assertion that he died at Lakhanawaṭī is like a good many of his assertions, without any proof whatever, and his own invention probably

Immediately after the death of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, it appears, another Khalj chief succeeded in acquiring power, but how, is not clear, and, I fear, can never be thoroughly made so. He is styled, by our author, at page 617, Balkā Malik-i-Ḥusām-ud Dīn, 'Iwaẓ—that is to say, the *son* of Ḥusām, &c., the iẓāfat standing for *son of* [See APPENDIX D.], which is sufficiently proved, I imagine, from the fact that he *was not at all likely* to have been called by the precise title of his predecessor—Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ—as well; at page 626,

ṭāns, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, in sovereignty and prosperity!

in the List of I-yal-timish's Maliks, Daulat Shāh-i-Balkā, son [the iẓāfat understood] of Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaẓ, Malik of Lakhanawatī, thus showing beyond a doubt that he had been acknowledged by I-yal-timish as dependent ruler, otherwise why put him in the List of Maliks? [See THOMAS, "Initial Coinage," page 366]; in two copies of the text, Ī-rān Shāh-i-Balkā; in one, his title is Abū-l-Ma'ālī, and by others he is styled Nāṣir-ud-Dīn-i-'Iwaẓ [See pages 617—618]; in the Calcutta "Official Text," at page 177, Malik Gazlak Khān Daulat Shāh, Khaljī, with *two* names jumbled into one, and, the next page, Ī-rān Shāh, Balkā, Khaljī. Balkā is not peculiar to the Ghaznawī rulers: it is a purely Turkish name There is another Balkā—Saif-ud Dīn, Ī bak i-Balkā Khān—in the List of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's Maliks at page 673, and, from what is said in the account of Malik Kashlī Khān [No XXIV], there were many Khalj Amīrs in the time of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh

From the coin given by Thomas ["Initial Coinage of Bengal," page 367], his titles and name—plate, fig. 9—are Abū-l-Ma'ālī [Thomas, himself, as mentioned at page 367, was in doubt about ابوامعری being correct, and thought it ended in لی]—i-Daulat Shāh, *bin* Mau-dūd [and there is nothing in the titular name of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, who, before he came to the throne was entitled Ḥusām-ud-Dīn-i-'Iwaẓ, to show that his name was not Mau-dūd] and, although he acknowledges the suzerainty of I-yal-timish, and styles him Sulṭān-ul-A'ẓam, he calls himself Shāhan-Shāh, and also inserts on his coin the name of the Khalīfah, and, doubtless, had received a patent conveying the titles from Baghdād The date on this coin, the only one that has come to light, I believe, is سه سبع عشرین و ستمایه which may be either 627 or 629 H, the stubborn سبع occurring again It is not to be wondered at that "the coin does not give him the name Husámuddín." Ḥusām ud-Dīn was his title before he assumed that of Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, which he did—not at all an unusual thing—with the title of Sulṭān

In 628 H., I-yal-timish had to move against this Khalj Sulṭān, who, doubtless, was getting too powerful to please the Dihlī sovereign, and he was overthrown, and "secured," as our author remarks, much in the same way, probably, as Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, was—in the grave With him the Khalj dynasty finally terminated

I-yal-timish now conferred the "*throne of* Lakhanawatī" upon Malik 'Ala-ud-Dīn, Jānī—the Shāh-zādah of Turkistan—but he was shortly after deposed, and then governors, or more correctly feudatories, were appointed from Dihlī, and the first of them was Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak-i-Yughān-Tat, as he is styled at page 729, which see

It will be noticed from the above that Mr Blochmann has fallen into considerable error [See "Remarks on Mr Thomas's readings," in the "*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*," No x, December, 1872], in assuming that "Daulat sháh seems to be the Malik 'Alauddin Jani mentioned in the Ṭabaqát i Náçirí (Bibl Ind Edition), pp 174, 178)" Our author very distinctly shows that they were two totally different persons.

In the same way, I cannot agree with him that "The *royal* titles assumed by the early Bengal Governors were *customary in those days*," but, on the contrary, such titles were never assumed unless the feudatory rebelled as in the case of Malik [No XVIII] Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Yūz-bak-i-Tughril Khān, who assumed the title of Sulṭān [see page 764] Malik Tughril-i-Tughān Khan

## XX. MALIK 'IZZ-UD-DĪN, BALBAN-I-KASHLŪ KHĀN-US-SULṬĀNĪ SHAMSĪ.

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban, is a native of Khifchāḳ, and

had been specially honoured by his sovereign [See note *, page 641], hence he records it in the Bihār inscription, in which the words "Tughril-us-*Sulṭāni*," with *yā-i-nisbat*, merely show, as in Mu'izzī, Ḳuṭbī, Shamsī, &c., that he was a slave of the reigning dynasty, as shown at page 736.

Under the events of the 13th year of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, it is stated that, on the 18th of Zī-Ḳa'dah—the *last* month—656 H., the kingdom of Lakhanawatī was conferred upon MALIK JALĀL-UD-DĪN, MAS'ŪD SHĀH, son of the late Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī—the same, who, in the List of Maliks at the end of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish's reign, is called "Prince of Turkistān," and who was made ruler of Lakhanawatī at the close of the Khalj dynasty, as already related, and subsequently held Lāhor, rebelled, and was slain in 634. See page 640. Afterwards, in the account of the 14th year of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, it is mentioned that, on the 4th of the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 657 H., two elephants, treasure, &c., reached the capital from Lakhanawatī, but who the sender was is not mentioned.

In his account of Ulugh Khān, farther on, our author states that Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar—the subject of the above notice—and ḲUTLUGH [ḲULICH] KHĀN, MAS'ŪD-I JĀNĪ, i. e. son of ['Alā-ud Dīn], Jānī, on the advance of Ulugh Khān against them with the Sulṭān's forces, and as referred to in note 4, page 768, having agreed to present themselves at Court, did so on the 27th of Shawwāl—the *tenth* month—656 H. Two months after this, which would be the *twelfth* month of that year, the state of Lakhanawatī was conferred upon ḲUTLUGH [Ḳulich] KHĀN—as he is styled—and the districts of the *Koh-pāyah* upon Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar.

A few lines under, it is stated, that, on the 4th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 657 H., *only the sixth month after* Lakhanawaṭī is said to have been conferred on Ḳutlugh [Ḳulich] Khān, *two elephants*, treasure, and other valuables, reached Dihlī from Lakhanawaṭī—some time must be allowed for Ḳutlugh [Ḳulich] Khān, so called, to have reached that part from Dihlī, and some time also for the elephants, &c., to have arrived from thence—and that the sender of these things was not Ḳutlugh [Ḳulich] Khān, but MALIK 'IZZ-UD-DĪN, BALBAN-I-YŪZ-BAKĪ; *not* Yūz-Bak [Yūz-Bakī refers to a dependent or slave, in the same manner as the terms, Ḳuṭbī, Shamsī, and the like]; and, that, through Ulugh Khān's exertions and good offices, *the investiture of* Lakhanawaṭī *was conferred upon him*, and that an honorary robe and other honours were despatched for him, stated above also, in this notice of Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar.

From these statements of our author, it would appear, that 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī, would not allow Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd-i-Jānī—otherwise Ḳutlugh [Ḳulich] Khān—*if he ever went there*, to assume authority, or that he had died suddenly, and 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban, had assumed the government. *Had the word been Yūz-Bak*, and not *Yūz-Bakī*, we might safely assume that he was Tughril Khān i-Yūz-Bak's, otherwise Sulṭān Mughīṣ-ud-Dīn's, son, and the same that had been made prisoner with his father in the disastrous retreat from Kāmrūd [just related at page 766], and named successor by him This assump-

**a man impetuous and gallant, of good disposition, and the votary of 'Ulamā, upright and good men, and recluses.**

tion, too, would have explained what appears strange above, namely, that the first mention of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Yūz Bakī, is that he *was absent on an expedition*, in Bang, when Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar took advantage of it to invade his fief, slew him, and took possession of the territory.

This also shows what a state the Dihlī kingdom must have been in for one feudatory to make war upon another, put him to death, and seize his fief and hold it with perfect impunity.

Our author himself is *uncertain* of the upshot of the circumstances, and it must also be remembered that these events must have happened about the time our author closes his history so abruptly, and leaves all the rest of the events of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's reign a perfect blank, and, from the time he closed his history, no other writer, that we know of—or, at least, that is available—continued the history of the Dihlī sovereigns, until *ninety-five years* after, when Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Baranī, finished his work, which, however, only took up the events from the accession of Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Balban, and still left the events of six years—from 658 H. to 664 H.—blank as before.

Very little is to be gathered from the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī of Ziyā-ud-Dīn respecting the events which happened in Lakhanawatī—for the work is written in a gossiping style, and dates are rarely given. This much, however, is stated therein, that, in 662 H., on the accession of Sulṭān Balban [the date is corrected to 664 H. in a foot-note—I quote from the printed text], sixty-two elephants were despatched from Lakhanawaṭī to Dihlī by Tātār Khān, son of Arsalān Khān. From this it must be assumed that he held the fief, but when or how he was appointed, or when and how he was removed, and whether Tughril, who subsequently rebelled, succeeded him or what, cannot be discovered therein. Mr. Blochmann ["*Contributions*," page 114, Part II.] says a person named Sher Khān succeeded Tātār Khān, and that another named Amīn Khān succeeded him, but the authority is not stated. The title of Khan, given to both these persons, savours much of Firishtah's statements.

No dependence whatever is to be placed on either the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, Budā'ūnī, or Firishtah, for the events of Sulṭān Balban's reign. They all copy one from another, and the first-mentioned work closes the reign of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, when our author does, takes the reign of Balban from Ziyā ud-Dīn, Baranī, and says neither more nor less, except in an abbreviated form, than is contained in Ziyā ud-Dīn's work.

Stewart is totally wrong in his statements [HISTORY OF BENGAL, pages 66 and 67] respecting this period. He says "*Mulk*—Mulk means *a country, Kingdom*, &c.—Yuzbek"—he means MALIK Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Tughril Khān-i-Yūz-Bak, otherwise, Sulṭān Mughīs-ud-Dīn—"died, on the occasion of his being taken captive" [as related at page 766], "*in* 656 H.," but who says so? and in what work is such a statement to be found? Our author does not say so, and Stewart takes his account from him, for *I have now before me* the *MS.* copies of our author's work which Stewart used, with his writing in pencil, every here and there, on the margins of the pages, where *he alters the names* and makes those written correctly totally wrong—as "*Aza Addeen*," "*Mulk Yuzbek*," &c. At this very place, in one *MS.* which has 'Izz-ud-Dīn he alters it with a pencil to *Jalal Addeen Khany*, and, in his History, this *same name* is thus given. This enabled me to discover that I had the identical copies he used, before me.

The august Sulṭān [I-yal-timish] purchased him of

As I have already shown, our author does not give the date of Ṭughril Khān-i-Yūz-Bak's death [see page 766], and there is *not a word more used* than I have rendered above; yet Stewart goes on to say that Jalal Addeen Khany [*Khany*, that is Khānī, I suppose, signifying Khān-*ship*, the *office* or *dignity* of Khān] was sent to take possession of the province of Lucknowty, "as soon as the death of *Mulk* Yuzbak was known at Court." There is not the least authority for all this, more than our author's words above, and yet his statement respecting the elephants and treasure, and the name of 'Izz-ud-Dīn-Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī, is ignored altogether or changed at the caprice of Stewart into "Jalal Addeen Khany"!

Stewart then perpetrates a terrible blunder, in consequence of *altering* the names given by our author, in stating, that it was this Jalal Addeen Khany who was killed in battle with *Irsilan* Khan [Arsalan Khān-i-Sanjar], the Imperial Governor of Kurrah [Karah?], who had "*been entrusted with the command of an army to subdue the Raja of Callinger* [Kālinjar?], in Bundelcund," &c [see our author's statement, page 769], and then crowns the blunder with another still greater in making Tāj-ud Dīn, Arsalān Khān-i Sanjar, whom he here styles "*Iza Al Mulk, Taj addeen Irsilan Khan Sunjir*," the sender of the elephants, for he says [page 68], that, in consequence of his sending "elephants, *horses*, and other property of the *murdered* chief, as a *bribe* to the flagitious minister [all this is his own amplification of our author's simple statements], the Vizier [Wazīr?] of the contemptible Court of Dehly, his conduct was overlooked."

He then goes on to say, under his account of "*Iza* Addeen," that, "The Governor, Jelal Addeen, returning soon afterwards, an engagement took place, in the month of *Jumad* [there are *two* months named Jamādī—the *first* and *second* Jamādī], 657, *between the two* chiefs. The *latter* (sic) was slain in the contest [he is the *murdered chief* just before], and the plunder of his property having been remitted to Dehly procured the confirmation of the usurper. He continued to rule Bengal for two years, and died at Lucknowty in the year 659."

Whether Stewart obtained these dates from the very modern Rīāẓ-us-Salāṭīn, which eschews its authorities, referred to by Mr. Blochmann in his "*Contributions*," page 1, I cannot say, or whether they were taken from some such work as I have shown Firishtah's to be, but these dates are certainly to be doubted, unless some *authority* for them is forthcoming.

The Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī says—evidently copying our author, after a fashion—in 656 H., "Malik Jalāl-ud Dīn-i Jānī"—i. e. Jalāl ud-Dīn, son of 'Alā-ud Dīn, Jānī—"was presented with an honorary robe, and sent to Lakhanawatī," and that, "in 657 H., *he* sent two elephants, jewels, &c." Immediately after, it is stated that "Malik 'Izz ud Dīn, Kashlū Khan, *who is mentioned above*, died in Rajab" of that year. Now this is a pretty hash, but if the reader will look at the passages under Nāṣir ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, and in the account of Ulugh Khān, previously referred to, and compare them with the work in question, he will find that the author of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī has turned 'Izz-ud Dīn, Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī, into 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, the seditious feudatory of Sind, who marched upon Dihlī, in concert with Ḳutlugh Khān, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's step-father, in 655 H., who is the person "mentioned above" immediately before in that work, and who was never in Bengal in his life. He, too, did not die in Rajab, 657 H., for he *was living* when our author closed his history, in 658 H., as may be found at page 786.

The Ṭabaḳat-i-Akbarī, and Firishtah, both make the same great blunder

a merchant, when before the fortress of Manḍa-

throughout Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign of confusing 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-*Kashlū* Khān, with Ulugh Khān's brother, Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-*Kashlī* Khān, who died on the 20th of Rajab, 657 H. In fact, because the name *Balban* occurs, *Kashlū* Khān is often mistaken, in that work, for Ulugh Khān himself Firishtah of course, by copying from the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, copies all its blunders, without exception.

From what our author states in different places in this work, it may be *supposed*, merely, that, when Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn [Kulich Khān], Mas'ūd Shāh, son of the late Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, was appointed to the government of Lakhanawatī, in the last month of the year 656 H, there must either have been a vacancy, or the Court had determined to oust Ikhtiyār ud-Dīn, Tughril Khān i-Yūz-Bak, who had invaded it, and usurped the fief, and, if the former, it must, in all probability, have been caused by his death

If this latter supposition be correct, the 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī, mentioned by our author, who is evidently *the same person who is referred to* at page 827—Kutlugh Khān's [the Sultān's father in-law] son-in-law—who became Deputy Amīr-i Ḥājib, when 'Imād ud-Dīn-i Rayḥān conspired against Ulugh Khān, must have been confirmed in it by the Court of Dihlī

I think he must have been a dependent of Tughril's, not his son, for this reason, that, when referring to a *son*, our author merely adds the father's name to the son's, using the iẓāfat for *bin* [see APPENDIX C], namely – Muhammad-i-Sām, Mas'ūd-i-Jānī, Abū-Bikr-i-Ayāz, and the like, but, when he refers to a *retainer*, *freedman*, or *slave*, he always adds the *yā-i nisbat*, signifying relation or connexion, to the person's name, as, Sulṭānī, Kuṭbī, Shāmsī, Ayāzī, Yūz-Bakī, – as previously stated

The Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh, which quotes our author largely, as far it goes, throws a little more light than others on this subject [Alfī, possibly, which I have not the means of examining just at this time, might throw more], although very meagre It states that Malik, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, ruled over Lakhanawatī three years, and was removed

Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Yughān-Tat, succeeded, and died in 633 H. Our author says he died in 631 H

'Izz-ud-Dīn, Tughril-i-Ṭughān Khān, succeeded him and held the government thirteen years and some months [to the end of the year 642 H See page 740]

Ḳī-rān-i-Tamur Khān succeeded and held it ten years [two years less two months He died in 644 H See page 741], and, after him, in Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Yūz Bak i-Tughril Khān, who assumed the title of Sulṭān Mughīṣ-ud-Dīn, became feudatory

The Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī says "this assumption of sovereignty took place in Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban's reign, *but God knows best*" He ruled over Lakhanawatī twenty-six years [from the death of Ḳī-rān-i Tamur Khān, twenty-six years would bring us to Shawwāl, 670 H, however], and, after him, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban, conferred Lakhanawatī upon his youngest son, Bughrā Khān

The Gaur *MS*, previously referred to [in note [1], page 558], also states that Yūz-Bak-i-Ṭughril Khān reigned twenty-six years, from 653 H to 682 H, and both authors make the same mistake with respect to Ḳī rān-i-Tamur Khān's holding the government *ten* years instead of *two*, but, in this matter, our author himself gives the date of his being ousted from Lakhanawatī as the last month of 642 H

war[1]. At the outset [of his career] he became Cup-bearer, and, after he had served the Sulṭān some time, he was made Shrāb-Dār [Purveyor of Drinkables], when before the fortress of Gwāliyūr. Subsequently, Barhamūn[2] [or Barhanmūn] was assigned to him in fief; and, after some time, the fief of Baran was entrusted to him.

When the Shamsī reign came to its termination, in the outbreak of the Turkish Amīrs in the camp of Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, at Tarā'in[3], he was the ring-leader. On the Ruknī reign passing away, and the dis-affection of Malik Jānī and Malik Kūjī[4] towards Sulṭān Raẓiyyat continuing, during the conflicts [which then took place,] before the gate of the city of Dihlī, between the Turkish Amīrs who were the slaves of the [late] Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, and who were present in the service of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat's Court, Malik Balban fell captive into the hands of the rebels. He again obtained his release, and was treated with distinguished honour and

It seems utterly impossible, in the face of Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Baranī's statement about Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar's son—Tātār Khān—that Ṭughril Khān-i-Yūz-Bak, otherwise Sulṭān Mughīs-ud-Dīn, who is said to have been mortally wounded in the retreat from Kāmrūd, and died there, and the Ṭughril, who also assumed the *very same* title of Mughīs-ud-Dīn, and was killed on the frontier of the Jāj-nagar territory, can be one and the same person, but such the works above quoted consider to be the case, and, from the remark of Mr. Blochmann, in his "*Contributions*" [Part I fifth line, page 39], he seems to entertain the same opinion.

Farther research may throw more light on this matter of Ṭughril Khān-i-Yūz-Bak's, and Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar's successor to the fief of Lakhanawaṭī; but, at present, the matter is clouded in obscurity

Thomas, in his "PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI," gives, at page 8, a list of the rulers and kings of Bengal, in which he styles Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Yūz-Bak-i-Tughril Khān, *Yuzbeg*, and 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī, *Uzbegi*, and, in a note, says "These contrasts in the orthography *follow the Persi* text of Minháj-us-Siraj, who seems to have *designed to mark a difference in the pronunciation*"! This is erroneous. the words are—يوزبک and يوزبکی—*yā-i-nisbat*, is merely added to the last, and nothing indicates any g in the names.

[1] This was in 624 H. See page 611

[2] This is one of the two places referred to at page 746, and I fail to recognize it It is written, in the original, in various ways; but the above is contained in the majority of the copies—برهمون—and in others, according to the ratio in which they are to be depended upon, برهمون—برهمدن—مدور [Hindūn?] برهون برهمن and مدور It *may possibly* be meant for Burhnawah, anglicized Burnawa, Lat. 29° 7', Long. 77° 29'.

[3] Now A'ẓim-ābād-i-Talāwarī, the scene of Rāe Pithorā's victory and subsequent defeat. See page 635.

[4] Not they only: there were several others. See page 639.

favour; and, when the reign of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat lapsed, and the throne of sovereignty devolved on Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, he was honoured as heretofore, until the time when the Khwājah, Muhaẕẕab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, caused animosity to show itself between that Sulṭān and his Turkish Amīrs, as is recorded [under his reign]. Previous to this, the whole of the Amīrs and Maliks had entered into a compact together to expel Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, from the throne. In the year 640 H., the whole of them, in concert together, advanced to the gate of the city of Dihlī [5], and, for a period of five months or more, this hostility and strife went on; and, when the city was taken by the Maliks [and Amīrs], the ring-leader in this outbreak was Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān.

Early in the day on which the troops of the Amīrs [and Maliks] entered the city, Malik Balban proceeded to the Royal Palace, and once, by his command, a proclamation was circulated throughout the city [announcing his assumption of the sovereignty]. Immediately, Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn, of Kuhrām, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Ḳiḳ-luk, and Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Ai-yitim, and several other Amīrs, assembled at the mausoleum of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish—May he rest in peace!—and repudiated that proclamation [6], and, in concert together, brought forth the sons of the late Sulṭān [I-yal-timish], and the princes who were in confinement. When Malik Balban became aware of this, he took part with them, and they raised 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, to the throne. He assigned the territory of Nāg-awr, together with an elephant [7], to Malik Balban, and he proceeded thither.

After some time had passed, when an army of the infidels of Chīn [Mughals] appeared before the fortress of Ūchchah, and Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, marched from the capital with the troops of Islām towards the river Biāh to repel them, Malik Balban came from Nāg-awr with a body of troops [and joined the Sulṭān's army], and that

[5] See under the reign, pages 658–662.

[6] See pages 660 and 661 and note [1].

[7] This was accounted a great honour in these days, as may be seen from what is stated at page 650, note [8].

momentous affair terminated successfully. When the army of infidels retired from before Ūchchah precipitately, Malik Balban returned to Nāg-awr again, and Multān was placed under his charge[8].

When the Sulṭān of Islām, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, ascended the throne of sovereignty—May it ever continue! —after Malik Balban had come [to Court?] he, on several occasions, made a request for Ūchchah together with Multān. This was acquiesced in, under the understanding that the Siwālikh [territory] and Nāg-awr should be relinquished, by him, to other Maliks who are servants of the government, and that the Court should have the nomination [of them][9].

After he brought Ūchchah under his jurisdiction, he still continued to retain possession of Nāg-awr, and did not relinquish it. The Sulṭān-i-Mu'aẓẓam—The Almighty perpetuate his reign!—with the Maliks of Islām—Be victory always theirs!—particularly the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam—Be his Khilāfat[1] perpetuated!—determined to proceed from the capital in the direction of Nāg-awr. On the Sulṭān's reaching that part, after making much difficulty of the matter, and protracting as long as possible, in the semblance of submission, Malik Balban presented himself [in the Sulṭān's presence], relinquished Nāg-awr, and proceeded towards Ūchchah.

When the territory of Ūchchah and Multān was made over to Malik Balban's charge from the sublime Court, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh[2], from the direction of [the

[8] See note [4], page 667, para. 4, and proceedings of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh, in the last Section.

[9] Our author has just above said that Multān was made over to him before this. He means that the understanding was, that, if he got Ūchchah as well as Multān, Nāg-awr was to be relinquished. After he was compelled to give it up, Ulugh Khān's brother, Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Kashlī Khān, got that fief. See page 798.

[1] Khilāfat signifies deputy-ship, or lieutenancy, as well as imperial dignity and monarchy, but, under any circumstances, the Sulṭān was alive when this was written.

[2] Some details are necessary respecting the Ḳarlugh Turks, which I must reserve for the concluding Section, in which Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, again appears, and his previous history is referred to. I will merely observe here, that he had appeared before Multān long before this—soon after the death of Sulṭān I-yal-timish, who, it will be remembered [page 623], was marching

territory of] Banīān brought an army before the gate of Multān in order to possess himself of that city [and fortress], and Malik Balban advanced from Ūchchah to repel him. When the two armies came opposite to each other, a band of warriors and heroic men in Malik Balban's service, to the number of about fifty picked horsemen, having formed a ring, attacked Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh, charged into the centre [of his army], and Malik Ḥasan was slain, the greater part of those heroic men, who displayed such impetuosity, having fallen in the attack. Malik Balban entered the fortress of Multān; and the Ḳarlugh troops kept the death of their Malik concealed [3], and pitched their camp before the gate of the city of Multān. Emissaries passed to and fro between the two armies and discussed terms of peace, and the surrender of Multān to the Ḳarlughs. The peace was concluded, and Malik Balban delivered up Multān to the Ḳarlughs, and returned towards Ūchchah; and the Ḳarlughs took possession of Multān.

When Malik Balban became aware that Malik Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh, had been killed, he repented of having given up Multān, but it was useless. After some time, Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, wrested Multān out of the hands of the Ḳarlughs, and took possession of it, and located there Malik Kurez [4] On Saturday, the 2nd of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 648 H., Malik Balban, having advanced from Ūchchah for the purpose of regaining possession of Multān, appeared before the walls of that fortress [5]. The writer of these words, two days subse-

towards the territory of Banīān, when taken ill, and obliged to return to Dihlī, where he soon after died

[3] The whole band must have fallen or have been taken, otherwise the news of Ḥasan's having been slain would certainly have reached Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān Or, perhaps, the band, or, rather, the remainder of it, did not know whether *they h-d killed him* or not, or whether he had only been left for dead Ḥasan's son, who is referred to under Sulṭān Raẓiyyat's reign [note 7, page 644], and in the account of Ulugh Khān, farther on, and in the last Section—*Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad*—would, probably, have been the person to whom Multān was surrendered;' and it is strange our author does not mention who succeeded Malik Ḥasan in the command of the Ḳarlughs

[4] He is the person referred to under the fifth year of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, page 688.

[5] Under the events of the year 648 H., at page 688, our author states that he

quently [to that], arrived before Multān from the illustrious capital, Dihlī, for the purpose of despatching [a number] of male slaves to Khurāsān [6]. After that he [the author] continued at that place for a period of two months; and the fortress did not come into Malik Balban's possession, and he returned again towards Ūchchah.

Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunkar advanced from Tabarhindah and Lohor, and appeared before the fortress of Ūchchah and invested it, and remained before it for some time. Malik Balban, who was away from it at this period [7], placing confidence in this, that they were both of one house and of one threshold [8], unexpectedly, presented himself in the camp of Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, and seated himself down in the latter's pavilion, upon which Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunkar manifested some show of regard towards him, arose, and came out by way of the back of the pavilion, giving directions to guard Malik Balban, and not permit him to depart from the place until such time as the garrison of Ūchchah should surrender that fortress. As Malik Balban was helpless and in straits, he gave directions to the garrison of the fortress to surrender it to Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, who, after he had taken possession of the fortress of Ūchchah, set Malik Balban at liberty, who came to the capital [9].

Having presented [1] himself at Court, the [fief of the]

reached Multān on Wednesday, the 6th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, of that year, and that Malik Balban-i Kashlū Khān reached it from Ūchchah, *the same day*. In his account of Ulugh Khān, farther on, the same date is given

[6] See note [7], page 686

[7] Under the events of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, 648 H., our author says he had an interview with Sher Khān, on the banks of the Bīāh, on the 11th day of the second month of that year, when proceeding to Multān [see page 687], and that Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān reached Multān, to endeavour to take it, on the same day that he himself reached it—the 6th of the third month.

[8] The "official" Calcutta Printed Text and the *MSS* from which it is chiefly taken have آشيانه—nest—for آستانه—threshold.

[9] See page 689 There he says, under the events of 649 H., that Malik Balban-i Kashlū Khān began to act contumaciously at Nāg-awr in that year, and the Sultān had to move against him, and that, *after that*, in the fourth month of that same year, he presented himself at Dihlī Between that date, and the date on which he made his submission, at Nāg awr, he had fallen into Sher Khān's hands.

[1] Under Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, it is stated, that, on the 22nd of Shawwāl, 650 H. [in the account of Ulugh Khān, it is the 12th],

province of Budā'ūn with its dependencies was assigned to him; and, when the sublime standards advanced towards the upper parts [of the kingdom—the Bīāh and Lohor], and the preserved city of Tabarhindah was recovered, forces were nominated to march towards Ūchchah and Multān. Between Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunḳar and the Maliks of the Court, contention went on; and Sher Khān proceeded into Turkistān [2], and Ūchchah and Multān were entrusted, a second time, to Malik Balban's charge [3].

No sooner had Malik Balban taken possession of that country than he became disloyal to the Court, and, making Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Kurt [4], the Ghūrī, his medium, preferred a request [through him] to Hulā'ū [Hulākū] the Mughal, who was a Shāh-zādah [Prince] of Turkistān [5], for a Shaḥnah [6] [Intendant]. Malik Balban sent [to Hulākū's Court] a grand-son in pledge, and brought a Shaḥnah thither [into Sind and Multān]. Subsequently, when the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, had returned to

the Sulṭān moved towards Lāhor, intending to march to Ūchchah and Multān, and that Malik Ḳutlugh Khān from Bhīānah, and Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān from Budā'ūn, with their contingents, accompanied him. On reaching the Bīāh, however, 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān's plot developed itself, and Ulugh Khān was banished to his fief.

Under the year 651 H., it is again stated that the Sulṭān marched from Dihlī to "secure" Ūchchah and Multān, and that, on reaching the Bīāh [it flowed in its old bed then], a force was detached to Tabarhindah to secure it, as Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunḳar had withdrawn to Turkistān, and that *they* were taken possession of on the 26th of Zī-Ḥijjah, the last month of 651 H., and made over to Malik Arsalān Khān, Sanjar-i-Chast; but, in the account of the latter Malik [page 767], it is said he got Tabarhindah, and Ūchchah and Multān are not mentioned.

[2] See pages 695 and 792, where are *two other and different statements*, with respect to the cause of Sher Khān-i-Sunḳar's withdrawal.

[3] His restoration to the fief of Ūchchah and Multān is never referred to in any other place in the present work save the above, but that he was restored to it there is, of course, no doubt from the context. It appears probable that, when Ulugh Khān succeeded in ejecting 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān from power at the end of 652 H., and on his being sent to rule at Budā'ūn, Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān got Ūchchah and Multān again, some time in 653 H. See also note [3], page 692.

[4] He will be noticed in the last Section with reference to the Mughal invasion of the Panjāb.

[5] Hulā'ū or Hulākū was, certainly, *a* Prince of Turkistān, but, at this time, ruled over Īrān on the part of his brother, Mangū Ḳā'ān. More respecting him will be found in the next Section.

[6] He thus threw off his allegiance to Dihlī.

the Court, and Malik Kutlugh Khān had separated from it [7] and had joined Malik Balban, and the Sultān and his forces had returned to the capital, Malik Balban, in the year 655 H., suddenly resolved to advance to the frontiers of the kingdom of Dihlī with the troops of Ūchchah and Multān. When this determination and purpose [of the confederates] was represented before the sublime throne, the royal command was given to repel that faction, and Malik Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, with the whole of the Maliks and Amīrs, marched against the troops of Malik Balban.

On the 15th [8] of the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 655 H., when, within the limits of [the districts of] Kuhṛām and Sāmānah, they drew near [Malik Balban's army], a faction of seditious [persons] of the capital city, Dihlī, consisting of turban wearers [priest-hood] and cap-wearers [9] [Sayyids], wrote and despatched letters secretly to Malik Balban, soliciting him to come thither, saying: "In order that we may deliver up the city to thee it behoveth thee to set out for it." Malik Balban accordingly moved towards Dihlī, and, on Thursday, the 6th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 655 H., he [and Kutlugh Khān and their forces] reached the environs and suburbs of the city; but his conceptions were not realized, and the faction, who had written letters to him, had, by the sublime command, left the city [1].

When Malik Balban reached the Bāgh-i-Jūd [the Jūd Garden] [2], which is in the environs of the city of Dihlī, along with Malik Kutlugh Khān and the Malikah-i-Jahān [Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's mother], the account of the expul-

[7] He had been sent away from the Court, with his wife, the Sultān's mother, as early as 653 H., but the events here referred to took place in 655 H., some time previous to which Kutlugh Khān was in rebellion. See page 707

[8] See page 707

[9] Only turban-wearers are mentioned under the reign, but cap-wearers merely refers to others besides the regular priest hood, such as the descendants and disciples of Zain-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, probably, who wore black caps or tiaras. The allusion is to Sayyid Kutb-ud-Dīn, the Shaikh-ul-Islām, and this party. See page 707.

[1] They had been sent away out of the city four days before. See page 708.

[2] In the Calcutta Printed Text, the word جود—Jūd—has been invariably mistaken for خود—khūd, which signifies self, &c., and thereby the Jūd Garden is turned into *his own garden*. The Bāgh-i-Jūd, and Ṣaḥrā-i-Jūd, are often mentioned.

The account of this affair varies from that detailed under the reign, page 708, and in the account of Ulugh Khān farther on.

sion of that faction became known to them, and that flame of the fire of hope [from the faction] was extinguished with the water of disappointment. After the time of forenoon prayers, they advanced to the gate[3] of the city, and made a perambulation round the place. They remained at the Bāgh-i-Jūd for the night, and, at morning dawn, they came to the determination to retire. On the Friday, which was the 7th[4] of the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, the troops of Ūchchah and Multān, the whole of them, separated from Malik Balban, and went off in bodies in various directions, but the greater number were those [among them] who entered the city, and who joined the service of the sublime Court.

Malik Balban—the Almighty have him in His keeping!—withdrew, and by way of the Siwālikh [country], and, with a slight retinue, less than 200 or 300 in number, returned to Ūchchah again. Subsequent to these events, Malik Balban came to the determination of undertaking a journey into Khurāsān, and proceeding into 'Irāk to the presence of Hulā'ū, the Mughal, who is a Shāh-zādah [Prince] of Turkistān[5], and presented himself before him He returned from thence, and came back to his own place of residence again [to Ūchchah], and, up to the date of this narrative, which was the year 658 H., he has despatched his own agents, along with the Shahnah [the Mughal Intendant] of the territories of Sind, which was on account of the army of Mughals [then on the Dihlī frontier], to the presence of the Court[6].

Please God, it may turn out well and advantageously,

[3] Our author always uses the word "gate" when *gates* may be understood In this instance he may mean the gate on the side of the Jūd plain and garden

[4] According to some copies the dates are, respectively, the 26th and 27th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir

[5] It is remarkable that he should have gone to Hulākū's camp in 'Irāḳ, and Sher Khān *to that of* the Great Khān—Mangū Ḳā'ān, in Turkistān Their object, probably, was the same

[6] This refers to the return of Ulugh Khān's agent despatched some time *before to* Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan, the Ḳārlūgh, the details of which affair will be found at the end of this Section *There he says* Shaḥnagān—Intendants—as if there were *more than one* at Ūchchah The Mughal army referred to, is that of the Nū-īn, Sārī, or Sālīn, as he is also called, which entered Sind, a few months after Malik Balban's attempt on Dihlī, in the latter part of 655 H, an account of which will be found at page 711.

and may He long preserve the Sulṭān of Islām, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Muẓaffar-i-Maḥmūd Shāh, on the throne of sovereignty!

## XXI. MALIK NUṢRAT KHĀN, BADR-UD-DĪN, SUNḲAR-I-ṢŪFĪ[7], THE RŪMĪ.

Malik Nuṣrat Khān-i-Sunkar, the Ṣūfī, is a Rūmī [Rūmīlīān] by birth. He is a person of exceeding laudable qualities and inestimable virtues, valiant and warlike, and of good disposition, and adorned with all the attributes of manliness and resolution

He was a slave of the august Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn [I-yal-timish], and he had, in the reigns of every one of the Sulṭāns [his descendants], served in offices of every degree; but, in the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, in the year 640 H., when the Turk Amīrs rebelled and put the Khwājah, Muhaẕẕab, the Wazīr, to death, this Malik, Nuṣrat Khān-i-Sunḳar, was one of the Amīrs, the principal ringleaders in that outbreak. After that event he became Amīr[8] of Kol, and he brought that territory under his control, and, along with his retinue and the people, on the beaten track of equity and justice, he passed his days In that same year [640 H.], the writer of these words, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, chanced to undertake a journey to Lakhanawaṭī. On reaching the district of Kol, this Amīr of excellent disposition treated him with great kindness and encouragement.

Subsequently, Malik Nuṣrat Khān-i-Sunkar obtained other fiefs; and, in the reign of the Sultān of Sulṭāns, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, the territory of Bhīānah was made his fief. He continued to remain some time in that part, and many times punished the seditious and evil doers.

At the time when Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū

and in the biography of Ulugh Khān, but more particularly detailed in the last Section.

[7] He was of the Ṣūfī sect, apparently.

[8] Our author has never used the word Amīr like this before. he generally uses feudatory.

Khān, advanced out of the territory of Sind and appeared before the gate of Dihlī, Malik Nuṣrat Khān-i-Sunḳar, with a numerous force, reached the city of Dihlī from Bhīānah. The inhabitants of the city, and grandees of the Court, were placed in safety by his arrival at the head of a body of troops. After that affair, in the year 657 H., from the implicit faith which the Sulṭān of Islām placed in Malik Nuṣrat Khān-i-Sunḳar, and the powerful support of the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, the preserved city of Tabarhindah, and Sunām, Jhajhar, and Lakhwāl, and the frontiers, as far as the ferries over the river Bīāh, all were conferred upon him[9], and his title became Nuṣrat Khān.

On those frontiers he performed distinguished services, and assembled a numerous body of troops; and, up to the date of this book's [being written], by the sublime command, he is still [stationed] on that frontier, with ample military resources, and a large army[1]. May the Almighty long preserve the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns upon the throne of sovereignty!

## XXII. AZ KULLĪ DĀD-BAK[2], MALIK SAIF-UD-DĪN, Ī-BAK, THE SHAMSĪ, 'AJAMĪ

Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the Shamsī, 'Ajamī, is, by

[9] It was at this period that Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunḳar had the extensive fiefs of Bhīānah, Kol, Balarām, and Gwāliyūr, conferred upon him, but, under that year, in the Sulṭān's reign, the placing of these frontier territories in Nuṣrat Khān-i-Sunḳar's charge is not stated. See page 794.

The mention of "the frontiers," and the "ferries of the Bīāh," taken in connexion with the orders of Hulākū to his general, mentioned at the end of the account of Ulugh Khān, plainly indicates the limits within which the Dihlī territory was now confined.

The Bīāh, as before stated, then flowed in its old bed, entirely separate from the Sutlaj.

[1] Why are not his "distinguished services" mentioned, and, if he had such "ample military resources and large army," why did he not drive away Sārī, the Nū-īn, and his Mughals, who were making constant raids upon the Dihlī territory?

[2] The Calcutta Printed Text has ارکلی instead of از کلّی. Amīr-i-Dād, and Dād-Bak, are synonymous, the former being Persian and the latter the Turkish form, and the office appears to have been much the same as that of *Mīr-i-'Adl* in Akbar's time. The words *az kulli* show that he was the head of that department and exercised full powers. See note [4], page 529, and page 605, note [1].

origin[3], of Khifchāḳ, a Malik adorned with justice, sagacity, strictness, and judgment, and famed and celebrated for all manner of energy and ability. In the learning of the Musalmān faith he was proficient, in religiousness perfect, and in words and in deeds sincere, on the path of probity and justice staunch and regular.

It must be about eighteen years[4] since the bench of the administration of justice was adorned by his dignity; and, during the whole period, he has followed the path of justice and equity, and been obedient to the canons of the [Muhammadan] law, and beyond those which the law decrees he has not added a tittle. The writer of this History, Maulānā Minhāj-i-Sarāj—God protect him!—upon two occasions, for nearly eight years, by the gracious command of the Sultān of Sultāns, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn—The Almighty perpetuate his rule and sovereignty!—is seated on the same bench with that just Malik[5] in the Court of Justice at the capital city, Dihlī, and the author has seen that the whole of his acts, procedures, and expositions have been conformable with the faith and its ordinances. By the dignity of his punishments, and the majesty of his justice, the multitude of contumacious [persons] round about the capital, and the gangs of evil doers and robbers, having drawn back the hand of violence within the sleeve of relinquishment and suspension, are quiescent in the corner of fear and terror.

From the period when Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, became enrolled among the series[6] of slaves of the Court of the Shamsī dynasty—the asylum of the universe—he has, at all times, been reverenced; and every district, fief, or tract of country, which has been entrusted to his charge, through his equity and rigour, has become flourishing and pros-

[3] His being styled "Shamsī, and 'Ajamī," in this instance, means that, originally, he was the slave of the Khwājah Shams-ud-Dīn, the 'Ajamī.

[4] What year is referred to is left to conjecture, unless he means the year in which he closed this history—658 H. He was, however, appointed Ḳāẓī of the realm, for the second time, in 649 H. See page 690.

[5] This expression shows that the term Malik is not peculiar to the military only, and the fallacy of translating the word *general*, as in ELLIOT, in numerous places.

[6] Nearly every copy of the text, Calcutta Printed Text included, has سلاطین—Sulṭāns—for سلسلهٔ--series, &c. In this instance the I. O. L. *MS.*, No. 1952, and the R. A. S *MS.*, are both correct.

perous, and the commonalty have dwelt in quiet and tranquillity, and have continued safe and exempt from oppression and violence. During this period since he has been the Amir-i-Dād [Chief Justiciary] of the kingdom of Dihlī, the customary fees at the rate of ten or fifteen per cent, which other Chief Justices before him have imposed, he has not extorted, nor has he had any concern with such, neither has he considered such to be legal.

At the outset of his career when he became severed from the tribes of Khifchāk and his native country, and through the discord of kindred became a captive in the bonds of misfortune, he chanced to fall into the service of the generous Khwājah, Shams-ud-Dīn, the 'Ajamī, who was the Malik-ut-Tujjār[7] [Chief of the Merchants] of the countries of 'Ajam, 'Irāk, Khwārazm, and Ghaznīn, and, up to this period of time, they call Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak, by the term Shamsī, after that great man.

When Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, reached the sublime Court of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish [along with his master], and the Sulṭān purchased him, he acquired favour and influence. Perceiving the indications of energy and vigour which were depicted on his brow, the august Sulṭān used to send him upon important affairs into different parts of the kingdom, and assign him duties, until, in the reign of Sulṭān Raziyyat, he became Sahm-ul-Ḥasham [Marshal of the Retinue[8]] In the reign of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, he became Amir-i-Dād [Justiciary] of Kaṛah; and, when the throne devolved on Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, in the year 640 H, he became Amir-i-Dād of the illustrious capital, the city of Dihlī, and the fief of the Amīrs-i-Dād, and the bench [pertaining to that office] passed to him

After some time, when the throne devolved upon the Sulṭān of Sultāns, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, the fief of Palwal and Kāmah[9], with the bench of

[7] That is, Prince or Chief of the Merchants—a term often used in the Arabian Nights, and applied to the chief or general syndic of the merchants, trading exclusively with particular countries

[8] See note [5], page 150

[9] In the Bharat-pūr territory, on the route from Mathurah to Fīrūz-pūr, 39 miles N W of the former place, Lat 27° 40', Long 77° 20' It was taken by Najaf Khān about eighty years since, and was then a small city fortified

the justice-ship, was entrusted to him; and, after some time, he obtained the fief of Baran; and, in that part, inflicted condign punishment upon the contumacious. Some time subsequently, Kasrak[1] [?], with the office of chief justiciary, was given him in fief, and, after two years, he again obtained Baran; and, up to this present time, it is in his charge.

## XXIII. MALIK NUṢRAT-UD-DĪN[2], SHER KHĀN, SUNKAR-I-SAGHALSŪS[3]

Malik Sher Khān is a person consummately brave and sagacious, and distinguished for all princely qualities, and famed for all kingly accomplishments. He is the uncle's son[4] of the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, and, in Turkistān, their fathers have been persons of importance, and among the families of the Ilbarī[5] [tribe] have borne the name of Khān, and, for their numerous clan and dependents, have been noted and renowned, each of whom will, Please God, in the account of that Malik of the Maliks of the universe, be separately mentioned.

Sher Khān was the slave of the august Sulṭān [I-yal-timish] who purchased him[6]; and he performed much ser-

with walls and towers. If sought after, perhaps some inscriptions might be found at this place

[1] I fail to find this place, and there is great doubt as to the correct reading. One of the oldest copies has کسرك as above, the second سرك the third is minus a whole line, and another copy has کرك—Karak or Kuruk, which certainly is the name of a place in Harīānah, between Kot-hak and Bhawānī, in Lat. 28°, 49', Long. 76°, 22', about 58 miles W of Dihlī. Other copies of the text have what appears to be کسرك

[2] In some copies he is also styled Bahā-ul-Ḥakk wa ud-Dīn, instead of Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn.

[3] This word, which probably refers to a tribe, a family or tract of country, is contained in all the best copies of the text with the exception of the best British Museum *MS.*, but is plainest in the best St. Petersburg *MS.* The various ways in which it is written, as near as types will permit, are as follows: —سغلسوس—سغنوس—سغنوی and سغلوس In a few copies he is also named Sanjar instead of Sunkar

[4] Thomas, however [PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLÍ, page 125], turns him into a *brother* of Ulugh Khān's!

[5] It seems somewhat strange that I-yal-timish should also belong to the Ilbarī tribe, as well as Ulugh Khān, his brother, and his cousin, and all be slaves of the former.

[6] Our author relates how Ulugh Khān and his brother became slaves, and from whom they were purchased, but he appears not to have known much

vice before the throne, and the signs of worthiness were indicated upon his brow. He served the Sulṭāns of that dynasty much in every rank and degree; and, when he attained greatness, Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, at the time he led an army from the capital towards Lohor[7], with the object of repelling the army of infidel Mughals which was before the walls of the fortress of Ūchchah, assigned to Malik Sher Khān the fortress of Tabarhindah and the whole of its dependencies as his fief.

Afterwards, when the Ḳarlughs wrested Multān out of the hands of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān[8], Malik Sher Khān led an army from the preserved city of Tabarhindah towards Multān, and liberated it again out of the hands of the Ḳarlughs, and placed therein Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Kurez[9]. Subsequently, upon several occasions, contention arose between Malik Sher Khān and Malik Balban, arising from their proximity to each other, as has been previously stated; and Malik Sher Khān wrested the fortress of Ūchchah out of the hands of Malik Balban, and the whole of the territory of Sind came under the sway of Malik Sher Khān When the Malik-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, led a body of forces[1] towards Nāg-awr, and strife went on between Malik Sher Khān and him near the banks of the river Sind, Malik Sher Khān [retired from thence], and proceeded towards Upper Turkistān[2], and went to the *urdū* [camp] of the Mughal, and presented himself at the Court of Mangū [Ḳā'ān].

respecting Sher Khān's early years, or was unwilling to relate much on the subject.

[7] See page 667, and page 811.

[8] See also the account of Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, page 782

[9] It will be seen, from this, that these great Maliks were like so many dependent kings, and had Maliks of their own. Kurez is the person who, in 648 H., sent some Mughal prisoners to Dihlī, and they were, evidently, so rare, that, even for this small mercy, Dihlī was decorated

[1] Our author gives no less than *three* other and *different* accounts of these events—one, at page 693, another at page 794, and a third in his account of Ulugh Khān, farther on. Leading "a body of forces towards Nāg-awr" is our author's mode of stating the fact of Ulugh Khān's banishment to his fief, when ousted from power by the Rayḥānī plot, already referred to, and further detailed in the account of Ulugh Khān. Strife, with his cousin, seems altogether improbable, for, immediately on his return to Hind, he joined the party of his cousin, Ulugh Khān, in ousting the Rayḥānī clique

[2] This whole sentence is one of the most defective in the entire work: there

He returned with honour from thence, and set out towards Lohor. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Lohor and these parts[3], he joined Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh[4], son of the august Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish. In the end, matters did not go on without disagreements between them, and Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, retired in disappointment, and his dependents and followers fell into the hands of Malik Sher Khān's train[5].

After that affair, Malik Sher Khān endeavoured to gain possession of Tabarhindah [again], but, as Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar [the then feudatory], issued from the fortress [to oppose him], Malik Sher Khān was under the necessity of withdrawing again. Swift messengers went from the capital from the nobles, and a covenant and pledges were entered into, and Malik Sher Khān proceeded and presented himself at Court[6]. Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān, likewise came to the capital, and [the fief of] Awadh was assigned to him, and Tabarhindah was [again] committed to Malik Sher Khān, with the whole of the territory and fiefs which he had previously held.

For some time he remained upon that frontier[7], during

are scarcely two copies alike. One copy has something more after the words "Upper Turkistān," namely, that "he proceeded towards Lohor, and every one who used to see him, would bow down his head to the ground [درسجده نهادی] out of awe of him."

[3] The neighbourhood of Dihlī where our author wrote his History.

[4] This too is one of our author's mysteries. I shall have to refer to it again. See note [3], page 699, and note [1], page 767.

[5] For some further particulars respecting this Prince, whose proceedings are made a mystery of, see pages 683, 699, 818 and note [4], and pages 830 to 834. I shall have to refer to him, in connexion with the Mughals, in the last Section.

STEWART has written on the margin of the *MS.* I have referred to in note [9], page 776, notwithstanding it is plainly indicated who Jalāl-ud-Dīn was, that he is "*Jallal Addeen King of Khuarism*," who died or disappeared from the world nearly *thirty-five years before!!* See page 297, and note [9].

[6] See under Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, page 768.

[7] Although Lāhor is mentioned, after fourteen years' silence, as the fief of Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh—probably half-brother only of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh—in the ninth year of the latter's reign, page 700, it does not again occur. It also appears that Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, held Lāhor with foreign aid, independent of Dihlī. I shall have to refer to this matter again. The frontier here referred to indicates, as in several other places, the limits of the Dihlī kingdom in this direction—namely, the banks of the Bīāh,

which contention used to go on between him and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, as on former occasions. A mandate was issued from the sublime Court so that Malik Sher Khān returned to the capital; and, in order to avert strife on the frontier, the fief of Tabarhindah was entrusted to the charge of Malik Nuṣrat Khān, Sunḳar-i-Ṣūfī. The territory of Kol and Bhiānah, and Balārām, Jalī-sar, Baltārah[8], Mihir and Mahāwan, and the fortress of Gwāliyūr, which is among the most famous strongholds of Islām, were placed in Malik Sher Khān's charge[9]; and there he still is, up to the date that these pages were written, in the month of Rajab, 658 H.

May the Most High God long preserve the Sulṭān-i-Mu'azzam upon the throne of sovereignty[1]!

not as it at present flows, but when it ran in its old bed. See also page 818, and note [4]

[8] In the best copies بلتاره as above, but in one, instead of بلارام we have بلرام

[9] On the 21st of the month of Ṣafar, 657 H. See pages 712 and 788, and the account of *Ulugh Khān farther on*. It is strange that such leniency was shown to Malik Balban-i Kashlū Khān, for this was after his attempt to seize the capital, and after he had thrown off allegiance to the Dihlī kingdom, and had received a Mughal Shaḥnah. He appears always to have been treated with the utmost consideration, and there must have been some reason for it.

[1] It may not be amiss here to give an extract from the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī of Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, respecting Sher Khān, as there may be somewhat of e leaven of correctness in it, but, at the same time, it shows that the statements of Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn are *not to be wholly depended upon*, at least for the accounts of Sulṭān Balban's reign. I take this from the printed text, which, in many places, is lamentably incorrect.

"After four or five years of Sulṭān Balban's reign [had passed], thirty years after the decease of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān, the uncle's son of Sulṭān Balban, who was a Khān greatly honoured, and who had become as the Sadd-i-Yājūj Mājūj [the Barrier of Gog and Magog, or Great Wall of China] to the Mughals, died."

[As Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn died in 633 H., Sher Khān, consequently, died in 663 H. According to Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, himself, Balban came to the throne in 662 H., but, according to others, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, did not die until 664 H.]

"I have heard from some credible persons, that he, Sher Khān, used not to come to Dihlī, and that Sulṭān Balban caused poison to be administered to him in his drink. [The word used is ﻓﻘﺎﻉ which is said to be a liquor made from barley and other things, a sort of beer.] This Sher Khān had built a lofty cupola at Bhatnīr, and the fortresses of Bhaṭindah and Bhatnīr are among the places founded by him.

"He was one of the great slaves of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, and one among the CHIHL-GĀNIĀN—of that Sulṭān—*Chihl*—forty, *gāniān*—the plural form of the redundant particle used after numerals—BRIGGS' "*Turky tribe of*

## XXIV. MALIK SAIF-UD-DIN, I-BAK-I-KASHLI KHAN-US-SULTANI.

The Malik-ul-Hujāb [Chief of Chamberlains], Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Kashlī Khān[2]—on whom be peace!—was the

HELGANY"!]—every one of whom became styled by the title of Khān, and Sher Khān had great confidence placed in him. From the reign of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn [Maḥmūd Shāh], Sunnām [in the text باسّام instead of با—belonging to the first clause of the sentence—and سّام], Lohor, and Dībāl-pūr [in the text دیبالپور—*Dībāl*-pūr !] and other fiefs in the direction of the coming of the Mughals, the whole he held."

[The dependence to be placed upon the statements in this last sentence may be judged of from our author's account above—the statement of a contemporary writer living at Dihlī, *who knew him personally*, and the statement of one "who heard" about these things ninety-five years after, and, who states that he has only taken up the history of these times from the end of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, where our author left off Sher Khān did not hold these fiefs during the period our author's work embraces; and so the last years of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign still remain a blank with Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, as with others.]

"He [Sher Khān] entertained many thousand well-organized and efficient cavalry in his service, and several times had he fallen upon the Mughals, turned them upside down, and dispersed them, and *caused the Khutbah to be read for Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn at Ghaznīn*; and, on account of his vigilance, valour, strength, and grandeur, and the number of his followers, it was impossible for the Mughals to prowl around the frontiers of Hindūstān" ! !

The statements contained in this paragraph are enough to stamp the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī for the history of this period as utter rubbish Our author's statements respecting Sher Khān and the fiefs he held, and of the state of the frontier on the Biāh, in the latter part of his account of Ulugh Khān, show, that these things were not true, and could not have been true. Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, who held Sind and Multān, and who was in league with the Mughals, is ignored altogether by Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, but he, like Sher Khān, was living when our author closed his history. Firishtah, probably, got his version of this absurdity about Ghaznīn from Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, only he relates it as taking place in 649 H. See page 689, and note [8].

According to Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān reduced under his subjection the Jaṭs, Khokhars, Bhaṭīs, the Mīnīs, and the Mandāhars, and was succeeded in the fief of Sunnām by Tamur Khān, who was also one of the Chihl-gānīān. He is not the person referred to by our author, at page 741, he having died many years previously.

[2] At page 702, he is styled Malik Kashlī Khān, Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, Sulṭānī Shamsī [i. e. the slave of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish], and further entitled, "Ulugh Kutlugh, A'ẓam-i-Bār-Bak."

There is no doubt, I think, but that the 'Alī-gaṛh inscription given by Thomas [PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLI, page 129, and by Blochmann, in his *Contributions*, page 40] refers to him, as his brother, Ulugh Khān, is never, throughout this work, styled "A'ẓam-i-Bār-Bak," but his brother did hold the office of Bār-Bak, and is styled *Kutlugh* and Saif-ul-Ḥakk wa ud-Dīn. He

brother, paternally and maternally, of the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam. They were both two pearls of one shell, two suns and two moons of one exalted constellation, two rubies of one mine, two flowers of one parterre of prosperity, two Maliks of one royal Court, and two great lords of one imperial conclave. Their lineage was from the Khāns of the Ilbarī, and, when the infidel Mughals acquired predominance over the countries of Turkistān and the tribes of Khifchāk, as a matter of necessity, it became incumbent on them to remove, with their families, dependents, and effects, from their accustomed place of abode.

Malik Kashlī Khān-i-Ī-bak was the younger brother, and the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, the elder. At this time the [future] Malik and Amīr-i-Ḥājib was of tender years, and, when they [the tribe] decamped before the Mughals, on their way was marshy ground, and the [future] Malik, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, in the night, fell out of the waggon, in which he was, into the mud, and no one had the power to take him out of the quagmire, because the Mughals were at their heels. They urged forward their waggons, and he [the child] remained in that same place [where he fell]. Ulugh Khān returned to the spot where his little brother was, and took him up. A second time the Mughals came up behind them, and the [future] Malik, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, fell into their hands.

By the decrees of heaven, a merchant, having purchased him, brought him to the cities of Islām, and Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk, Rashīd-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, the Ḥabash [Abyssinian], who had proceeded from the Court of Dihlī on a mission to Miṣr [Egypt] and Baghdād [8], purchased the [future] Malik, the

also held the fief in which 'Alī-gaṛh, otherwise Sābit gaṛh, is situated, but not until 653 H. I doubt, however, the correctness of the reading of *Balban* in the inscription given in the first-named work.

The year 652 H., mentioned in the reading of this inscription, is that in which Ulugh Khān and his party, who had been ousted from power, succeeded, in the latter part of it, in regaining it; and, at this time, his brother had been recently deprived of his office, and sent to the fief of Kaṛah. Whoever he was, it would require a great stretch of the imagination to conceive what he had to do with China — الصين

[8] This, evidently, is connected with the arrival of the emissaries from Baghdād with a robe of honour, from the Khalīfah, for I-yal-timish, mentioned under the latter's reign, at page 616, which see, and note [9].

Amīr-i-Ḥājib, from that merchant. Indications of rectitude were manifest on his brow, and Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk brought him from thence[4] to the capital, Dihlī, and the august Sulṭān [I-yal-timish] purchased him of Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk. The lights of intellect and intelligence, and the indications of rectitude and sagacity were beaming upon his brow. These words are written from a sense of justice and truth, for, among the Turks, a Malik more sagacious, with more modesty or more constancy, the eye of beholder never gazed upon. The Most High God had graced him with divers endowments of manliness and humanity, and adorned him with laudable qualities and excellent conduct.

In wisdom and sagacity he excelled all the Wazīrs of the past, and, in valour and prowess, had placed the foot of manhood higher on the pinnacle [of perfection ?] than the whole of the champions of Īrān and Tūrān May the Most High God, in the gardens of bliss on high, confer upon him pardon and mercy, and bless him ; and continue the Khān-i-Mu'azzam[5] [his brother], in sway and authority, permanent and perpetual! We now come to the topic of history.

When the august Sulṭān purchased the [future] Malik, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, he continued to serve in the Sulṭān's

I-yal-timish evidently despatched this envoy to the court of the Khalifah of Baghdād to seek from him a deed of investiture as sovereign of Hindūstān. This was done probably after he had "secured" all his rivals, and found himself firmly established, and the person above mentioned was his envoy The Khalj Sulṭān of Lakhanawatī appears to have done the same See note page 774.

[4] No place mentioned, but, from what is stated above, he may have purchased him at Baghdād.

[5] The Calcutta Printed Text, and two modern copies of the text, with slight variation, have the words—"who is the Bādshāh of the age, and the Shāhan-Shāh of the time" here , and, from this, Thomas says, it is a proof that this part of our author's work was written when Balban was King of Dihlī. There are, however, many *proofs* to the contrary, in the shape of several invocations for the reigning Sulṭān and for Ulugh Khān *in the same sentence* farther on, and a more particular proof in the fact, that this evident interpolation does not occur in two of the three oldest copies of the text, nor even in the I. O. L. *MS.* 1952, and R A S *MS* By what follows after the word Mu'aẓẓam we need scarcely imagine, from the power which Ulugh Khān held as Deputy of the kingdom under the puppet Sulṭān—the former possessing and exercising the whole power in reality—that our author means that Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, was *dead*, for, a few lines farther on, such a doubt is set at rest completely. Our author evidently refers to his authority as Deputy of the kingdom, and no more.

own presence chamber, until, in the reign of Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, he became the deputy Sar-i-Jān-dār. After some time, in the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, he was made Sar-i-Jān-dār[6]. Subsequently, during the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, he became Amīr-i-Ākhur. He continued, in this manner, to exercise that authority and office up to the time that the throne of sovereignty became adorned with the august dignity of the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh—May God prolong his reign and sovereignty!—and, when the Sulṭān conferred upon the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam—May God prolong his prosperity!—the name and title of Khān, the Malik, Kashlī Khān, was elevated from the office of Amīr-i-Ākhur to the dignity of Amīr-i-Ḥājib. When Nāg-awr was taken from Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, it was entrusted to the charge of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Kashlī Khān, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib[7].

Whilst Malik Kashlī Khān filled the office of Amīr-i-Ḥājib, he studied so much to please the great, the middle rank, and the least in degree, as the pen cannot write, and showed such regard and favour towards the Turk Maliks, the Tājzīk nobles, and the Khalj Amīrs, as cannot be contained within the limits of writing. All hearts became filled with good-will towards him, and all persons felt obliged by his favours. When the Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, departed[8] for Nāg-awr, they gave the khiṭṭah [district or territory] of Kaṛah to the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, Kashlī Khān, his brother, and to that part he proceeded. When Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam returned to the Court again, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib returned likewise, and he became Amīr-i-Ḥājib the second time[9].

After some time, when, in the month of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 653 H., Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of 'Alī [the Ghūrī, who was the Lieutenant of the kingdom]—May he rest in peace!—departed[1] to the eternal mansion, the territory

[6] The printed text generally turns جاندار—Jān-dār into جامدار—Jām dār

[7] See pages 689 and 781

[8] When he was ousted from office, deprived of the fief of Hānsī, and forced to content himself with the fief of Nāg-awr

[9] See page 702

[1] He was put to death, and the reason of it is not plainly stated. It is another of our author's mysteries.

and city of Mîraṭ was placed in the Amîr-i-Ḥājib's charge, to the skirt of the mountains of Bandîārān. During some years he reduced under his sway those confines and districts, and he took possession of the country within the mountain territory of Bandîārān [2], as far as Ṛuṛkî, and Mîā-pūr, and extorted tribute, and overthrew Rānās and independent [Hindū] tribes, and reduced them to subjection, until the year 656 H., when weakness gained the ascendancy over his dear body and delicate form, and his intestines became swollen [3]. Through excessive modesty and bashfulness, he did not make known the whole of his disease to any one, and, for a period of some months, he endured affliction; and, as the appointed time was come, on Sunday, the 20th of the month of Rajab, 657 H., he transmitted his blessed soul, on the couch of pardon, attended by the escort of sincere piety, to the presence of majesty and nearness of glory.

May the Most High God keep in His protection the sovereign of the present time, the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dîn, for the sake of His most illustrious prophet, Muḥammad!

## XXV. UL-KHĀḲĀN-UL-MUA'ZZAM-UL-A'ZAM, BAHĀ-UL-ḤAḲḲ WA UD-DÎN, ULUGH KHĀN-I-BALBAN-US-SULṬĀNÎ [4].

The Khāḳān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, is of

[2] Six copies of the text, including the three oldest, have ندباران as above, two have پندباران one دبانی , one ندبان one دبابدارن one بارات · the others are unintelligible. The Kumā'ūn mountains are undoubtedly referred to, and I should have expected the first part of the word to have been نندی—Nandî or نندہ—Nandah Nandah Dîwî is the name of one of the peaks overlooking them.

The second word is written رڑکی in the majority of the copies, in some دڑکی and ددکی [these are probably meant for رڑکی, as, in MS د and ر and و are much alike if carelessly written], and دڑکی Mîā pūr occurs in every copy collated with a single exception, which has Mahā-pūr

I have spelt Ruṛkî, as it should be written with the equivalent of Sanskrit ड़ The Mîā-pūr, here mentioned, is probably Mîā-pūrî, a very old place, a little to the S. W of Hardwār [Hrad-wār].

[3] Hernia probably

[4] That is, Balban, the Sulṭān's slave. It is a wholly erroneous statement that Ulugh Khān was called "Bahá-ud-Dín Balban, Ulugh Khán:" the title Bahā-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dîn—a title bestowed by our author—is also given to his cousin, Sher Khān, and to his brother, Saif-ud-Dîn, Î-bak. Ulugh

the posterity of the renowned Khāns[5] of the Ilbarī [tribe]. The father of Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān-i-Sunḳar, and the father of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam[6], were born of one father and one mother. The father of these two was of the seed of Abar[7] Khān, the Ilbarī, and he was the Khān of about 10,000 families; and their affinity to the Ilbarī [tribe] of Turkistān is well-known among the tribes of Turks. At this period, the sons of his [Ulugh Khān's] paternal uncle still continue to hold the name of greatness among those tribes of Turks: this fact was heard [by the author] from the late Malik, Kuret Khān-i-Sanjar.

Forasmuch as the Almighty God had willed to grant a bulwark for the support of Islām and the stability of the Muhammadī religion, and confer a shelter of protection in [this] the end of the world, and keep Hindūstān within the area of His own favour and the sphere of integrity, He had removed Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, in his youth, from Turkistān, and, on account of the domination of the Mughals in that country, had severed him from his family and kinsmen, and from among his tribes and people, so that they brought him to Baghdād[8]. The Khwājah, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, of Baṣrah

Khān's name, before he received that title, was Ghiyāṣ ud-Dīn, Balban. See Thomas: PAṬHÁN KINGS, page 124.

[5] There is not a word about "Khakáns" of the Ilbarī either in the MS. copies of the text or the Calcutta Printed Text, as in Elliot: INDIA, vol. ii. page 360. The word is [illegible]. The renown of the "renowned" Khāns above mentioned is not recorded in history I believe. It is somewhat remarkable that Shāms-ud-Dīn, and his three slaves—Ulugh Khān, his brother, and their cousin—should have been all of the same tribe, as I have before noticed. In one copy of the text only, the name of the tribe is written [illegible] — *Ilbarrī*. It is also strange that the name of Ulugh Khān's father is not mentioned.

[6] Several copies of the text have "Sultan" instead of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, but the former may be attributed to over zealous copyists.

[7] This name is written in several ways, but the majority of copies have [illegible] —Abar, with the vowel points, some have [illegible] —Āyab, one [illegible] —Abah, one [illegible] —Ayyah, and some leave it out altogether.

[8] Some copies have "and from thence into Gujarāt," but this does not occur in the oldest copies. Abū-'Abd ullah, Muhammad, of Ṭānjīrs, otherwise, the son of Baṭūṭah, in his Travels, gives the following account of Ulugh Khān, I quote the translation by Lee: "This man's name was originally Balaban [Balban], his character had been just, discriminating, and mild: he filled the office of Nawāb [Nawwāb] of India, under Nāsir Oddin [Nāṣir ud-Dīn], for twenty years: he also reigned twenty years. ... When a child he lived at Bokhāra in the possession of one of its inhabitants, and was a little despicable ill-looking wretch. Upon a time, a certain Fakeer saw him there, and said, 'You little Turk!' which is considered by them as a very reproachful

—on whom be peace!—who was noted for his piety, honesty, resolution of purpose, and conscientiousness, purchased him, and used to foster him in the hall of his kindness like a son. As the signs of integrity and sagacity were clear and manifest upon his sacred brow, he [the Khwājah] was wont to look upon him with the eye of benevolence, and regard him with special esteem; and, in the year 630 H., he brought Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam to the capital city of Dihlī, at which time the throne of sovereignty was adorned with the sublime majesty of the august Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish—May he rest in peace!—and brought, along with him, several other Turks, to the presence of the Sulṭān.

When the sacred look of that august monarch fell upon Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, under the auspices of his dignity and sagacity, the whole of those Turks were disposed of, and he was honoured with an office before the throne [8]. As the lustre of felicity and the effulgence of prosperity

term The reply was "I am here, good Sir!" This surprised the Fakeer, who said to him, 'Go and bring me one of those pomegranates,' pointing to some which had been exposed for sale in the street. The urchin replied, 'Yes, Sir,' and immediately, taking out all the money he had, went and bought the pomegranate When the Fakeer received it, he said to Balaban, 'We give you the kingdom of India' Upon which the boy kissed his own hand, and said, 'I have accepted of it, and am quite satisfied'

"It happened, about this time, that the Sultan Shams Oddīn sent a merchant to purchase slaves from Bokhāra and Samarkand He accordingly bought a hundred, and Balaban was among them When these Mamlūks were brought before the Sultan, they all pleased him *except Balaban, and him he rejected, on account of his despicable appearance* Upon this, Balaban said to the Emperor, 'Lord of the world! why have you bought all these slaves?' The Emperor smiled, and said, 'For my own sake, no doubt.' The slave replied, 'Buy me then, for God's sake' 'I will,' said he He then accepted him, and placed him among the rest, but, on account of the badness of his appearance, gave him a situation among the cup-bearers"!'

Ulugh Khān has the reputation of having been a very fine man.

The traveller appears to have mixed up an anecdote respecting the Atā-Bak, Īlatt-giz, of 'Irāķ and Āẕarbāijān, and that related of Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, by our author [page 600], into one delightful jumble

There is a great deal more of such like nonsense as this, but the translator mentions Firishtah, and quotes him—his text not a translation—showing that, according to the crude idea of the writer, he considers the name *Balban* to be that of a Turkish *tribe* because several persons, so named, occur in Firishtah's history After the same fashion Ī-bak would be the name of a Turkish tribe perhaps. See also note [6], page 678.

[8] ELLIOT. "When the monarch observed him he bought *all the lot of* Turks and appointed *them* to attend before his throne!"

shone upon his brow, the Sulṭān made him his Khāṣah-dār[1] [personal attendant] as if he had placed the falcon of dominion and power upon his sacred wrist; and, in fact, this took place in order, that, in the reign of his children, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam should restrain the enemies of the realm from violence and bar their ambition, and so it turned out to the end that the glory of the Shamsī sovereignty might shine forth from the horizon of good fortune. Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam continued to serve in that office; and, by the will of heaven, he found his brother [the future] Kashlī Khān, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, again, and greatly rejoiced at his re-appearance, and acquired strength therefrom.

When the throne of empire devolved upon Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, Ulugh Khān went out of the capital along with the Turks when they left it, and proceeded towards [upper?] Hindūstān[2], and, when they were brought back, he returned likewise, in their army, and was imprisoned for a short time, and disappointment overspread his sacred face. The purpose, in that incident, may have been—God knows! —that he might realize the measure of misery of the grief-stricken, so that, when he attained the felicity of dominion, he might have compassion upon such persons, and give thanks for the blessing of power.

[1] Khāṣah-bardār is the name formerly applied to a soldier whose arms were furnished by his master, and, in more recent times, applied to the bearer of the *betel* box; but we are not to suppose that Sulṭān I-yal-timish was so much of a Hindū as to chew *pān supārī*. The word above used seems to signify a page, henchman, or personal attendant, perhaps a falconer.

The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī states that Ulugh Khān was the slave and *dāmād*—son-in-law, and sometimes, but rarely, used for the husband of the sovereign's sister—of I-yal-timish, and Firishtah, of course, agrees. But where is there the least authority whatever for such a statement? Our author was not likely to conceal such a matter as this, tending to the glorification of his patron. To judge from the fact of his causing himself to be proclaimed Sulṭān [see page 661], the lenient manner in which he was treated after such continual and repeated misconduct, and an elephant having been assigned him, Balban-i Kashlū Khān is more likely to have been related by marriage to I-yal-timish than Balban-i-Ulugh Khān. Fancy Ibn-Baṭūṭah's "*little despicable ill-looking wretch*," his master's son-in-law! I-yal-timish died only about two years after the future Ulugh Khān's purchase, but Kashlū Khān was purchased in 624 H.

[2] This refers to the affair which culminated at Tarā'in in 634. See page 638.

### ANECDOTE.

They have related that there was a monarch at the acme of felicity and the zenith of dominion. He had a son of extreme beauty and sagacity, merit and innocence. That monarch commanded, so that wherever wise, intelligent, learned, and accomplished persons were [to be found], they got them together for the purpose of instructing that son; and one of those accomplished men, who was superior to the others, and excelled the rest in a variety of wisdom, knowledge, and learning, and various arts and sciences, was selected by the monarch, and placed in charge of the education of that light of his eyes, his son.

The king commanded, saying: "It is necessary that this son of mine should acquire instruction in, and information respecting, the theory of the truths of religion, and thorough knowledge of the difficulties of power, the subtile distinctions of knowledge, the treasuring up of information, the conditions of government, the institutions of prosperity, the ways of fostering subjects, and the laws respecting the dispensation of justice, and that he should be acquainted with the contingencies and complications of them all."

That learned man placed the face of acceptance to the ground of service, and occupied himself in his task. When the prescribed period of the youth's education terminated, and the seeds of instruction came up, and the honorary robe of erudition became fitted to the person, and that son, the one fruit of the king's tree, became embellished in all accomplishments, they made known to the monarch the matter of his son's perfect acquirements. He commanded, saying: "It is necessary that the preceptor should be present in the audience-hall of sovereignty to-morrow at morning dawn; and let the prince also be brought thither, in order that the divers pearls of learning, which he has acquired, he may string upon the thread of demonstration, so that gentle and simple—high and low—may become enlightened and cognizant of the perfect knowledge, the elegance of attainments, the realities of capacity, and performances of penetration of my son."

On this command being issued, the preceptor solicited three days' delay from the monarch; and, on his request

being granted, the preceptor, early in the morning of the [next] day, mounted, and brought forth the young prince from the city for the purpose of taking a ramble. After they had passed beyond the habitations, the preceptor made the prince dismount, and constrained him to walk on in front of his [the preceptor's] horse, and obliged him to run along several leagues to keep up with his horse's cantering, in such wise that the delicate person of the prince became excessively afflicted from the fatigue of walking and running. So he brought him back to the city again.

The second day, the preceptor entered the school-room, and commanded the prince, saying: "Get up, and remain standing," and, in this way, he kept him standing during the whole day, in such wise that the prince's tender body was sorely pained. When the third day came, the preceptor entered the school-room, and directed that the place should be cleared, tied the hands and feet of the king's son together, and inflicted upon him more than a hundred blows with a cane; and, from the severity of the flogging, all the limbs of the young prince's body, from the number of blows, became wounded. He left him thus bound, repeated the invocation before flight[1], and disappeared.

A number of servants, on becoming aware of the circumstance, liberated the king's son from his bonds, and sought for the preceptor, but could not find him They made a representation to the king, and he directed them to bring his son before him, and, upon every science wherein they questioned him, they found him so proficient that "there is no exceeding perfection" fitly described his proficiency. The king remarked, saying: "The preceptor, in teaching and instructing, and making his pupil perfect, has, by the grace of Almighty God, not neglected the least thing It would be well to know the cause of these cuts and hurts, and what was the reason of his flight."

He commanded, so that they used their utmost endeavours in seeking the preceptor, and, after a considerable time, and at a distant period, they again found him, and brought him into the monarch's presence. He showed the preceptor great reverence and honour, and inquired of

[1] A prayer or invocation according to Musalmān custom

him the motive of the severe flogging, and compelling the young prince to run on foot on the first day, making him stand all the second day, the reason of leaving him bound, and the cause of his own disappearance, on the third. The preceptor, bowing the head of service to the ground of representation, replied: "May the king's felicity continue! It will be manifest to the sublime mind, that it behoveth the possessor of dominion to understand the condition of those persons who are objects of commendation and approval, and likewise the state of those individuals who are the objects of indignation and reprehension, so that whatever he may command in such circumstances may be fitting; and, in no manner whatsoever, either in pleasure or displeasure, may he deviate from the bounds of moderation. Your slave was desirous of making the prince acquainted with the condition of the oppressed, the captive, and of the numbers who have to run before [his] horse, of the people who may have to remain standing [before him], and of the state of those persons who may have become deserving of condign punishment, or of being made public examples of, so that, when exercising his royal wrath, he may conceive what measure of distress and pain their hearts and bodies suffer, and that, when he should have endured somewhat of such severities, whatsoever he may direct as regards punishment, running, or standing, he may do so in proportion to their powers of endurance and strength. The reason, moreover of my flight and disappearance was apprehension, since the noble person and delicate frame of the prince had sustained affliction, lest parental affection should have induced the king, in requital of such act on the part of his humble servant, to have censured him, whereby all his pains and labours would have been thrown away."

This anecdote was applicable to the case of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam in the amount of trouble that befell him in being brought back again to the capital among the Turks[4], in order that, when he attained unto power, and became Lieutenant of the kingdom[5], he might be cognizant of the

[4] It would be interesting to know why he was treated in this manner, but the reason does not transpire

[5] The word used in one of the best and oldest copies of the text is نائب سلطنه

condition of the broken and oppressed. May Almighty God cause justice and beneficence to be the associate of all his acts and proceedings!

We have returned to the subject of the narration of this history.

When the sovereignty devolved upon Sulṭān Raẓiyyat, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam was, as before, Khāṣah-dār, until good fortune came to his aid, and he became Amīr-i-Shikār [Chief Huntsman]. The ball of fate was saying: "a world will be the quarry of his power, and a universe the prey of his authority," hence the first of his offices was that of the Chief Huntsmanship. When he had filled that office some time, and had done approved service, suddenly, the sun of the Raẓiyyat dynasty came to its setting, and the luminary of the Mu'izzī sovereignty arose, and the Ulugh Khānī prosperity began to increase. As in the duties of Chief Huntsman he had filled that office well, and done approved service, he became Amīr-i-Ākhur, and the horses of state and of sovereignty came under the bridle of his possession. When Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, the Ṣūfī, was made Amīr-i-Ḥājib, he, having a parental affection towards Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, showed a sincere regard for his welfare, and raised Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam to a still higher degree. The fief[6] of Rīwāṛī was entrusted to his charge; and, when he proceeded to that part, he thoroughly chastized the independent [Hindū] tribes of the Koh-pāyah[7] by the power of his valour, and reduced those tracts under his jurisdiction.

When the Mu'izzī sovereignty began to totter, and the Maliks, in concert together, appeared before the gate of the city [of Dihlī], and the whole of the Amīrs and Maliks

as above, and another has سلطنة نيابت but, if I left out the word نيابت—deputy or lieutenant—the sense would be materially changed, and it would be "in order that when he attained unto power and *sovereignty*," &c.,—but this is not meant by our author—and it might then naturally be supposed, by a reader, that this history was written during Balban's reign, *if* one solitary passage were sufficient to prove it, contrary to scores of others. See note [3], page 797.

[6] Not "lands." it was an extensive and important tract of country, as the context shows.

[7] In ELLIOT, page 362, the words مواسات كوه پايه are rendered "hill chiefs," but in several other places the word is not translated at all, and "the Mawāsīs" are introduced as if the word was a proper name. The Koh-pāyah is a tract repeatedly mentioned, the *literal* meaning of which is "hill skirt."

conspired among themselves, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam—May his power be perpetuated[8]!—who was feudatory of Rīwāṛī, in concert with other Maliks[9] and Amīrs, displayed so much sagacity in ascertaining the aims and intentions of the Maliks, that among the whole of them—Turk or Tājzīk, not one attained to the hundredth part thereof; and the whole [of them] admitted his firmness, heroism, intrepidity, and enterprise to be greater than that of all the Maliks and Amīrs of that period. On the city being taken, the fief of Hānsī was made over to his charge,[1] and, on that territory coming under his control, he turned his attention to its cultivation and improvement; and the people, from the effects of his justice and conspicuous liberality, became contented and prosperous.

Ulugh Khān's affairs became so flourishing,[2] that the whole of the Maliks and Amīrs began to be jealous at the freshness of his good fortune, and envy's disquieting thorn began to prick their minds, but, as Almighty God had willed that he should be greater than the whole [of them], by how much the more the fire of their envy increased, by so much the more did the incense of his prosperity, within the censer of time, diffuse additional perfume: "They endeavour to extinguish the light of God with [the breath of] their mouths, but God rejects aught but the perfection of his light."—May Almighty God prolong his office of power,

[8] The Printed Text, and two *MS.* copies—modern ones—but neither of them the I. O. L. *MS.*, No 1952, nor the R. A. S. *MS.*, have "the Sulṭān—May his dominion and sovereignty continue!—who was feudatory of Rīwāṛī," &c., which convinces Mr Dowson [ELLIOT vol. ii page 362] "that this part of the work was written in the reign of Balban." The majority of copies, however, including the oldest, have as rendered above. See note [4], next page.

[9] The word "Maliks," here, does not signify *princes* any more than it does kings: it refers to those persons, with a single exception, slaves, mentioned in this Section. Compare ELLIOT here.

[1] In a few copies "to the charge of his retainers."

[2] Here is a good proof of how the Calcutta Printed Text—the "official Text"—has been "revised" before printing. It has, whilst referring to Ulugh Khān the whole time—و کار دولت سلطان جهانی رسید—thus turning him into a Sulṭān, a *quarter of a century* too soon. All the best copies have the name of Ulugh Khān, where Sulṭān has been inserted in the Printed Text, or Ulugh Khānī, which latter mode of writing makes it "the prosperity of the Ulugh Khānī affairs," whilst the first would be "the prosperity of the Ulugh Khān affairs." In two modern copies of the text, the word سلطان has been written in mistake for الغان

and make this servant of the state, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, who is the author of this ṬABAKĀT, feel due gratitude towards him, for his abundant benefactions combined with respect, for, should a thousand sections of paper be filled with closely written encomiums on his admirable qualities and inestimable virtues, it would be but as a drop in the vast ocean, and not even a single particle from out of the fragrance from the paradise-like flower garden [thereof] would have affected the smelling sense of hearer or reader, and, should a hundred thousand such-like effusions be composed, out of gratitude for the princely countenance of this great lord, at the foot-step of the exalted throne of the king of the sovereigns of the face of the earth—May God perpetuate his dominion and sovereignty [3]—towards this servant, in the entrusting of offices, the bestowal of appointments, and abundant benefactions, together with honour and reverence, which he still continues to bestow, even yet, the debts of gratitude will be due to him, in return for those benefits, by this servant, by his children, and by his family. May the Almighty God long preserve his high majesty, the Sultān of the Sultāns of the universe, NĀSIR-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN, ABŪ-L-MUZAFFAR-I-MAHMŪD SHĀH, in the pomp of power, decked in the jewels of submission, and adorned with the garment of the services of that KHĀKĀN-I-MU'AZZAM, the Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, to the utmost bounds of possibility in the revolution of time,[3] for the sake of Muhammad and the whole of his posterity! [4]

We have returned to the subject of this history.

This frail one, in the year 640 H., chanced to undertake a journey to Lakhanawati. On this journey he continued two years with his family and dependents. Trustworthy

[3] But two copies have the correct word here, which is فلكى—celestial—all the rest have ملكى the adjective derived from ملك—Malik, or Mulk

[4] Had those, who looked upon the imperfect passages in the Printed Text for "proofs" that this account of Ulugh Khān was written in his reign, read or translated this passage, where "*The author continues in a high strain of benediction and eulogy*," they would have found undoubted proof that Ulugh Khān *was not king* when this was written. He was, however, father in law to the Sulṭān and his Deputy or Lieutenant, in fact, his master, and possessed all the power, and Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, was a mere puppet. It is somewhat strange that there is not the most remote allusion to Ulugh Khān's having been manumitted throughout this work. It seems scarcely possible that he was still a slave

persons have related on this wise, that, in the year 642 H.[5], the Khāķān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam[6], became Amīr-i-Ḥājib in the illustrious capital, Dihlī, when the august standards—may victory and success expand them!—moved out of Dihlī, into the Do-āb of the Jūn and Gang, and when he gave the rebels of Jarālī and Datolī[7], and other independent [Hindū] tribes, a thorough chastisement, and carried on holy war, as by the faith enjoined, and the roads in the adjacent parts of that territory were cleared of the violence of the contumacious[8]. The author of this work [at this time], in conformity with the sublime commands, in company with Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ṯughril-i-Ṯughān Khān, returned from Lakhanawatī again with his family and dependents, and arrived at the capital, Dihlī, in the year 643 H.[9]

In this same year, Mangūtah[1] the accursed, who was one of the Mughal leaders, and of the Maliks of Turkistān, led an army from the borders of Ṯāe-kān[2] and Ķunduz, into the territories of Sind, and invested the fortress of Ūchchah, which is one of the famous strongholds of the country of Sind, and of the territory[3] of Manṣūrah. Within

[5] The Calcutta Printed Text has 642 H., and 641 H., as in ELLIOT, is incorrect. See page 664, and note [3].

[6] He is thus styled, except at page 810, throughout the remainder of this work, but I shall, for simplicity's sake, merely style him as previously, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam.

[7] Every copy of the text has جرالی as above with very trifling differences, and the oldest and best copies have also دتولی as above, but some have دیولی which seems intended for the same, but the copyists have put the points under and made the letter ی instead of ت and a few have no points at all. I fail to recognize these places. There is a Jurowli in Lat. 28° 17', Long. 78° 17', in the Survey Map, and a place named Atrowlī, in Lat. 28° 2', Long. 78° 20'.

[8] This is not mentioned under the reign. See page 663, and note [9].

[9] See page 667, and 735.

[1] In some few copies Mangūtī, which is not correct. In ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 363, Mr. Dowson makes Mangū Khān of him, although his name is given correctly in the text. The Great Khān, Mangū Ķā'ān, was never east of the Indus in his life.

[2] Two of the three oldest copies have طلقان—Ṯal ķān—here, the third oldest and others طالقان—Ṯāl-ķān, and طائقان—Ṯāe ķān, and some have no points to the third letter, hence it may be read Ṯāe-ķān or Ṯāl-ķān. The place intended is that *east* of "Ķunduz," and is correctly Ṯāe-ķān as distinct from Ṯāl-ķān of Ṯukhāristān. I shall have to refer again to these places in the last Section, as they are very liable to be mistaken one for the other.

[3] The word [illegible] does not mean "equal to." The Printed Text is quite correct here, and "the words" are "as precise" as they are anywhere through-

that fortress a Khwājah Sarāe [Eunuch], one of the servants of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, son of [the late] Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān, Ayāz-i-Hazār-Mardah, named Mukhliṣ-ud-Dīn, was the Kotwāl-Bak [Seneschal], and a slave of Ḳabīr Khān, Aḳ-Sunḳar, by name, was the Amīr-i-Dād [Lord Justiciary].

When intimation of this irruption reached the capital, Malik Ulugh Khān[4] represented it[5] for the sublime consideration, and caused an army to be organized for the purpose of repelling the Mughals. While every one of the [other] Amīrs and Maliks[6] was showing indecision about this undertaking, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam showed determination in carrying it out; and, when the royal standards moved for-

out that work. See ELLIOT: vol. ii. page 363. The very same word, at page 303 of that work, is rendered "lands."

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, and his son Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū Bikr, are both mentioned at page 727, and there it is stated that, when the Mughals under the Nū-īn, Mangūtah, turned their faces towards Lohor, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, who was feudatory of Multān, assumed sovereignty, and soon after, in 639 H., died. The death of his son is also recorded, but nothing whatever respecting this attack upon Ūchchah, which must have happened after the son's death, the date of which is not given.

There is an excellent specimen of the lamentable errors that may be caused through not knowing when and where the *izāfat*—so "*un*-Persian," and "never use" to signify *son of*," according to Mr. Blochmann [See APPENDIX C., xvii., and his "*Bengal Contributions*," part iii. page 138], and which "*is restricted to poetry, and does not occur in prose*"—ought to be used, in the extract from our author's work given in ELLIOT. The following is the rendering of this passage in that work, vol. ii. page 363. "He laid siege to Uch, one of the most renowned fortresses of Sindh, and *equal to* Mansúra. There was a eunuch in (command of) the fort who belonged to the household of *Tajú-d dín. Abú Bakr-Kabír Khán Aksunkar was chief justice, and Mukhlisu-d-dín was kotwal.*" This last rendering is well worthy Mr. Blochmann's attention.

Here we have Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr's title and name *separated into two parts*, then *his name is given to his father*, Kabīr Khān, *and the father's name and title, and his son's name also, are all given to* Kabīr Khān's SLAVE *whose name was* Aḳ-Sunḳar. I need but add that, in this instance, the Calcutta "official" Text is perfectly correct with the exception of not having all the father's names and titles recorded as above: had they all been contained in it, what a number might not have been heaped upon the slave! Kabīr Khān's titles, and his son's will be found at pages 724—727.

[4] He is thus styled in the text, but did not receive the title of Ulugh Khān until many years after—in 664 H. At this period he was Malik Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban, only.

[5] Not "his views." He brought it to the Sulṭān's notice by virtue of the office he held. He was the cause of an army's being got ready. See page 667 and note [4].

[6] See note [9], page 807.

ward towards that [threatened] quarter, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam—Be his power prolonged!—despatched guides in advance on the line of route, so that [the troops] used to get over the marches with rapidity. He was wont to represent to the troops that the [next] halting-ground would be about eight *kuroh*[7] off, and [consequently] about twelve *kuroh*, and even more than that they used to march, until the forces reached the banks of the Biāh, and passed over that river, and he conducted them to the banks of the river Rāwah [Rāwī] of Lohor[8].

In this manner used he to show such-like determination on this expedition, and such lion-heartedness, and was wont to stimulate the Sulṭān and Maliks to repel the infidel Mughals, until Monday, the 25th of the month of Sha'bān, 643 H., when intimation reached the royal camp that the army of infidel Mughals had raised the investment of the fortress of Ūchchah. The cause of it was, that, on reaching the vicinity of the river Biāh, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam appointed couriers, and directed so that they wrote letters from the sublime presence to the garrison of the fort of Ūchchah, and announced to them the approach of the royal standards, the vast numbers of the array and elephants, the host of cavalry with the army, and the courage of the soldiery in attendance at the august stirrup, and despatched them towards the fortress of Ūchchah. A division from the army was moved on in front, to act as a reconnoitring force and advance guard.

When the couriers reached the vicinity of Ūchchah, a few of these letters fell into the hands of the host of the accursed, and some reached the people of the fortress. On the drum of joy being beaten in the fort, and the subject of the letters, the advance of the victorious army, and approach of the royal standards, becoming manifest to the

[7] His object, in making the troops believe that the marches were much shorter than they were in reality, can be easily seen through, but compare ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 363.

[8] There is nothing in the text about "reaching Lahore:" it is the Rāwah [in some, Rāwī] *of* Lohor. See also page 726, and page 792.

As the Biāh and Rāwī then flowed, before the Sutlaj ran in its present bed, the Dihlī forces would have been in a position to threaten the Mughal line of retreat, as stated farther on, and would have marched down the Do-ābah and reached Ūchchah without having any other river to cross. See the note on the Lost River or Hakṛā, and the changes in the beds of the Panjāb rivers.

accursed Mangūtah, and the cavalry of the advance guard approaching the banks of the river Bīāh of Lohor, near to the frontiers of the territory of Sind, fear and terror became manifest in the heart and spirit of the Mug͟hal [leader], and the favour of the Creator became a helper[9] [of the Dihlī army].

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that, when Mangūtah became aware of the advance of the army of Islām, and approach of the royal standards, and that the army moved towards the river Bīāh, near the skirts of the mountains, and from thence, in the same manner, was marching along the banks of that river, he made inquiry of some persons[1] what might be the reason of the deviation of the army of Islām towards the skirts of the hills, because that was a longer route, while that by way of Sursutī and Marūṭ[2] was near. They replied that, on account of the number of islands on the banks of the river[3], there might

[9] See under the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd S͟hāh, page 667.

[1] Not "prisoners" necessarily.

[2] Compare ELLIOT, vol ii. page 364, where Marūt is supposed to be intended for *Mīrat*. It is the same place as mentioned at page 350 of the same volume, where the same error is made. See also page 688.

Marūṭ is a well known place. It is a small town with a bastioned wall, in the direct route from Dihlī to Bahāwal-pūr and Uchchah, and to Bahāwal-pūr and Multān. It is only about *five degrees* west of "Mirat," if that *east* of Dihlī is referred to. Bahāwal-pūr is, comparatively, quite a modern town. The Mug͟hals seem to have been pretty well acquainted with the geography of these parts.

[3] Sic in *MSS.* Long narrow banks of sand, probably extending in some places for several miles, and, sometimes, of some height, are doubtless meant here, such as are formed after the annual inundations, with water, sometimes of considerable depth, between. These would have caused great obstructions, and have taken much time to cross, and, therefore, the forces of Dihlī kept farther north, and made their march a flank movement at the same time, which may have been the original intention. In what direction they went may be seen farther on.

The above passage, as rendered in ELLIOT, is quoted by the writer of an interesting article in one of the numbers of the Calcutta Review for 1874, entitled "THE LOST RIVER OF THE INDIAN DESERT," to prove his theory respecting it; but the passage in question is not correct in the Calcutta Printed Text, neither is it quite correctly rendered in the translation referred to. The word in the printed text which is supposed to mean "*fissures*" [plural], namely جر is but part of the word جزاير—signifying *islands*, &c.; and, moreover, the writer in the Calcutta Review does not quote ELLIOT correctly. He says, "It is stated in the Tabakát-i-Násiri that when Uchh was besieged by the Mughals in 643 H. (A D. 1245) the army *sent* to its relief *was unable to march* by Sarsuti and *Marot*, in consequence of the *drought on the banks*

not be a road for the army of Islām. Mangūtah remarked: "This is a vast army: we have not the power to resist it: it is necessary to retire;" and fear overcame him and his army lest, if they remained longer, their line of retreat should be cut off[4]. Their army was formed into three divisions, and routed, they fled, and numerous captives, both Musalmān and Hindū, obtained their liberty [in consequence]. The instrument of that success was the vigour, the military talent, intrepidity, and zeal of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam[5], for, had he not shown such lion-heartedness and heroism, such a success would not have resulted. Almighty God of His favour and beneficence have him in His keeping!

After such a success came to pass, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam represented that it was advisable that the royal forces should move towards the river Sūdharah, in order that their strength, their number, valour, and energy might be established in the hearts and minds of the enemy, and, according to that counsel, the army marched to the banks of the

of the river." Neither is *drought* nor *inability* to march mentioned in our author's text, and, even in the passage in ELLIOT, there is not a word about drought.

The lower part of the course of the present Ghārah, which formed, or close to which lay, at the period in question, the bed of the Biāh, before they flowed in the same channel, had low banks of soft alluvial earth which were overflowed to the extent of several miles on occasion of the slightest swell.

I shall probably have to refer to this article on the "LOST RIVER" again when I come to the account of the investment of Uchchah in the next Section. The mention of this lost river is by no means new: a great deal respecting it is contained in a geographical work in Persian, written in the last century from a personal survey, and to which excellent work I have often referred in these notes.

[4] Compare this passage in ELLIOT.

[5] Our author had forgotten, probably, that he had just before attributed this favourable upshot of the affair to Divine aid, and forgets to mention, here, the wide spread disaffection, at this very time, in 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh's army. See page 668.

I think it is rather doubtful, from our author's own words, in his previous accounts of this reign, whether Ulugh Khān possessed such power at this time. As Amīr-i-Ḥājib, no doubt it was very considerable, but there were a great number of powerful Maliks living at this period, who brought about the dethronement of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, and set up his uncle, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh. Our author does not mention Ulugh Khān's having had anything in particular to do with that matter, and would scarcely have omitted to mention it, had he been the instrument of the latter's accession to the throne.

river Sūḍharah[6], until, on the 27th of the month of Shawwāl, 643 H., the army set out from the banks of the Sūḍharah on its return to the capital, Dihlī, which was reached on Monday, the 12th of the month of Zī-Ḥijjah, of the same year.

During this short time, the disposition of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, received a change towards the Maliks; and, for the greater part of that [time] that he was wont to be invisible to the army, malignity had become established in his mind. The whole of the Maliks, in league together, wrote secretly and surreptitiously, and tendered their allegiance to Sulṭān[7] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, and besought him to put his august standards in motion [towards the capital], for the purpose of assuming the sovereignty. On Sunday, the 23rd of the month of Muharram[8], 644 H., he reached the capital accordingly, and ascended the throne of sovereignty—May he be preserved for many years!

Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam[9] represented [to the new Sulṭān] "Since the Khuṭbah and coin of the kingdom are adorned with the august Naṣirī name, and, in the past year, the army of the accursed [Mughals], having fled before the forces of Islām, are gone towards the upper country, it may be advisable that the royal forces should march towards the upper [parts][1]." In accordance with this expedient counsel[2], the expedition to the upper parts was determined upon; and, on Monday, the 1st of the month of Rajab, 644 H., the sublime standards moved out of the capital, and Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, in using celerity and getting over the stages, continued to strive,[3] until the banks of the river Sūdharah were reached. Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam,

[6] This movement is not mentioned at all under the reign. See page 668, and page 678, and note [1]. Our author seems to have confused his statements here.

[7] That is, who became Sulṭān subsequently. He was simply Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, at this time.

[8] The same day on which 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, was seized and imprisoned.

[9] What office Ulugh Khān held, after the accession of the new Sulṭān, is not mentioned, but we may assume that he was confirmed in his former office of Amīr-i-Ḥājib.

[1] Compare ELLIOT here.

[2] The R. A. S. *MS* is defective from this word, to the words "sacred knot," page 820.

[3] The Calcutta Printed Text is defective here.

with the Maliks [4] and Amírs of Islām [with their contingents], separated from the army on an expedition to the Jūd Hills in order to wreak vengeance on the Rānah of those Hills, who, in the previous year, had acted as guide to the Mughal army [5].

With that object they pushed onwards, and the Jūd Hills and parts adjacent to the river Jílam [6] [Jhilam] they assailed; and the army of Islām carried its incursions, and ravaged [the country], as far as the banks of the river Sind, and despoiled Jas-Pāl, Sihrā [or Sehrā], and the whole of his tribes [7]. The Musalmān force was taken over the river Jílam [Jhilam], and carried its ravages as far as the banks of the river Sind, in such wise, that all women, families, and dependents of the infidels who were in those parts, took to flight, and a body [of men] from the army of the infidel Mughals came to [8] the ferries of the Jílam [Jhilam], and beheld the lines of the Musalmān troops serving under Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, and fear fell upon their hearts, at the number of troops composing his army, the number of cavalry in defensive armour, and the abundance of arms, and war material, and they wondered greatly, and great terror took possession of that gathering That vigour, military organization, and overthrowing of enemies, in the assault of mountain heights, the gorges of mountain passes, and of ravines, the capturing of strong places and forts [9], and penetrating of forests, which Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam displayed, cannot be contained within the area of recital, and the fame of that holy warfare extended as far as the land of Turkistān.

In this tract [1], as there were neither fields nor tillage, supplies were not to be obtained, and, of necessity, Ulugh

[4] Maliks and Amírs are not necessarily "*generals*"

[5] This plainly indicates that the Mughals came through the Sind-Sāgar Doābah, and accounts for the flank march of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dín, Mas'ūd Shah's army

[6] Around Nandanah, and the territory of the Khokhar tribe See under the reign, page 678

[7] Many copies of the text are defective here.

[8] Compare ELLIOT also The Mughals would have scarcely "crossed over the *Jailam*" [Jhilam?] the same side as the Dihlí army was, when they were so terrified at Ulugh Khan's host, unless they wished to become captives.

[9] What a pity that our author did not deem it necessary to name some of them!

[1] Beyond the Jhilam

Khān-i-A'ẓam was compelled to return again. When he presented himself in the presence of the Court, victorious, triumphant, and safe, with the whole of the troops, and the Amīrs and Maliks who were along with him, the sublime standards moved[2] to return again towards the illustrious capital, Dihlī, on Thursday, the 25th of the month of Ẕī-Ḳa'dah, 644 H. On Thursday, the 2nd of the month of Muḥarram, 645 H., the capital was reached.

Since, through the firmness of counsel, and the justness of determination of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, the army of Turkistān and Mughal had beheld those exploits and that military organization, during this year, 645 H., not a single man, from the parts above[3], came towards the territory of Sind Therefore, in the month of Sha'bān of this same year, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam represented for the sublime consideration, "it is advisable, that, during this year, the sublime standards should be put in motion for the purpose of ravaging and carrying on holy war in the extreme parts of the territory of Hindūstān[4], in order that the independent [Hindū] tribes, and Rāes and Rānahs, who, during the last few years, have not been punished, may receive a thorough chastisement that booty may fall into the hands of the troops of Islām, and means to repel the infidel Mughals, in the shape of wealth, may be amassed."

In accordance with that prudent counsel, the august standards were put in motion towards Hindūstān, and moved down the middle of the Do-ābah of the Gang and Jūn; and, after much fighting with the infidels, the army gained possession of the fort of Talsandah[5]. Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam,

[2] The Sulṭān remained with his camp, and a great portion of his forces, on the banks of the Sūḍharah or Chināb during this raid to the Sind or Indus

[3] That is from the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah, and west of the Indus It seems that the Mughals, previous to this, made almost yearly raids upon the border tracts of Sind and Multān.

[4] In the Antarbed Do-āb, E of Dihlī, and in Awadh

[5] The word Nandanah, contained in the Calcutta Printed Text only, is totally incorrect *Nandanah* is in the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah The correct word is given in a foot-note in the Printed Text, but, in ELLIOTT, the former is copied See foot-note of page 347 to that work also

At page 679, under the events of the year 645 H, it is stated to have been situated within the limits of Ḳinnauj See note [1] to that page.

The word is plainly written, in the three best copies of the text, and in two others [illegible] and the only variation, in other good copies is [illegible]

with others of the Maliks of Islām, and troops, were despatched to coerce Dalakī of Malakī, and he was a Rānah in the vicinity of the river Jūn, which is between Kālinjar and Karah, whom the Rāes of the parts around Kālinjar and Mālwah[6] used not to be able to gain superiority over, on account of the number of his dependents and followers, the immensity of his wealth, the difficulty of the routes, the stability of position, the strength of the narrow, winding, defiles, the denseness of numerous forests, and strong mountains, places, which had never, at any time, been reached by Musalmān troops.[7]

When Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam reached the locality where that Rānah had taken up his position, and the place of his abode, he displayed so much perseverance in his own defence, and the defence of his family and children, that, from the time of early morning until the period of evening prayer, he remained; and, when night came, he repeated the invocation of flight, and removed from that place to [other] strong positions[8]. When the day broke, the troops of Islām entered that place and dwelling of his, and [afterwards] pursued him. That accursed one had ascended the high mountains, and had withdrawn to a place, to enter the narrow defiles of which was impossible without the greatest contrivance, and the aid of ropes and ladders[9]. Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam stimulated the Musalmān troops to holy warfare, and, animated by his entreaties, commands, and gestures, they took the place[1]. They captured the whole of the Rānah's family, kinsmen, and children, together with cattle, and horses, and captives, in great number; and such an amount of booty fell into the hands of the troops of Islām that the conception of the arithmetician would be helpless in recounting it.

[6] The Rāes *of* Kālinjar and Mālwah are not referred to. The text has, as rendered above — رایان اطراف لاعمر و مالوه

[7] This shows the fallacy of reading "Chīn" instead of Ujjain, referred to in note [8], page 517, when the Sultāns of Dihlī, *half a century subsequent* to the period there mentioned, had not subdued the Hindū rulers of these parts so near their very capital

[8] Compare ELLIOT here, page 366—367, vol. ii.

[9] Here the hill tracts extending to the left bank of the Son are evidently referred to.

[1] Our author appears not to have known the name of the place in question.

On the last day[2] of the month of Shawwāl, 645 H., Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, with vast booty, rejoined the Sulṭān's camp [at Kaṛah[3]]; and, after the festival of the Aẓḥā, the sublime standards moved forward to return to the capital[4]. An account of the whole of that expedition and holy warfare is composed [by the author] in verse, in a separate book, and that book has been named the NĀṢIRĪ NĀMAH. On the 24th of the month of Muḥarram, 646 H., the capital was reached.

Subsequently, in the month of Sha'bān, 646 H., the royal standards moved towards the upper provinces as far as the extreme confines, and the bank of the river Biāh, and from thence returned again to the capital.

Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, along with other Maliks under his orders, with numerous forces, was appointed to proceed towards Rantabhūr[5], and to ravage the Koh-pāyah of Mewāt, and the territory of Nāhar Dīw[6], who was greatest of all the Rāes of Hindūstān. The whole country, and the

[2] The word used is سلخ which does not signify "beginning," but the contrary.

[3] There is considerable discrepancy here. Under the events of this year at page 681, it is said that Kaṛah was reached, by the Sulṭān, on the 12th of Ẕī-Ḳa'dah—the 'Īd-i-Aẓḥā is on the 10th—and that, *thirty days* previous to that date, Ulugh Khān, and other great Maliks associated with him, had been despatched on this expedition.

[4] On the march back from Kaṛah, Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, the Sulṭān's brother, who held the fief of Ḳinnauj, presented himself to the Sulṭān, and the fiefs of Ṡanbhal and Budā'ūn were assigned him. The prince, soon after, for some reason or other, became frightened or disaffected, and fled to Lāhor, abandoning his fiefs. I shall have more to say, respecting this mysterious matter, in the next Section. The march to the Biah, mentioned a few lines under, was evidently connected with his flight in some way, but, strange to say, under the reign it is not mentioned, and an expedition "against the infidels of the hills and plains" is stated to have been undertaken in that month and year, and the despatch of forces towards Rantabhūr is afterwards mentioned. See page 684, and page 793, and note [4]. See also where Sher Khān-i-Sunḳar is mentioned as having joined Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, at page 793, and note [7].

[5] This stronghold had been taken by I-yal-timish in 623 H., but, after his death, the Hindūs had closely invested it; and, in Raẓiyyat's reign, the garrison was withdrawn, and the fort destroyed. See page 642.

[6] The Calcutta Printed Text refers its readers to page [illegible]—as if this chief were one and the same with Chāhar, the Ajār, mentioned at page 691, which see. Thomas [PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLI, page 125] also falls into the same error. Ulugh Khān did not make war upon Chāhar, the Ajār, *twice*, but once. This Nāhar Dīw is a different person altogether. See pages 824 and 828, farther on.

confines of that territory were ravaged, and a large amount of booty was acquired, and, at the foot of the fort of Rantabhūr, on Sunday, the 11th[7] of the month of Zi-Ḥijjah, 646 H., Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the Khwājah, attained martyrdom. Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam was engaged [at this time] in holy warfare on another side of the fortress, and his dependents were [also] occupied in battle and holy warfare, and despatched numbers of the infidels to hell. Immense booty, and invaluable property was acquired, and the Musalmān troops were made rich with plunder, and returned to the sublime presence.

In this year, the royal mind evinced a desire to enter into a matrimonial alliance with the family of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam[8], who, every year, in leading the forces, and efforts in the service of the sublime Court, continued to display praiseworthy proofs, to such degree that no monarch has ever had a servant who, having attained the dignity of Khān and Malik, possessed a greater soul or more august temperament than Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, of honour greater, of counsel more prudent, in leading armies more intrepid, in overthrowing foes more victorious, more worthy of being dignified with the honour of a matrimonial alliance with His Majesty, the Sultān-ul-A'zam, NĀSIR-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN, ABŪ-L-MUZAFFAR-I-MAHMŪD SHĀH—whose dominion and sovereignty may God long continue!—and, by virtue of that alliance, labours for the glory of the kingdom, and the destruction of enemies in adjacent parts were likely to be increased

Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, with due reverence and submission to command, complied, and repeated the saying: "The slave and what he possesses is the property of his master," and that union became completed by the sacred

[7] In a few copies, the 15th, but, under the reign, the 11th of the month is also mentioned.

[8] Mr Dowson, who translates the account of Ulugh Khān in ELLIOT, renders this passage thus "*In the course of this year his majesty was pleased to recognise the great ability of his general He therefore promoted him from the rank of Malik, &c.*," and adds in a foot-note, "Many lines of eulogy are here compressed into this short but adequate statement." This *adequate* and *compressed* statement, as may be seen, leaves out all about the marriage of the Sultān to Ulugh Khan's daughter, in fact, both the following paragraphs given above. See also page 665 and note [4]

knot, on Monday, the 20th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 647 H., and the verse, "He hath let loose the two seas which meet together .... Out of them come forth pearls and coral[9]," was made manifest. May the Most High God, during the lifetime of the Sulṭān-i-A'ẓam, and high position of Ulugh Khān-i-Mu'aẓẓam[1], continue those[?] Princes, in the Shamsī dominion and sovereignty, life-heirs of the whole of the monarchs[2], for the sake of Muḥammad and the whole of his house!

After such a propitious event happened, which must have been the result of the felicitous conjunction of the stars, the status of Ulugh Khān was raised, from the rank of Malik and Amīr-i-Ḥājib, to the dignity and eminent position of Khān, and on Tuesday, the 3rd of the month of Rajab, 647 H, [a mandate] issued from the sublime Court, conferring the Deputy-ship of the kingdom and leader-ship of the forces, with the title and name of Ulugh Khān[3] [the Great Lord], upon that incomparable individual of august disposition, and, in truth, one might say, "titles come down from Heaven," for, from that day forward, the Nāṣirī rule acquired additional freshness from the zealous services, and heroism, of Ulugh Khān.

On the title of Ulugh Khān being conferred upon him, his brother, who was Amīr-i-Ākhur—that beneficent and humane Malik, of pure morals and excellent disposition—Saif-ul-Ḥakk wa ud-Dīn, Kashlī Khān-i-, Ī-bak-us-Sultānī —on whom be peace!—became Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tez-Khān, at that time, became Deputy Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and the Malik-ul-Ḥujjāb[4] [Head of the Chamberlains], 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ayāz, the Zinjānī, became the Deputy Wakīl-i-Dar [Representative in Dar-bār], who

[9] ḲUR'ĀN Chap LV verses 19—22 Sale's translation is somewhat different —"He hath let loose the two seas that they meet each another . . From them are taken forth unions and lesser pearls"

[1] He makes a distinction here, and Ulugh Khān, who, upon other occasions, gets the title of A'ẓam, receives the *lesser* title

[2] Such is the original, but it would seem more natural that during the lifetime and eminence of Ulugh Khān an heir might be born to the Sulṭān, and the Shamsī line be perpetuated.

[3] Up to this date his correct title was Malik Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban, only This our author means, although he styles him by the title he held when this work was written.

[4] Ḥujjāb is the plural of Ḥājib, and, therefore, there must have been

is my son[5] and the light of my eyes, and adorned with all laudable qualifications, of whom no stronger encomium is needed than that of his loyalty to Ulugh Khān's service, and may such augment! The assignment of these appointments took place on Friday, the 6th of the month of Rajab, 647 H., and the Deputy Amīr-i-Ākhur, Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kin, the Long-haired, became Amīr-i-Ākhur.

Subsequently, on Monday, the 9th of the month of Sha'bān, 647 H., he [Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam] moved from the capital [with the troops] for the purpose of [undertaking] an expedition against the infidels, and, at the ford of the river Jūn, the camp was pitched, and they engaged in holy warfare and hostilities against the infidels, the independent [Hindū] tribes[6] around, when[7] intelligence reached this author, from Khurāsān, from his sister, and her lonesomeness affected his heart much. He proceeded to the camp and waited upon Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, and laid the matter before him, who gave him such support and showed so much kindness as cannot be recounted, and conferred a dress of honour upon this his devoted servant, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, presented him with a bay horse saddled and bridled, a great roll of gold brocade cloth, and the grant of a village producing about thirty thousand *jītals*; and, up to this present date, that grant comes to this sincere votary every year. May Almighty God make this the cause of the augmentation of Ulugh Khān's dignity and power, and make him victorious and triumphant over the enemies

some difference between the Amīr-i-Ḥājib—Lord Chamberlain—and the Malik-ul-Ḥujjāb—Head or Chief of the Chamberlains, or Janitors. Such an officer has never before been mentioned in this work.

[5] He may have been our author's son in law, adopted son, or a favourite disciple so styled. He would not be styled the Zinjānī—native of Zinjān—had he been his son in reality. Jurjānī would have been given him here if he were. In one of the best copies of the text he is styled Ī-bak.

[6] Under the reign, our author says "Hindūs" merely. The troops moved from Dihlī on the 22nd of Shawwāl, the Jūn was crossed, and the camp pitched on the *left* bank, on Sunday, the 4th of Sha'bān. The infidels must have been very close at hand for the troops to be able to undertake operations against them immediately they crossed the Jūn.

[7] All from this place, to the end of this and the two following paragraphs, is left out entirely in ELLIOT [vol. ii. page 368] as "*matters personal of the author*," and page 350 is referred to, where the forty captives are turned into "*a hundred beasts of burden*," &c., noticed at page 686, note [7].

of the faith! Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam represented the situation of this servant of the state, and his anxieties, to His Majesty; and, on Sunday, the 2nd of the month of Ẕī-Ḳa'dah, 647 H., a command was issued from the sublime Court for forty chains of captives [8], and a hundred ass-loads of presents to be transmitted to the sister of the author into Khurāsān—May the Most High God continue the Nāṣirī dynasty and dominion until the conclusion of time's revolution, for bestowing so many benefits!

On Monday, the 29th of the month of Ẕī-Ḳa'dāh, of this same year, the author proceeded on a journey from the capital to Multān [9] for the purpose of despatching the gifts to Khurāsān. On the road, on reaching every town, city, or fort, held by the dependents and servants of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, the servants of that household showed the author so much reverence and honour that the eye of sense would be fatigued in recording it—may God accept them all for it! On Wednesday, the 6th [1] of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 648 H., Multān was reached, and the author proceeded as far as the bank of the river Jīlam [Jhilam] [2] After having despatched those captives and loads to Khurāsān, for a period of two months the author

[8] The Printed Text here, as well as in the former instance, has "forty chains of captives," but the editors seem astonished at it, from the note of interrogation added, and, in a foot-note, they put a piece upon it, by making them "*forty chain of elephants loaded with captives* [as contained in one copy of the text] *and several ass-loads*"!

There are certain technical and idiomatic words applied to men and animals, and other things, in use in the *East*, which the mere tyro in Oriental languages is expected to be acquainted with, and such a term our author has applied to these captives, at page 686, where the term *nafar*—person—which is applied only to human beings, is used, *zanjīr*—chain—is applied to elephants generally, but, here, is not quite incorrect, as the captives were, no doubt, secured by chains, and *rā*—head—to oxen and horses, &c., just as we apply *covey* to partridges, *shoal* to fish, *swarm* to bees, *litter* to puppies and pigs, and so on, but I never heard of زنجیر فیل برده—*zanjīr fīl-i-bardah*—before, nor do I think any one ever did

[9] Our author's object in going to Multān for this purpose arose evidently from the fact that Lāhor and the upper parts of the Panjāb were in the hands of the Mughals and Khokhars, and he had to send the captives by one of the other, and more southern routes into Khurāsān

[1] At page 688 also, our author says he reached Multān on the 6th, *the same day* on which Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, reached it, but, at page 782, he says that Malik reached Multān on the 2nd of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, and that he arrived himself two days subsequently

[2] According to the theory advanced in the article on the "Lost River"

happened to stay in the army of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, at the foot of the walls of the fortress of Multān, for the air was still exceeding hot. When the rainy season set in, and the rains of compassion fell [3], on the 26th of the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, the author set out on his return from Multān, and, on the 22nd of the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, reached the capital again.

At this period the Ḳāẓī-ul-Ḳuẓāt [Ḳāẓī of Ḳāẓīs], Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Kāsānī—on whom be peace and pardon!—was Ḳāẓī of the realm of Hindūstān; and, when the term of the days of that unique one of his age came to conclusion, great countenance and favour was shown by Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam towards this devoted suppliant, and his invaluable support was the means of this servant of his power being entrusted anew with the office of the Ḳāẓī-ship of the kingdom, and he [Ulugh Khān] submitted it for the sublime consideration. On Sunday, the 10th of the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 649 H.[4], for the second time, the Ḳāẓī-ship of the realm was consigned to the author—May Almighty God, continual and enduring preserve the Sulṭān of Sultāns, Nāsir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Muzaffar-i-Mahmūd Shāh, upon the throne of sovereignty, and Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, in the royal audience hall of power [5]!

previously referred to respecting the Sutlaj, *as no river is here mentioned* by our author between Dihlī and the Jhilam, all the others must have left their beds or become dried up

[3] It would appear, from the above remark, that a great change has taken place since this period, for the effects of the *monsoon* do not now extend to Multān, and, while further east they are enjoying the coolness of the rainy season, at Multān and parts adjacent, and in Sind, the heat is at its height. I have known rain fall for a few hours at a time now and then in August, and some good showers, towards the close of the monsoon, in September, but the heat is not much lessened, except for a short time after rain, until about the close of the latter month.

The date on which our author left Multān to return to Dihlī was about the end of June, the hottest part of the hot season in these days, a fearful time to have to cross the Indian desert. The fact of our author setting out from Multān, and proceeding to Dihlī by way of Abūhar [page 687], is a pretty conclusive proof that, at the period in question, the now Lost River must have fertilized those parts.

[4] See under Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, sixth year, for other events of this period.

[5] Here end the "matters personal of the author" referred to in the previous note [7], page 821.

On Tuesday, the 25th of the month of Sha'bān, 649 H., the sublime standards[6] moved towards the territory of Mālwah and Kālinjar[7]. When Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, with the troops of Islām, arrived in those parts, he overthrew Chāhar, Ajārī[8], who was a great Rānah, with a numerous following, and a multitude of dependents and people, and who possessed ample resources of horses and arms, and rooted him out from his country. This Rānah of [?] Ajārī, who was named Chāhar, was a great man, impetuous, and experienced; and has been previously mentioned. In the reign of the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn—on whom be peace!—[namely] in the year 632 H., the troops of Islām from Bhīānah, Sultān-koṭ, Ḳinnauj, Mahir, Mahāwan, and Gwāliyūr, were despatched for the purpose of ravaging the territory of Kālinjar and Jamū[9], the leader of which forces was Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yas'ī, the Mu'izzī, who for manhood, competency, judgment, vigour, military talents, and expertness, has been distinguished above all his compeers, the Maliks of that time. For a period of fifty days[1], they proceeded on that expedition, from Gwāliyūr, and vast booty was acquired, to such degree that, for this short

[6] It appears that, from the time Ulugh Khān was raised to the dignity of Deputy or Lieutenant of the realm, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, very seldom accompanied his armies as before, but left all to Ulugh Khān's energy

[7] Under the reign, page 690, it is stated that the troops moved towards Gwāliyūr, Chandīrī, Nurwul, and Mālwah

[8] Here also, in all the copies of the text collated, the words are چاهر اجاری and چاهر اجاری—which, from the mode in which they are written, mean, that Chāhar was his name, and Ajārī [Achārya ?] the name of his caste or title, but, three lines under, he is styled رنهٔ اجاری—which, if the *hamzah* [·] is correct, can only be read, from the original, as above, thus tending to show that our author considered the word اجاری—*Ajārī*—to be the name of his territory, for, immediately after, he says *his name* was Chāhar. In the account of Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yas'ī, page 733, the Rāe of Kālinjar is mentioned *as well as* Rānah Chāhar, and there the latter is called Rānah *of* Ajār See also page 691. The Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā has what may be read either Māhar, Bāhar, or Nāhar Dīw, but it must refer to the Rāe of Rantabhūr mentioned at page 818, which see

[9] This name does not occur in two copies of the text, and there is great probability that the word جمو—Jamū—is an error for دمو—*Damow* or *Damū*, a place giving name to a parganah, about 46 miles E. of Saugor [Sāgar], in Lat. 22° 50', Long 79° 30' The first word might easily be written by mistake, for the latter, and there would be no error in the direction.

[1] There is not a word in the text about marching "on *fifty days from* Gwalior," as in ELLIOT.

period, the Sulṭān's share of a fifth amounted to nearly twenty-two *laks*[2]. In short, at the time of returning from Kālinjar, the passage of the army of Islām lay [through the territory of] this Rānah of Ajārī, and that Rānah had seized the route of the Musalmān forces in the narrow ravines leading from the [banks of the] river Gārānah [or Kārānah].

The author of this book heard from the mouth of Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī, himself, [who said]:—"Never, in Hindūstān, did a foe see my back, [but] that Hindūak [Hindū fellow] of Ajārī made an attack upon me in such wise that you might say it was a wolf falling upon a flock of sheep. It was necessary to turn aside before him, until I emerged from another direction, attacked, and routed him[3]." This anecdote has been related in order that readers [of these pages] may understand to what degree was the genius and success of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, that, with one onslaught, he overthrew and routed such an enemy, and wrested out of his possession the fort of Nurwul[4], which is a famous stronghold, and, on that expedition and inroad, he displayed such sagacity and promptitude, and performed such exploits [against the infidels], as will remain a record on the face of time.

On Monday, the 23rd of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 650 H., the sublime standards returned to Dihlī again, and, for a period of six months, the troops continued at the capital of the empire, the city of Dihlī, until Monday, the 12th[5] of the month of Shawwāl, when the sublime standards moved towards the upper provinces[6] and the river Biāh; and, at this period, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, was feudatory of Budā'ūn, and Malik Kutlugh Khān feudatory of Bhiānah, and both Maliks were requested by

[2] At page 733, the sum is 25 *laks*.

[3] He was coming up from the river, not going down towards it from the statement above. This does not agree with the details given in the account of Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yas'ī, at page 773, in fact, rather tends to contradict them. Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 369.

[4] See page 690. Nurwul and Nurwur are one and the same thing.

[5] At page 692, seven months, until the 22nd of Shawwāl. One of the oldest copies has Sha'bān.

[6] Towards Lohor, with the intention of marching to Ūchchah and Multān, but the Biāh was the farthest point reached. See pages 692, and 767, and page 783, and note [2].

His Majesty [to attend him]. Both these Maliks, with the whole of the other Maliks, were present in attendance during this expedition, at the audience tent of majesty.

When the sublime standards reached the districts on the river Biāh, 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān secretly plotted with the Maliks, and began to excite them all greatly to envy of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam's power, and malicious eyes were beginning to regard his brilliant position with repugnance, and they conspired whether, in some hunting-ground, or the defiles of some passes, or in crossing some river, they might not injure or afflict the sacred person and august body of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam: "They endeavour to extinguish the light of God with [the breath of] their mouths, but God rejects aught but the perfection of His light[7]," continued to shield the Ulugh Khānī good fortune with His own protection, and gave no opportunity to his enemies to injure his gentle nature and noble person. Since that which was conceived in the hearts of that faction was not easily carried out, they concerted together, and, assembling before the entrance of the royal tent, represented for the regal consideration, that it was advisable that a mandate should be conveyed to Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam that he should proceed towards his own fief[8], and to this effect[9] they caused a mandate to be conveyed to him; and, from the halting-place of Hasīrah[1], on Tuesday, the last day[2] of the month of Muḥarram, 651 H., Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, with his retinue and family and dependents, departed towards Hānsī[3]

[7] ḲUR'ĀN, chap. IX. verse 32.

[8] Not "estates," but a province.

[9] Compare ELLIOT here. There is nothing in the text about "indirectly" or about being "brought about in a left-handed way." The Printed Text has ميسره—the left wing of an army—instead of the name of a halting place.

[1] The name of this place is extremely doubtful, and there is no knowing exactly where to look for it, as we do not know from what part they were returning. The following are the different ways in which it is written, as near as types will permit [illegible] and [illegible]. One copy—a very modern one, and the Calcutta Printed Text have ميسره which means the left wing of an army, left side, &c., which in ELLIOT, as said above, has been turned into "brought about in a left-handed way," but the words "halting place" along with it show that it is intended for the name of a place of some sort. See also under the reign, page 693, and note [7].

[2] Under the reign غره—*first* of the month: here سلخ—*last* day.

[3] The name of this place is derived from the tribe named Hans.

When the sublime standards returned again to the capital [4], and the prickings of the thorn of envy towards Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam were afflicting the darkness-filled heart of 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān, he, consequently, represented for the royal consideration: "It may be advisable that a command should be issued to Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam to proceed to Nāg-awr, and that the Hānsī territory should be given in charge to one of the Princes of the Universe" — May God long preserve their lives! In conformity with that counsel the sublime standards moved in the direction of Hānsī in order that Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam should depart to Nāg-awr [5]; and this undertaking was entered upon in the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 651 H.

On reaching Hānsī [6], 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān became Wakīl-i-Dar [Representative in Dar-bār], and he took into his own hands the direction of affairs within the hall of the pavilion of majesty [7], and, according to the promptings of that envy and malevolence, the office of Ḳāẓī of the kingdom was taken from this servant of the state, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in the month of Rajab of the before-mentioned year, and was committed to Ḳāẓī Shams-ud-Dīn, the Bharā'ijī; and, on the 17th [27th ?] of the month of Shawwāl, [the Sulṭān and his forces] returned to the capital. Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak-i-Kashlī Khān,—on whom be peace!—who was the brother of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib [8], they sent to the fief of Karah, and the office of Deputy Amīr-i-Ḥājib was consigned to Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn-i-Balban [9], the son-in-law of Ḳutlugh Khān. Every one holding an office or employment which

[4] In the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal

[5] This, in other words, was to oust him from the fief of Hānsī and confine him to that of Nāg-awr. See note [8], below.

[6] Differently stated under the reign, page 694, which see. There it is stated that he became Wakīl-i-Dar, *after* returning to the capital.

[7] The words سراپرده جلال are rendered, in ELLIOT, page 370, "the royal *orders*," but, at page 369, the *same* words are rendered "the royal *abode*"

[8] At page 695 our author says Prince Rukn-ud-Dīn [Fīrūz Shāh] was nominated to the office of Amīr-i-Ḥājib and the fief of Hānsī. See also note [8] to that page, and page 798.

[9] This does not refer to Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, but to the person who, subsequently, in 657 H., became ruler of Lakhanawaṭī—'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī. See page 770, and note [9] at page 775, para. 4.

appertained to Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam's patronage was removed and transferred; and the established affairs of a quiet kingdom were deranged by the pernicious counsel of 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān.

During the period that Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam had gone to Nāg-awr, he led the troops of Islām[1] towards the territory of Rantabhūr, Bhundī[2], and Chitrūr. The Rāe of Rantabhūr, Nāhar Dīw[3], who is the greatest of the Rāes, and the most noble and illustrious of the Maliks of Hind, assembled an army in order that perchance he might be able to inflict a disaster upon Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam. Since the Most High and Holy God had willed that the renown of His Highness, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, for victory, triumph, and success, should endure upon the records of time, the whole of that army of Rāe Nāhar Dīw, notwithstanding it was very numerous, well provided with arms, and elephants, with choice horses, and famous Rāwats[4], he put to the rout, and the heroic men sent great numbers of the enemy to hell. Vast booty was captured, and horses and captives[5] beyond computation were taken. Safe and rich, under the protection of the Creator, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam returned again to the province of Nāg-awr, and that place, through his felicitous presence, became a large city.

When the new year of 652 H.[6] came round, a change took

[1] His own contingent of troops—the forces of his fief.

[2] Also spelt Bhūndī. The "official" Printed Text, by a great blunder, makes Hindī of this well-known place, and, in ELLIOT, of course, it is the same.

[3] This was the second time Ulugh Khān had encountered him. In some copies here, as well as in a previous place, we have باهر—Bāhır or Bāhar, but in others ناهر—Nāhar, and in some ناهر دیو—Nāhir Dīw. Nāhar is a Rājpūt name.

According to Tod, the state and city of *Boondee*, as he calls it, was only *founded* in the year [S. ?] 1342—A.D. 1286, and yet this, our author's work, was finished in A.D. 1259!

[4] Champions, heroes, in the vernacular.

[5] Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii page 371. The same word for captive بردہ—*bardah*—is used here, as at page 350 of that work, and yet it is there declared that "It can hardly bear this meaning," and so it is turned into "*beast of burden*," from the verb *burdan*, to carry!! See also at the end of this account of Ulugh Khān.

[6] See under the reign, ninth year, pages 696–7, for an account of the expedition into the Do-ābah and Kāthehr. The events recorded in the reign and this account of Ulugh Khān together form a chronicle of the reign, but one

place in the condition of the number of oppressed, who, by the hand of tyranny, and through removal from office, occasioned by the absence of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, had remained[7] in a place of seclusion like unto fish without water and the sick without sleep, from night to day, and, day to night, continued to beseech the Holy Creator, that the morn of the Ulugh Khānī prosperity might raise its face from the east of power, and the darkness of the Rayḥānī tyranny might be changed to the sun-light of the Ulugh Khānī administration[8]. The Most High God was graciously pleased to grant the prayers of the afflicted, and the appeals of the distressed, and was pleased to cause the victorious standards of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam to be given to the wind from the preserved city of Nāg-awr, towards, and with the design of proceeding to, the capital.

The reason was this, that the Maliks and servants of the Sultān's Court were all Turks of pure lineage, and Tājziks of noble birth, and 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān, [who] was castrated and mutilated, and of the tribes of Hind[9], was ruling over the heads of lords of high descent, and the whole of them were loathing that state, and were unable any longer to suffer that degradation[1]. The case of this frail individual was on this wise, that, for a period of six months, or even longer, it was out of his power to leave his dwelling[2] and go to the Friday's prayers, for fear of the

is incomplete without the other, as often the events mentioned in one are left out in the other, or barely touched upon

[7] According to the version in ELLIOT, vol. ii page 371, which see, it was only "*at the opening of the year*," that they "retired to their closets," and offered up their prayers "*like fish out of water* (sic), and sick men without slumber"!!—the Calcutta Printed Text, which is quite correct here has—
در گوشه ماندہ بودند

[8] Our author, being one of those deprived of office, writes feelingly on this subject. The I. O. L. *MS*, No 1952, and R. A. S. *MS.* are both defective here, in the same place, to the extent of two or three pages.

[9] In fact, a Hindūstānī Musalmān, one of a Hindū family previously converted to the Muḥammadan faith, or, possibly, a new convert.

Rayḥān is a common proper name of men among the Muḥammadans of Egypt, and now commonly given to slaves, according to Lane, but the term Rayḥānī means a Seller of Flowers, and, probably, this upstart's father followed such an occupation.

[1] This alone indicates what a Sulṭān it was—a mere puppet in the hands of the strongest party.

[2] In ELLIOT, instead of our author being obliged to stay at home for six months, as the printed text has, like other copies, all those, who "retired to

violence of a gang of villains who were patronized by 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān : so the condition of others, every one of whom consisted of Turks and conquering, ruling, and foe-breaking, Maliks, may well be conceived. How could they continue under this disgrace?

In short, the Maliks of Hindūstān [3], namely, from the territory of Kaṛah and Mānik-pūr, and Awadh and the district of Tirhut, as far as Budā'ūn, and from the side of Tabarhindah as far as Sunām, Kuhṛām, and Sāmānah, and the whole of the Siwālikh [country], prayed Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam to return to the capital [4]. Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, brought forth a body of troops from Tabarhindah, and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Bat Khān-i-I-bak, the Khiṭā-ī, issued from Sunām and Manṣūr-pūr, and Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam assembled forces from Nāg-awr and the Siwālikh, and Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh [5], son of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn [I-yal-timish], from the side of Lohor joined them, and they turned their faces towards the environs of the capital.

'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān represented to the Sulṭān that the sublime standards should move out for the purpose of repelling his own servants, and they [the Sulṭān and his adviser] marched the forces from Dihlī towards Sunām, for that purpose [6]. Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, with the other Maliks, was in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah; and the author set out from the capital for the purpose of joining the royal camp, because it was impossible for him to remain in the city [of Dihlī] without the presence of the sublime Court [7]. On Monday, the 26th of the month of

their closets to pray like fish out of water," &c., are *all* made to suffer "from the hands of the bullies" of 'Imād-ud-Dīn, "so that for six months *they* could not leave *their* houses"!

[3] This explains what he means by Hindūstān, and which I have previously alluded to.

[4] See under the reign, page 699. There it is said that these Maliks gathered about Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, the Sulṭān's brother, not about Ulugh Khān, but that the latter, with others, joined the prince, who is there made the ringleader in this outbreak.

[5] See pages 683 and 699, and note [4], page 818. More on this subject will be found in the last Section. Lāhor, at this time, was not under the sway of the ruler of Dihlī, apparently, and Jalāl-ud Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, is said to have gone to the Mughals.

[6] Compare ELLIOT here also.

[7] In ELLIOT, page 372, this is rendered: "The author of this book started

Ramaẓān, 652 H., the author reached the royal camp, and, on Lailat-ul-Ḳadr[8] [the night of Power], in the public apartment of the august Sulṭān's [pavilion], he offered up prayer.

On the second day [after the author's arrival], on Wednesday, the 28th of the before-named month, whilst on the march, both armies drew near towards each other, and the advance guards came in contact, and immense disorder arose among the Sulṭān's forces. The prayers appropriate to the 'Īd-i-Fiṭr [the festival of Fast-breaking—1st of the month Shawwāl] were performed at Sunām. On Saturday, the 8th of the month of Shawwāl, the sublime standards made a retrograde movement towards Hānsī, and Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh [the Sulṭān's brother], and Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, with the other illustrious Maliks, marched towards Kaithal[9].

A number of Maliks and Amīrs on both sides [now] spoke about a mutual accommodation of affairs, and the Sipah-Sālār [leader of troops] Ḳarah-Jamāḳ[1], one of the personal slaves of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, who was noted for manliness, arrived from his chief's camp, and the Amīr of the black standard, Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Ḳutlugh Shāh[2], that Amīr of angelic attributes, of great sincerity, and excellent disposition, who was qualified above the other Amīrs of

from the *capital* for the royal *camp*, which *was stationed* [sic] in *the city* near the *royal residence*"! The Sulṭān and his party were, at this time, near Sunām.

[8] The 27th of the month of Ramaẓān—the fast month. This night is greatly revered, because on it the Ḳur'ān, according to the Musalmān belief, began to descend from heaven. On this night all orthodox Muḥammadans continue in fervent prayer, imagining that every petition then offered up to the Almighty will be favourably received. The occasion must have been pressing to cause active operations to be undertaken during the *fast* month.

[9] See under the reign, page 699. There these events are differently related.

[1] He was Ulugh Khān's right-hand man, his Chief of the Staff so to say. Whether he was so styled as well as "*General*" in Ulugh Khān's Army List I cannot pretend to say.

In one of the oldest copies the name is written قره قماج Ḳarah-Ḳamāj. چماق Chamāḳ signifies a six-horned or six-spiked mace. The Calcutta Printed Text, in a foot-note, has قره چاق but it does not occur in any copy of the text collated.

[2] He is not mentioned either in the List of the Shamsī Maliks, nor in that of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh.

Islām by his age[3], was nominated, on this side [the Court's], to treat, and [on the other side] the Sipah-Sālār, Ḳarah-Jamāḳ, while Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain[4], son of 'Alī, the Ghūrī—on whom be peace!—made use of every effort and endeavour that was possible to bring the matter to an accommodation. The representation of the whole of the Maliks to His Majesty was this: "We all bow our heads in submission to the mandates of the Court, the Asylum of the Universe, save that we are not safe from the malice, deceit, and iniquitous conduct of 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān. If he should be removed from before the sublime throne of sovereignty, and sent away to some part, we all will present ourselves and return to allegiance, and lay the head of servitude on the line of obedience to the sublime mandates[5]."

When the sublime standards moved from within sight of Hānsī towards Jīnd [Jhīnd], on Monday, the 22nd of the month of Shawwāl, 652 H., 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān was removed from the office of Wakīl-i-Dar [Representative in Dar-bār]; and praise be unto God for this and all other blessings! The government of the province of Budā'ūn[6] was committed to him[7], and 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban [-i-Yūẓ-Bakī], the Deputy Amīr-i-Ḥājib, proceeded to the camp of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, and, on Tuesday, the 3rd of the month of Ẕī-Ḳa'dah, Malik Bat Khān-i-Ī-bak, the Khitā-ī—on whom be the Almighty's mercy!—reached the [royal] camp for the purpose of concluding the reconciliation Here is a strange occurrence which happened, of the matter

[3] Compare ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 372.

[4] In some copies here, as in other places, Ḥasan. He seems to have acted peacemaker between the two factions.

[5] The domineering proceedings over these great chiefs of this eunuch, who was a Hindū by birth or descent, have been styled, by a modern writer, an effort to shake off the Turk tyranny and give power to Hindūstānīs!

[6] This was the greatest fief of the kingdom in Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish's reign, and was so, probably, still. There is not a word about "privileges attaching to the government" in any copy of the text, printed or otherwise.

[7] A solitary copy of the text, one of the St. Petersburg *MSS.*, after this word, has "and it was three years and six days, and may Almighty God preserve our sovereign," &c., as though it was meant thereby that the eunuch had held power for that time, but the period was much less—from Muḥarram 651 H to Ẕī-Ḳa'dah 652, just one year and eleven months.

of which the author was cognizant, and it is this. 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān conspired with a number of Turks[9], in whose hearts somewhat of the leaven of opposition towards Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam was implanted, that, when Malik Bat Khān-i-Ī-bak, the Khiṭā-ī, should reach the entrance of the royal tent, they should cut him down in the vestibule of the tent, so that, when intimation of it should reach the camp of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, they [the confederate Maliks] should bring 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī[9], the Deputy Amīr-i-Ḥājib, under the sword also, and this accommodation should not come about, so that 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān might continue in safety, and Ulugh Khān's return to the Court be impossible.

Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain[1], son of 'Alī, Ghūrī, on becoming aware of this intention, despatched the Ulugh-i-Khāṣ Ḥājib[2] [the Chief Royal Chamberlain], the Sharf-ul-Mulk, Rashīd-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Ḥanafī, to Malik Bat Khān-i-Ī-bak, the Khiṭā-ī [saying]:—"It is advisable that you remain quiet in your own quarters to-morrow morning, and do not go to the entrance of the royal tent. As Malik Bat Khān-i-Ī-bak, in accordance with this advice, delayed proceeding to the entrance of the royal tent[3], the scheme of 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān with those hostile Turks[4] did not succeed, and the grandees gained a knowledge of it. 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān, in obedience to the sublime mandate, was sent away from the royal camp towards Budā'ūn; and, on Tuesday, the 17th of the month of Ẓī-Ḳa'dah, the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, and the Maliks of the sublime Court,

[9] There is not a word about "Turks of low degree" in the text.

[9] The same person who is referred to in para. 4 of note to page 775 and at page 827, who afterwards became feudatory of Lakhanawatī. He was Ḳutlugh Khān's—the Sulṭān's step-father's—son-in-law. Ḳutlugh Khān was himself of the Rayḥānī party.

[1] In some, Ḥasan, as before

[2] Under the reign our author mentions the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and the Malik-ul-Ḥujjāb, and, here, the Ulugh-i-Khāṣ Ḥājib. This last is an official never before mentioned, and seems to refer to the chief chamberlain of the Sulṭān's own household, as distinct from the other Ḥājibs. The literal translation of the words would be—Great Personal or Private Chamberlain

[3] The entrance or vestibule of the tent where those waiting an audience would assemble. The word for tent is in the singular, but a suite of tents is meant

[4] Among the hostile Turks the Sulṭān's step-father, Ḳutlugh Khān, was, no doubt, included, and this is apparent from what afterwards happens.

commanded this servant of the state, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between both parties[5], so that he proceeded [to the other camp] and gave them pledges and guarantees. The next day, Wednesday, the 18th, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, with the other Maliks, returned and presented themselves at the sublime Court, and obtained permission to kiss the sovereign's hand. Praise be to God for this and other blessings!

The sublime standards were now brought back, and Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, in attendance at the king's august stirrup, on Wednesday, the 9th of the month of Zī-Hijjah, 652 H., again returned to the capital city of Dihlī. During the period of Ulugh Khān's absence from the capital, the rain of mercy had not rained upon the land, but by the wisdom of the Divine favour, at the blessed footstep of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, the gate of the Divine mercy opened, and rain, which is the source of life to herbs and vegetation, mankind and animals, fell upon the ground; and all people accounted his auspicious arrival an omen of good unto mortals. On the arrival of his august cavalcade, all became glad and rejoiced, and gave thanks unto Almighty God for that immense boon[6].

When the new year 653 H. came round, on account of some occurrence which manifested itself in the womens' apartments of the royal household, with the secret of which not a soul had any acquaintance[7], on Wednesday, the 7th[8] of the month of Muharram of the same year, Kutlugh Khān was directed to assume the government of Awadh, and he set out in that direction. At that time the government of Bharā'ij[9] was entrusted to 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān.

[5] Compare ELLIOT.

[6] See ELLIOT also here.

[7] The cause is stated under the reign. The Sultān's mother seems to have contracted a second marriage with Kutlugh Khān—respecting whose antecedents not a word of particulars is given, nor is his name contained in the List of Maliks—without the knowledge or permission of her son. She had been with the latter in that part when, as a boy of thirteen, he held the fief of Bharā'ij, and this may have been the reason why it was assigned to her and her new husband. See page 676.

[8] At page 701, Tuesday, the 6th of Muharram.

[9] Just before he is said to have been sent to take charge of Budā'ūn. He may have been subsequently removed to Bharā'ij, but this is not mentioned.

When the Ulugh Khānī good fortune emitted a blaze of brightness, the garden of hope assumed freshness, and the key of divine favour opened the closed gates of the dwellers in retirement. One of that number was this servant of the sovereign dynasty, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jūrjānī, who, by the power of enemies' accusations, and the oppressive tyranny of eunuchs, had kept within the cell of dismissal and misfortune, and in a retired corner from adversity and malevolence[1]. Through the patronage and favour of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẕam, who submitted it for the sublime confirmation, on Sunday, the 7th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 653 H.[2], for the third time, the Ḳāẓī-ship of the kingdom and the bench of jurisdiction [as chief Ḳāẓī] was conferred upon this loyal supplicant, the enunciator of prayer and thanksgiving; and "Verily, He who hath prescribed to thee the Ḳur'ān will bring thee back to a place of return[3]" was manifested towards this frail one. May the most High God, of His favour, unto the uttermost revolutions of the heavens, in felicity and supremacy, preserve and perpetuate the Nāṣirī sovereignty and Ulugh Khānī authority, for the sake of Muḥammad and his whole race!

After Ḳutlugh Khān proceeded towards Awadh, a considerable period elapsed, [when] the eventualities of destiny became the cause of disaffection displaying itself, and, on several occasions, mandates, which were issued on that subject, were treated with indifference[4]. 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān still continued to use great efforts to enkindle the

A little farther on it is said that Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar, had been appointed to the charge of Bharā'ij. See also under the reign.

[1] "In a corner retired from clamour and the cruel joy of others." See page 829, and note [2].

[2] A month after this, on the 23rd of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 653 H., that illustrious Malik, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, the Ghūrī, was put to death in a mysterious manner, and his fief made over to Ulugh Khān's brother. See page 702, and note [3].

[3] ḲUR'ĀN, chap. xxviii verse 85. Sale's translation of this verse is "Verily He, who hath given thee the Koran for a rule *of faith* and practice, will certainly bring thee back home *to Mecca*," but others translate the last part of the verse as "a place of return," or "some retreat," that is, a future state. The verse some commentators say was revealed to Muḥammad to comfort him in his flight from Makkah.

[4] This seems to refer to Ḳutlugh Khān's plotting with 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān, and not giving up Bharā'ij to Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar, referred to farther on.

fires of sedition in order that, perhaps, he might, by fraud and deception, with the mud-mortar of his own vicious artifice, overspread the sun of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam's good fortune, and veil the moon of that great chief's glory with the cloak of his own knavery, but the favour of the Eternal without beginning, and the all-sufficiency of the Eternal without end, used to be the averter of that depravity[5]

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Māh-Peshānī[6] [of the moon-like brow]—God preserve him!—who had been detained and imprisoned by Malik Ḳutlugh Khān, and to whom the government of Bharā'ij had been entrusted by the Court, and on which account he had fallen into captivity, by his own manly stratagem, freed himself from Awadh[7], and the hands of wicked wretches, crossed the river Sar'ū[8] in a boat, and, with a small force, advanced towards Bharā'ij The decree of the Creator was on such wise that the prosperity of the Turks rose victorious, and the influence of the Hindūs[9] sank into the dust of defeat. 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān fled discomfited before him, and was taken prisoner, and the sun of his existence set in death

By the death of 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān, the affairs of Malik Ḳutlugh Khān declined, and he ['Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān] met his doom at Bharā'ij, in the month of Rajab, 653 H.[1] Since those seditions still continued in Hindūstān, and some of the Amīrs withdrew their heads from the yoke of obedience to the sublime Court, with the necessity of quelling that sedition and tranquillizing the servants of the victorious Nāṣirī dynasty, the sublime standards were put

[5] Compare ELLIOT here also. The Calcutta Printed Text has راع for مراع here.

[6] There are several Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjars, among the Maliks, two of whom, Nos XVII and XIX, lived at this period, but this must be a different person from either of them Under the reign he is called a Sihwastani See page 703, and note [7].

[7] The old city of Awadh is probably referred to

[8] The Sar'ū—سرو—*gazetteerized* into Sarjoo, Sarjou, &c Bhara'ij is on its E bank

[9] 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān, on the strength of Malik Kutlugh Khān's support, who, seemingly, belonged to the same party, refused to give up Bharā'ij to Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar The Sulṭān's mother, Ḳutlugh Khān's wife, was, evidently, of the Rayḥānī party also, and this may probably account for their being sent away to Awadh so suddenly

[1] See under the reign, page 703, where the accounts of these events are very differently related

in motion from the capital, Dihlī, on Thursday, the last day of the month of Shawwāl, 653 H., with the intention of marching into Hindūstān. When the royal tent was pitched at Talh-pat[2], as the [contingent] forces of the Siwālikh[3] [districts], which were the fiefs of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, had been delayed in the completion of their equipment for the expedition, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam set out for Hānsī from the camp at Talh-pat, on Sunday, the 17th of the month of Zī-Ḳa'dah, 653 H. On reaching the Hānsī territory, he, with the utmost celerity, issued his mandate, so that, in the space of fourteen days, the troops of the Siwālikh, Hānsī, Sursutī, Jīnd [Jhīnd], and Barwālah[4], and confines of that territory, assembled so fully organized and equipped, numerous, and well provided with warlike apparatus, that you would say they were a mountain of iron when still, and a tempestuous sea when in motion[5]. He reached the capital, Dihlī [with this force], on the 3rd of the month of Zī-Ḥijjah, and halted at the capital seventeen days for the purpose of further completing his preparations, and for the purpose of directing the assembling of the [contingent] troops of the Koh-pāyah of Mewāt. On the 19th of Zī-Ḥijjah, with an army resplendent with arms, and ranks arrayed with warriors, he proceeded towards the Sulṭān's camp; and in the month of Muharram, 654 H., they [the Sulṭān and his army] reached the frontiers of Awadh.

Malik Ḳutlugh Khān[6], and those Amīrs who followed him—notwithstanding they were all vassals of the sublime Court, still, through contingencies and urgent obstacles of fate, the countenance of their good-fortune was strewn with dust—left Awadh and crossed the river Sar'ū, and receded before the royal army. By the sublime command, in the

[2] Also written Tal pat, about thirteen miles S S.E. of the present city of Dihlī.

[3] There is not a word in the text, printed or otherwise, about Siwālik *hills* or "*these mountains*" See ELLIOT here

[4] The Burwala of the Indian Atlas, in Lat 75° 59′, Long 28° 22′.

[5] Compare ELLIOT also here

[6] These events are related very differently under the reign, so much so indeed, that any one might suppose they were the events of a different period. Here there is not the least allusion to Malik Bak-Tamur's defeat and death. See page 703.

month of Muḥarram, 654 H., Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, with numerous forces, started in pursuit of them [7], but, as separation had taken place among them [8], [through] the obstacles of the *jangals* of Hindūstān, the deep ravines, and denseness of numerous forests [9], Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam did not find them. He pushed on until near to Badī-koṭ [1], and the frontiers of Tirhut, and ravaged the whole of the independent [Hindū] tribes and Rāes, and faced about to return to the sublime threshold, with vast booty, in safety and in opulence. Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, with the troops, having crossed the river Sar'ū, from Awadh, the sublime standards were directed to return to the capital. When Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, from pursuing those [disaffected] Amīrs, turned his face to return to the Sulṭān's encampment, he reached it in the limits of Kasmandah [2] and, on Saturday, the 16th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 654 H., [the entire force] crossed the river Gang [3], and they

[7] Under the tenth year of the reign our author states that the Sulṭān, with his army, advanced towards Awadh, on which Ḳutlugh Khān retired before him, and the Sulṭān moved towards Kā-lair, and then Ulugh Khān was despatched in pursuit of the rebels He, however, did not come up with them, and he returned, and rejoined the Sulṭān's camp All this is said to have taken place in 653 H., and, when the new year came round, in Muḥarram —the *first* month—654 H, the Sulṭān's forces after achieving this success—the success of putting Ḳutlugh Khān to flight and not catching him—and the Sulṭān, turned their faces towards Dihlī, and reached it on the 4th of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, just *three* months after

As soon as Ḳutlugh Khān became aware of the return of the Sulṭān's troops towards Dihlī—which they reached on the 4th of Rabī ul-Ākhir 654 H, as stated above—he began to lay hands upon the districts of Kaṛah and Mānik-pūr, to the south of Awadh, and only found it necessary to take to the northern hills after he had been defeated in an encounter with Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar. There is great difference in these accounts. See also page 704, and note [4].

[8] Not "They had, however, got a good start:" the words of the text are—چون تفرقه ندیشان راه یافت

[9] This refers to what is termed the "*Tarrai*," but correctly—Tarā'ī—ترائی—the marshy forest at the foot of the Sub-Himālayah.

[1] This name is very doubtful, and is written in various ways. The best and oldest copies are as follows, according to the age and dependence to be placed in them.—بسی کور—سہی کور—بتی کور—بتی کہور—بہی کور—بتی کور—بدی کوت. The "Calcutta" Text has شش پور See also pages 704, 759, and 760

[2] Or Kasmandī: it is written both ways, but, as above, in the oldest copies. It is the name of a town, now much decayed, giving name to the parganah.

[3] All the copies of the text collated, with the exception of two, are defective here

reached the illustrious seat of government, Dihlí, on the 4th of Rabí'-ul-Ākhir.

As Malik Ḳutlugh Khān found it impossible to make any further resistance within the limits of Hindūstān, he came, through the midst of the independent [Hindū] tribes, towards Santūr[4], and in that mountainous tract sought shelter, and took up his abode[5]. All [the people of that part] were wont to serve him, for he was a great Malik, and one among the grandees, and a servant of the Court[6], and one of the Turk Maliks, and had just claims upon them all. Wherever he used to come, on account of what was owed him for the past, and having regard for the possible issue of his affairs, they were wont to hold him in veneration. When he sought safety and protection in the Santūr mountains, Rānah Ran-pāl[7] [Ran-pāla], the Hindí, who held the chieftain-ship among the Hindūs—and it was the usage among that people to protect those who sought shelter with them—assisted[8] Malik Ḳutlugh Khān.

When the report of that came to the sublime hearing, the royal standards, in the beginning of the month of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 655 H., moved towards Santūr, and Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, with his own personal forces, and the Maliks of the Court [with their troops], used great exertions in those mountains, and carried on holy war, as by the faith enjoined, in the defiles of the hills and passes, and on the crests of the mountains of Santūr, in describing which the eye of intellect would be bewildered, gained the advantage [over the infidels], and penetrated as far as the fort and territory of Silmūr [i. e. Sirmūr][9],

[4] His object, in proceeding towards Santūr or Santūr-gaṛh [Lat. 30° 24', Long. 78° 5'], according to the statement under the reign, was to reach the Bīāh and Lāhor, after he had been defeated by Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, which seems to be referred to at page 836, but our author's account is very confused.

[5] There is not a word about chiefs.

[6] They were also doubtless aware that he had married the Sulṭān's mother.

[7] In one old copy رپال in another دبپال but in others it is plainly written as above, a correct Hindū name, from Rap—battle, &c.

[8] Compare ELLIOT, vol ii. page 375.

[9] Nāhūn or Nāhun, a very old place, situated on the acclivity of a mountain, the defiles leading to which were fortified, in ancient times, was called the *shahr*—city or town—of Silmūr or Sirmūr, and the territory belonging to it was also called by the same name. From the description given of it by

which is in the possession of that great Rāe. All the Rāes round about pay homage to him and do his bidding. He fled[1] before the army of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam; and the whole of the market-place and city [town?] of Silmūr was plundered by the Musalmān troops. The followers of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam acquired power over a place where the troops of Islām, in any reign, had never before penetrated; and, by the grace of the favour of the Creator, the Glorious, the Most High, and the aid of the Divine assistance, with great booty, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam [with his forces] reached the sublime presence, and the illustrious capital, Dihlī, under the shadow of the august standards of the kingdom, on the 25th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 655 H.

On the return of the sublime standards to the capital, Malik Ḳutlugh Khān issued from the mountains of Santūr, and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, had [previously] marched out of the territory of Sind and advanced to the vicinity of the river Bīāh[2]. These two great Maliks [with their followers] effected a junction together, and turned their faces towards Sāmānah and Kuhrām, and began to take possession of the country. When intimation of that assemblage and this audacity reached the royal hearing, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Kashlī Khān [his brother], with other Maliks of the Court, and troops, were appointed to proceed for the purpose of quelling this sedition.

Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam moved from Dihlī on Thursday, the 15th of the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 655 H.[3], and pushed on with the utmost expedition to the limits of Kaithal; and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān

modern travellers, and the remains of ancient buildings, it must have been a strong place.

[1] If he fled, where was the fighting?—the "holy war as by the faith enjoined?"

[2] See the account of Malik 'Izz ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, page 784. At this time, he had thrown off his allegiance to Dihlī, he had been to Hūlākū's camp, had received a Mughal Shaḥnah [Intendant], and had sent a grandson to the Mughals as a pledge of his own fidelity This advance from Ūchchah and Multān was, evidently, with the object of aiding Ḳutlugh Khān, and invading the Dihlī territory. The Bīāh, at this period, flowed in its former bed, as mentioned in a previous note.

[3] See under the reign, page 707, and note 7.

and Malik Kutlugh Khān were in that vicinity. When they drew near towards each other—all brethren and all friends of each other, two hosts of one dynasty, two cavalcades of one Court, two armies of one habitation, two wings of one main body[4]—never could there be a case more wonderful than this! All were cronies of one purse, and messmates over one dish, between whom, Satan, the accursed, disclosed such discord. A gang of demon-natured men, for their own carnal objects, and of their infernal malignity, were sowing dissension among those brethren[5] and were raising the banner of sedition, and, for the aggrandisement of their own affairs, were setting things by the ears. Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, in accordance with his own wise policy, was keeping his own personal followers together with those of Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, who was his brother[6] and the son of his paternal uncle, separate from the troops of [the contingents forming] the centre of the Sulṭān's forces, and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Kashlī Khān, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, who was his own full brother, with the Maliks of the Court, and the [contingent] troops of the centre, and the elephants, separate also, in such wise that those two columns of the army were appearing like two efficient and distinct hosts.

The both armies [the Sulṭān's and the rebels'] came into near proximity to each other in the vicinity of Sāmānah and Kaithal, and all were in expectation of an engagement, when the intriguing among the turban-wearers[7] [i e. ecclesiastics] of the capital, Dihlī, indited

[4] This last simile is somewhat differently expressed in a few copies where جوف—a cavity or hollow is used for فوج—a troop or body, &c. Compare ELLIOT here, vol ii page 377

[5] Malik 'Izz-ud Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, can hardly, by our author's own account, for the reasons mentioned in the previous note [2], page 840, have been considered as a subject of Dihlī at this time.

[6] That is to say, like a brother to him. He was, by relationship, his cousin. The object of Ulugh Khān in keeping his own personal forces—not "the household troops"—on whom he could depend, separate, is evident, as also the object of stationing his brother with the other Maliks The Sulṭān's mother, Kutlugh Khān's wife, who, evidently, was the cause of a good deal of this sedition, if not the whole of it, was also present with the disaffected party.

[7] Compare ELLIOT. The original is plain enough in the printed text See also page 708, and note [9].

letters to Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kas̲h̲lū K̲h̲ān, and Malik Ḳutlug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān, and entreated them, saying: "The gates of the city are in our hands: it behoveth you to move towards the city, for it is denuded of troops. You are among the servants and supporters of the sublime Court, and are nothing alien intervening. When you shall come hither, and shall attach yourselves to the service of the exalted throne of sovereignty, Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān, with that army [now with him], will remain outside, and affairs will come to pass according to desire; and this, which is stated [herein], will be rendered easy and brought to pass."

A number of persons among the loyal adherents of the Sulṭān's Court, and well-wishers of Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān-i-A'ẓam's service[8], on becoming aware of this hostility and design of theirs [the turban-wearers'], with all despatch, wrote a statement and sent it to Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān-i-A'ẓam, and, from Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān-i-A'ẓam, a representation reached the sublime throne, to the effect that the disaffected parties should be expelled from the city, the whole of which circumstances are recorded in the account of the reign of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh,—whose glory God preserve!—and, in the details thereof, the names of the persons concerned are mentioned[9]. May Almighty God overlook their enmity, and cause them to repent of it!

During this state of affairs while the two armies were in close proximity to each other, a person of a certain name, whom they were wont to call the son of so-and-so, came [to Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān's camp] as a spy on the part of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kas̲h̲lū K̲h̲ān, and made out that he was come to present himself to Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān-i-A'ẓam, and [pretended], on the part of the Maliks and Amīrs who were supporting Malik Balban-i-Kas̲h̲lū K̲h̲ān, to represent that they all desired to make their submission in Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān's presence, and that, if a deed of immunity were granted, and the right hand pledged, assurance given, and means of subsistence and a fief assigned to himself who had presented himself before Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān, he would

[8] Among the first of whom was our author, no doubt.

[9] The fact of the matter is that, generally, what is detailed there is slurred over here, and what is slurred over there is detailed here. See also page 785.

bring over all the Maliks and Amīrs of Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān's party, and cause them to be ranged on the series of the other servants [of the state][1].

As Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, in secret, had become cognizant of the bent of that individual, he commanded that the whole of the troops should be paraded before him, in such wise that he might behold the whole force with their armament, their numbers, their efficiency, and the elephants, and horses in defensive armour[2]. Then Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam directed that a letter should be written secretly and clandestinely to the Amīrs and Maliks of Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān's party saying: "Your communications have come under observation, and the purport thereof has been understood. There is no doubt that, if, in an obedient manner, you shall present yourselves, fiefs and suitable subsistence will be assigned to you, indeed even more; and, if the contrary should happen, on this day it will be manifest and evident unto mortals what the upshot of each one's affairs will come to by the wound of the flashing sword and flaming spear, and, when confounded and humbled, bound in the bonds of destiny, they are dragged to the foot of the sublime standards and banners." When that letter, after the manner of honey mixed with gall, a sting with sweet drink, and graciousness with rigour, was written, and that person went back again, and related to Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān—The Almighty have him in His keeping!—all that he had seen and heard,[3] those having an insight into the human mind will conceive to what the state of antagonism between the Maliks and Amīrs and the agent [deputed] would reach,

[1] Compare ELLIOT

[2] What this defensive armour was like may be gathered from some of the ancient illuminated historical *MSS* in the Persian language.

[3] But the letter was not given to him The Calcutta Printed Text, following a modern copy, has, "and had shown the letter," but this is not so in the oldest copies of the text It stands to reason that, if 'Izz ud-Dīn, Balban's spy, had brought that letter to his camp, much less shown it to that Malik himself, the latter would have known that it was a mere ruse, and could have suppressed the said letter, but the letter was written by command of Ulugh Khān as if addressed to 'Izz-ud-Dīn Balban's partisans, that it might fall into 'Izz-ud-Dīn Balban's hands and rouse suspicion in his mind, that his own partisans were negotiating with the other party The modern copies of the text, generally, are minus about two lines here

In the meantime the letters[4] from the city of Dihlī reached them, and Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, and Malik Ḳutlugh Khān turned their faces towards the capital, but returned again from thence without having effected their object [as previously narrated].

Two days subsequently[5], their design became known to Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, and he became disturbed in mind as to how affairs might be [going on] at the Court, and before the throne of sovereignty, when, after the happening of this strange circumstance [the arrival of the spy in his camp] letters reached him from the city[6]. He set out for the capital, and reached it safe and prosperous under the protection of the Creator, and under the Divine guardianship and keeping, on Monday, the 10th[7] of the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 653 H.

The royal troops continued at the city of Dihlī for a period of seven months, until, in the month of Ẕī-Ḥijjah of the before mentioned year, an army of infidel Mughals arrived in the territory of Sind, and the head of those accursed ones was the Nū-yīn, Sārī[8]. Since Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān had brought a Shaḥnah [Intendant] of that people thither[9], as a matter of necessity, he had to go to them, and they [the Mughals] dismantled the defences of the citadel of Multān[1]. On intimation of this reaching his

[4] These are the letters referred to at page 842—not *fresh* letters. This passage, with respect to the letter referred to in the previous note, and the letters mentioned at page 842, is thus rendered in ELLIOT, vol. ii. page 378. "When the letter was delivered *to the officers of Balban, the wise among them perceived its drift, and knew that the dissensions between the nobles and generals would be settled elsewhere* (*yakjā*). *Fresh letters* now arrived from Dehli, and Malik Balban and Katlagh Khán set forth in that direction and showed *no intention of returning*"!! There is nothing of this kind in the Printed Text, nor in any MSS. copy. See under the reign, page 707, and in the account of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, where these events are given in detail.

[5] The patrols of Ulugh Khān's army could not have kept a very sharp look-out in this case.

[6] See under the reign, pages 708—710, where our author relates differently, and also note [1].

[7] At page 710, the date given is the 14th of that month.

[8] In other places he is styled Sālīn and Sālī, which last is the same as Sārī, *l* being interchangeable with *r*.

[9] See the account of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, page 786.

[1] In ELLIOT [vol. ii. page 378], this passage is rendered:—"When their general brought in this army, Malik Balban went to them of necessity, and *the forces of the fort* of Multan *fell back*," but the Calcutta Printed Text,

august hearing, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam represented for the consideration of the sublime Court, that it was advisable that the royal standards of the kingdom, conjoined with victory and triumph, should move from the capital. It was the year 656 H., and, on the 2nd [2] of the month of Muḥarram of that year, the sublime standards, under an auspicious horoscope, moved out from the capital, and the Sulṭān's tent was set up [3] outside, in sight of the city of Dihlī. In consultation with Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, mandates were at once issued and despatched to all parts of the country, to the great Maliks and Lords of the kingdom, and on the confines, directing them all to turn their faces towards the capital, and, in the greatest possible state of efficiency, present themselves [with their contingents] at the sublime threshold. On the 10th of the month of Muḥarram, within the tent of sovereignty, which in victory and triumph be ever set up, and the ropes of its prosperity, be secured with the pegs of stability!—this suppliant, by command, delivered an exhortation [4], with the object of

although so often incorrect, is right in this instance. The compound verb here used is not necessarily *faro-raftan*, to subside, come down, &c., but the verb *faro-ruftan*—the consonants are the same in both, but not the vowels—to sweep away, destroy, and the like.

The correct reading, as in all copies of the text, is evidently كنگرهای حصار طاق فرو رفتند literally :—They swept away, destroyed, the parapet wall, battlements, pinnacles, &c., of the citadel of Multān. The object of the Mughals, taken into consideration with the fact of their harassing the frontiers of the Dihlī kingdom as far as the west bank of the Bīāh, at this period, is plain enough. Their object also will be further seen from the events mentioned in the last Section. Malik Balban gave Multān up to them as a vassal of their sovereign, and they then dismantled it, that it might not be an obstacle to them in future.

[2] The 6th of the month at page 711.

[3] It is usual to pitch a tent in this manner previous to undertaking a journey or expedition, but, in this case, it does not follow that the Sulṭān dwelt in it the whole time. In this instance, it was like "a sovereign setting up his standard" around which his troops assembled, in fact it is so stated just above. In ELLIOT, this passage is incorrectly rendered "Ulugh Khan advised his Majesty to set the royal army in motion, and, accordingly, *it marched forth* on the 2nd Muharram." It was not assembled yet, as our author plainly states. Mandates were issued for the Maliks to present themselves with their contingents. There is not a word either about collecting "all the forces they could."

[4] Here, too, is an absurd mistake in the same work [page 379]: "On the 10th Muharram, the author received orders *in the royal tent to compose an* ODE *to stir up the feelings*," &c! The words, as in the Printed Text also, are, مجلس تذکیر which have nothing to do with odes.

stimulating to holy warfare, and the merit of fighting against infidels, and efforts to defend the glories of Islām, and serve the sublime Court, by obeying the orders of the legitimate commanders—May God increase the execution of His commands!—and Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, with a body of troops in array, and attended by a numerous equipage, in association with the august stirrup of sovereignty, issued forth[5]. All the Maliks joined [with their contingents], and all the troops united.

When intimation of this concentration reached the accursed [Mughals] and their camp, they did not advance beyond the frontiers which they had assailed and ravaged, and evinced no further audacity[6], but it was considered advisable that the army, for a period of four months, or even longer[7], should remain concentrated within sight of the city. Bodies of horse [during this period] used to go out in various directions, and make holy war upon the independent [Hindū] tribes, until, when news of the withdrawal of those accursed [Mughals] arrived, and the heart was freed of the

[5] The words are بیرون آمد—came out, i.e. from the city to the camp, not that they "*marched* in company with his majesty." The force never moved out of sight of Dihlī. The troops, which did come out of Dihlī with the Sulṭān and Ulugh Khān, were personal followers, a large force in themselves. Those of the Sulṭān might be styled the household troops. Detachments of horse only were sent out, and those not against the Mughals.

[6] This concentration of the forces of Dihlī, if not intended as a defensive act, turned out to be one, and the Mughals were left to ravage the frontier provinces—which then appear not to have extended beyond the Bīah, that is, when it flowed in its *old bed* already referred to—with impunity. The state of Mewāt, and the independent Hindū tribes, appear to have prevented operations against the Mughals, as referred to at page 850. See also page 862, where our author states that Hulakū Khān was so good, out of regard for Ulugh Khān, as to direct his forces not to molest the frontiers of the Dihlī kingdom, a sufficiently humiliating statement for our author to make.

This passage is rendered in ELLIOT [page 379]: "When *the* infidel Mughal heard of this host on the frontier he had assailed, he advanced no further and showed no spirit," &c. All the copies of the text are as above, even the "official" Calcutta Printed Text.

[7] At page 712, "five months," but seven months was the correct period. See note [7] to that page. The *ḳalb* or [the troops forming the] centre of the Sulṭān's army returned to the city, from the camp outside, on the 1st of Ramaẓān.

The forces continued thus encamped in sight of the capital all the hot season, until the commencement of the rains. The year 656 H. began 7th January, 1258 A.D.—the year in which Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the other Barons, his supporters, imposed terms upon King Henry III.

sedition of that gathering, [the Hindūs[8]] a number of intelligencers brought to the blessed hearing of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam that, probably, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar[9], from Awadh, and Ḳutlugh [Ḳulīch ?] Khān[1], Mas'ūd-i-Jānī, on account of their having delayed in joining the Sultān's camp[2], were, in consequence, in a state of apprehension, and in their minds thoughts of contumacy were presenting themselves. Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam submitted to the notice of the sublime Court that, before that party acquired feathers and wings, and, through the fear they were in, should take a flight into the air of contumaciousness, it was advisable that time should not be given them, and that this fire should be speedily smothered.

In conformity with the prudent advice of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, notwithstanding it was the time of the hot season, and that the army of Islām, on account of the advance of the accursed Mughals, and guarding the frontiers, had experienced trouble, still, as there was expediency in moving, on Tuesday, the 6th of the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 656 H., the sublime standards departed towards the country of Hindūstān[3], and advanced, march by march, as far as the boundaries of Karah and Mānik-pūr[4]. Ulugh Khān-i-

[8] As mentioned a few lines before. The Mughals were not gone yet.

[9] See under Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, page 768

[1] In one of the oldest copies Ḳutlugh Khān, Mas'ūd-i-Jānī. This is not the Ḳutlugh Khān who married the Sultān's mother, but a son of Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, the Shāh-zādah of Turkistān, referred to in the List of Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish's Maliks, at page 626 For more respecting Ḳulij, Ḳulīch, or Ḳutlugh Khān, who, under the reign, at pages 673 and 712, is also styled, but wrongly, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh-i-Jānī, see note at page 775, para. 3, and page 848

[2] The camp before Dihlī just previously referred to.

[3] The Antarbed Do-ābah

[4] In his account of this Malik [page 768] our author says that, after Malik Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar had been successful against Ḳutlugh Khān [the step-father of the Sultān], he became disaffected towards the Court, and Ulugh Khān had to move into Awadh and Karah to coerce him and Ḳutlugh [Ḳulīch ?] Khān, Mas'ūd, son of the late Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī [see List of nobles, page 673]. Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar was entrusted with the government of the fief of Karah in 657 H., and, subsequently, got possession of the City of Lakhanawatī by treachery, and without orders from the Court, and yet, in his account of the events of the thirteenth year of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, our author says that, on Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh,

A'ẕam made such exertions in chastising the seditious Hindūs and harassing the Rānahs as cannot be conceived. On his reaching that territory [Kaṛah and Mānik-pūr], Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, and Malik Ḳutlugh [Ḳulīch?] Khān, Mas'ūd-i-Jānī, got away, and out of necessity sent away their families and dependents among the independent [Hindū] tribes, and despatched confidential persons to the presence of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẕam asking that he should make a representation before the exalted throne and explain the necessity they were under of withdrawing, and to supplicate that the sublime standards might be directed to return towards the capital on the stipulation that, when the royal standards should reach Dihlī, the illustrious capital, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar and Ḳutlugh [Ḳulīch?] Khān, both of them, should present themselves in attendance at the sublime Court, the Asylum of the Universe. When Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẕam made this representation, the sublime standards returned towards Dihlī, and, on Monday, the 2nd of the month of Ramaẕān, 656 H., the illustrious seat of government was reached.

On Sunday, the 27th of the month of Shawwāl, of the same year, Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, and Ḳutlugh [Ḳulīch?] Khān, Mas'ūd-i-Jānī, presented themselves at the threshold of sovereignty, and made their obeisance. Notwithstanding so much opposition, their flight, and the tardiness and negligence they had displayed, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẕam gave them his support, and manifested towards them such kindness, gentleness, moderation, good faith, and sympathy, out of his great benevolence and infinite clemency, and lordly assistance and princely favour, as neither the fingers can record nor explanation relate. May the Most High God have him perpetually in His keeping for the sake of Muḥammad and the whole of his posterity!

After a period of two months, through Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẕam's patronage, the states of Lakhanawatī were made

son of the late Malik Jānī, the kingdom of Lakhanawatī was conferred. The account here given, and that in the notice of Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, are widely different. The discrepancies respecting Lakhanawatī I have noticed at page 770.

over to Kutlugh [Kulich?][5] Khān, Mas'ūd-i-Jānī's charge, and the district of Karah[6] to Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar.

When the new year of 657 H. set in, on the 13th of the month of Muharram, the sublime standards were directed to be moved out of the capital, and the pavilion of majesty was pitched in sight of the city of Dihlī[7]. Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam—may God perpetuate his prosperity!—held it meet to exercise his patronage in behalf of Malik Nusrat-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, who was his paternal uncle's son, and he made a representation before the exalted throne, so that the whole of the territory of Bhīānah, Kol, Jalī-sar, and the preserved city of Gwāliyūr was entrusted to his charge[8], and that assignment was committed to him on Sunday, the 21st of the month of Safar, 657 H. For the remainder of that year, by reason that—and thank God for it!—there was no cause of apprehension, the sublime standards made no farther movement[9].

On Wednesday, the 4th of the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 657 H., treasure, valuables, and elegancies to a large amount, with two elephants, reached the sublime threshold from the Lakhanawatī territory, and Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, in return for such commendable assiduity, exerted [his] interest, in behalf of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Yūz-Bakī,[1] who was the sender of these elephants and property; and the investiture of the fief of Lakhanawatī was bestowed upon him by his majesty, and that territory was confirmed to him, and a robe of honour and other distinctions were transmitted to him.

[5] In this place again there is a great difference in the title of this personage. In seven copies of the text, including the oldest, he is styled Kulij, in one Kutlugh, and in three Kulīj or Kulīch.

[6] In some copies the Koh-pāyah; perhaps both Karah *and* the Koh-pāyah districts may be meant.

[7] In ELLIOT, they are made again *to march* from Dihlī, which is not so stated, even in the Calcutta Text. The reason why no marching was necessary is given below.

[8] See the account of Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, page 794. There it is stated that Balārām, Baltārah, Mihir, and Mahāwan, were also entrusted to him. Under the reign, page 712, there is no mention of Jalī-sar.

[9] In Rajab of this year a grandson was born to Ulugh Khān. His daughter, Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh's wife, presented her husband, the Sultān, with a son; and two months after, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the Ulugh Kutlugh-i-A'zam, the Bār-Bak, died.

[1] This is the person referred to at pages 770 and 827

When the new year 658 H. came round, and the month of Ṣafar arrived, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam resolved upon making a raid upon the Koh-pāyah [hill tracts of Mewāt] round about the capital, because, in this Koh-pāyah, there was a community of obdurate rebels, who, unceasingly, committed highway robbery and plundered the property of Musalmāns, and the ejection of the subject peasantry, and destruction of the villages in the districts of Harīānah, the Siwālikh, and Bhīānah, necessarily followed their outbreaks. Three years [2] previous to this period, they had likewise carried off herds of camels, the property of the vassals and loyal followers of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam's household—be victory ever theirs!—from the outskirts of the Hānsī territory. The leader of the rebels was a person, Malkā [3] by name, an obdurate Hindū *gabr* [infidel], like a gigantic demon and a serpent-hued *'Ifrīt* [4]. They had carried off herds of camels and camel-men, and had, in the meantime, dispersed them among the Hindūs throughout the Koh-pāyah [hill tracts], as far as the vicinity of Rantabhūr, and the time that these camel-men and camels were carried off was a time when an expedition was pending, and the camp-followers of the force, and the warriors of the retinue of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, were in urgent need of them for the purpose of carrying the equipage of the troops When that contumacious rebel committed this act, an infinite load weighed upon the dear heart of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, and all the Maliks and Amīrs and warriors of the troops of Islām—May God ever accord victory to them! Nevertheless, it was impossible to chastise that sedition by reason of anxiety [consequent] on the appearance of the Mughal army [5] which continued to harass the frontier tracts of the dominions of Islām, namely, the territory of Sind, Lohor [6], and the line of the river

[2] Two copies have "one year," but this can scarcely be correct. The period referred to seems to be the year 656 H., on the appearance of the Mughals under Sārī, on the western frontier See page 844

[3] This must not be supposed to refer to Dalaī ī. of Malakī, the great Rānah in the vicinity of the river Jūn, between Kālinjar and Karah, for he is a wholly different person

[4] Compare ELLIOT here.

[5] The words are, correctly, as rendered above :—بواسطه دل سکرانی و رفع لشکر مغل The Printed Text has دفع for رفع and, hence, the passage in Elliot is incorrect

[6] Not much of Lohor remained for them to harass at that time belonging to Dihlī, but see page 846, where our author says the Mughals "evinced no

**Biāh, until, at this period, emissaries of Khurāsān [7] [coming] from the side of 'Irāk from Hulāū [Hulākū], the Mughal, who was the son of Tūlī, son of Chingiz Khān, had arrived in the neighbourhood of the capital. Command was given that the emissaries' party should be detained at the halting-places of Bārūtah [8], and that vicinity; and Ulugh Khān i-A'zam, and other Maliks, with the forces of the Court, and the [contingent] troops of the [different] Maliks [9], suddenly and unexpectedly, resolved upon an advance into the Koh-pāyah [hill-tracts of Mewāt].**

**On Monday, the 4th of the month of Ṣafar [1], 658 H. the sublime standards of victory pushed forward into the Koh-pāyah, and, in the first advance, made a march of nearly fifty *kuroh* [2], and fell, unexpectedly and unawares upon the**

further audacity," &c. More on this subject will be found in the following Section.

[7] These were not "ambassadors to the Sultán," who "*came* TO [sic] *Khurásán* from 'Irák, on the part of Hulákú Mughal, son of *Tolí*," as in ELLIOT [page 381], and had the "*long digression of no interest*"—from page 196 to 202, farther on, been translated, it would have been found who and what they were.

[8] The name of this place is written with *b*—باروته—as above in eight copies of the text, including the three oldest, with the slight exception of there being no point to the *b*, thus .—ٮاروته—and the next to the last letter having but one point instead of two in one of the three copies; three copies have باروته tending to confirm the above reading, and one has باروبه The Calcutta Printed Text has ماروته— Mārūtah, but this I look upon as a mere guess on the part of the Editors, because it is a well-known place, and more particularly since, in a foot-note, that text has باروته—ناروته—باروبه

It is evident, from all this, that the first letter is *b* and not *m*, and there can be little doubt but that the next to the last letter is *t* There is a place in the Barwālah Parganah named—مرواله and there is Mārūt—ماروت—in the direct route from Üchchah to Dihlī, but this cannot be meant here, for our author has written that name correctly in two different places; and there are other Mārūts, but not in this direction. It appears to me that the place is بروته or باروته styled Sarāe-i-Barūtah, from the ruins of an extensive karwān-sarāe, two *kuroh* to the S E. of Jagdespūr, on the road from Dihlī to Suni-pat, and, about twenty miles N.W of the capital, the Sarāe being a convenient distance, and an eligible place wherein to lodge them until the muster of the forces, referred to at page 856, was complete, which muster was, no doubt, to enable the emissaries to carry back with them a good impression respecting the number and efficiency of the Dihlī forces.

[9] Among the Maliks who accompanied Ulugh Khān upon this expedition, and also on the subsequent one, was Malik Tāj ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tez Khān [No. XVII.], who was ordered from Awadh for the purpose See end of the year 657 H, under the reign.

[1] Under the reign, the date is the 13th of Ṣafar.

[2] Near upon 100 miles. Such a word as "*kos*," which is Sanskrit, as in ELLIOT, does not occur throughout this work

contumacious rebels of that tract. All those that were on the mountain sides, in the deep defiles, and great ravines, were taken and were brought under the swords of the Musalmāns. For a period of twenty days he [Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam] continued to move about that Koh-pāyah in every direction. The dwelling-places and villages of those mountaineers were on the summits of the high hills, and the whole of their edifices on the acclivities of rocks, so that you would say they were, in altitude, equal to the stars, and even with the sky. By command of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, the whole of those places which, in strength, might compare with the tale told of the wall of Sikandar in solidity, were captured and plundered, and the people of those places, who were knaves, Hindūs, thieves, and high-way robbers, were all put to the sword. The Ulugh Khānī orders to that army of holy warriors were, that whoever should bring in a head should receive one *tangah* of silver, and whoever brought in a man alive two *tangahs* of silver from the private treasurer.

The defenders of the truth, in conformity with Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam's commands, penetrated into all the loftiest places, into the defiles, and deep ravines[3], and acquired heads and captives, and became filled with property and money, especially the sept of Afghāns, every one of whom you might say was some huge elephant with [the tails of] two Khiṭā-ī bulls[4] over his shoulders, or some tall tower of a fortress, placed on its summit, for the purpose of over-awing, with banner displayed. The number of them, employed in the service of, and attending the stirrup of, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, was about 3000 horse and foot, daring, intrepid, and valiant soldiers, each one of whom, either on mountain or in forest, would take a hundred Hindūs in his grip, and, in a dark night, would reduce a

[3] In nearly every instance, throughout this work, the Calcutta Printed Text uses بوره and بورهای for لوره and لورهای

[4] The same word—ghajz-ghāe—is used here as applied to Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Sabuk-Tigīn, page 68 It evidently refers to their hairy faces and the long curly hair hanging down their backs, and as some tribes wear their hair to this day These Afghāns are the first PATĀNS mentioned in this work, and in no other place in it, either before or after, are they mentioned Compare ELLIOT here also.

demon to utter helplessness[4]. In short, the whole of the Maliks and Amīrs, Turks and Tājziks, displayed zeal and energy, the mention of which will ever endure upon the pages of time; and, up to this period, since the standards of Islām were first displayed in the land of Hind, at no time had the Musalmān troops ever before reached that locality or ravaged it[5]. Under the auspices of the good fortune of the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, the Most High God facilitated the delivery into the hands of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam that obdurate Hindū, who had carried off those camels and camel men, together with his sons and family, all of whom were taken, and the decree of fate brought them into the bondage and captivity of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam's followers, and the whole of the heads and chiefs of the rebels, to the number of about 250 persons, among the chief men of that people, fell into the chains of bondage. One hundred and forty-two horses reached the Sulṭān's stables, and sixty *badrahs*[7] of *tangahs*, the amount of [each of?] which was 35,000[8] *tangahs*, he [Ulugh Khān] extorted from the Rānahs and Rāes of that mountain tract[9], and they were conveyed to the royal treasury; and, in the

[4] One of the St. Petersburg copies of the text ends the Section here, and passes at once to the last Section

[5] The tract of country here indicated, the Koh-pāyah of our author, seems to be Bharatpūr, Dholpūr, and part of the Rājpūt states of Jaipūr and Alwar. The Musalmāns had penetrated before this much farther south to the vicinity of the Narbadah

We may be sure these successes will not be found recorded in Rājpūt annals.

[7] A small bag of cotton or linen cloth, goats' leather, or felt cloth, rather longer than broad. The word also means a bag of 10,000 *dirams*

[8] The probability is that each *badrah* contained that number of *tangahs*—in value about as many rūpīs—in which case the total would be 2,100,000 *tangahs*, or about equal to 21 *laks* of rūpīs, not a very large sum to extort from several rich Rāes and Rānahs, the smaller sum would have been too paltry to convey to the royal treasury. One of the best copies has gold *tangahs*, in which case the total amount may have been that given above, but, even then, the sum would be but a comparatively paltry one

[9] In the Printed Text, the original word—ستد—he extorted—from the verb —ستاندن—is turned into—سند—and this has been followed in ELLIOT, hence this sentence has assumed the following amusing form: "and six bags of *tankas*, amounting to thirty thousand tankas, were *taken* from the Ránas of the hills and the *Ráis of* SIND, and *sent* to the royal treasury"

As the word سند stands in the place of—ستد—there is no word for *taken* in this sentence in the Printed Text, and so the literal translation of it would be: "so much from the Ránahs, &c., to the royal treasury conveyed"—an unintelligible jumble of words.

space of twenty days, such were the important feats effected through the vigorous and energetic command of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam—May his glory ever continue!

On the 24th of the month Rabī'-ul-Awwāl, 658 H., Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam returned to the capital. The august canopy of sovereignty, and the king of the world like an imperial sun under the shadow thereof—God perpetuate his sovereignty!—and all the Maliks, Amīrs, Ṣadrs, men of rank and position, and the inhabitants of the city, came out to the plain of the Ḥauẓ-i-Rānī [the Rānī's Reservoir], and drew up in lines, extending from the Bāgh-i-Jūd [1] [the Jūd Garden] to the Rānī's Reservoir,[2] and hastened in the footsteps of loyalty to meet and do honour to the sublime standards which accompanied Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam[3]. The Sulṭān of Sulṭāns—God long preserve his sovereignty!—at the head of the Rānī's Reservoir, on the exalted seat of the throne of sovereignty, held an audience, and Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, with the Maliks and Amīrs of the force, arrayed in robes of honour conferred by Ulugh Khān himself, attained the honour of kissing the threshold of the place of audience, so that one might say, from the various coloured robes, of satin, silk, brocade, gold and silver tissue, and other expensive textures, and gold embroidered tunics and other garments, that that plain bloomed like a thousand flower gardens. All these Grandees, Maliks, Amīrs, incomparable champions and warriors of the force, one day previous to this, in their own quarters, had donned these honorary dresses from out of the lordly treasury of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam—May it never cease being replete with riches and spoils!—and [now] the whole of them, victorious and triumphant, safe and rich, hied to the sublime audience-hall, and great and small—high and low—attained the honour of kissing the Sulṭān's hand, together with thousands of commendations, favours,

[1] In one copy of the text—one of the older ones—this is here written with the vowel points—باغ چُوَد—Bāgh-i-Chūad. It is, however, nowhere else written so. In Arabic —جود—jūd—signifies liberality, munificence, but the original may be a local name.

[2] The Hamilton *MS.* is minus the whole of the remainder of this section.

[3] This grand reception plainly shows that Ulugh Khān's force had achieved a great success over the unbelievers.

and assurances, and returned thanks to the Most High and Holy God for that success[4].

After two days, the royal cavalcade [again] proceeded out of the city to the plain at the Rānī's Reservoir, with the intention of making an example of infidels, and command was given for the elephants, of mountain-like form and reaching to the sky, of demon-like aspect, and wind-like speed—so that you might say they were the delegates of destiny and the soldiers of the angel of death—to be brought for the purpose of inflicting condign punishment upon the infidels. The relentless Turks, of the profession of Mars, drew their well-tempered, fire-flashing, swords from the scabbards of power, and then the sublime order was issued so that they commenced to execute [the rebels]. After that, some of those rebels they cast at the feet of the elephants, and made the heads of Hindūs, under the heavy hands and feet of those mountain-like figures, the grain in the orifice of the grinding mill of death, and, by the keen swords of the ruthless Turks, and the life-ravishing executioners, every two of these Hindūs were made four, and, by scavengers, with knives, such that, at the gashes of them, a demon would be horror-stricken, a hundred and odd rebels were flayed from head to foot, and at the hand of their skinners, they quaffed, in the goblet of their own heads, the *Sharbat* of death Command was given so that they stuffed the whole of their skins with straw, and suspended them over every gate-way of the city.

In short, an example of retribution was made such as the plain at the Rānī's Reservoir, and the open space before the gate of Dihlī never remembered the like of, and the ear of no hearer ever heard a tale so terrible as that.[5] Such like religious warfare and victory over the infidels, and such amount of booty was acquired, and such efforts

[4] In ELLIOT [page 382, vol. ii.], the Editor considering that "The author here becomes very diffuse in his descriptions and praises, which are not worth translation," this entire paragraph is dismissed with a very few words.—"His Majesty, with a great retinue of chiefs and nobles, came forth to the *plain of Hauz-rānī* to meet *him*, and a great court was held in which many honours and rewards were bestowed."

[5] We must make allowances for the age in which this occurred, but what an idea it gives us of the merciful disposition, and amiability of "the king of the world," and copier of Ḳur'āns, if he had any authority!

were brought about through the power of the Ulugh Khānī good fortune. May the Most High God preserve the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, NĀṢIR-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN, MAḤMUD SHĀH, on the throne of sovereignty, and adorn the exalted seat of ULUGH KHĀN-I-A'ZAM with permanency and stability![6]

Having achieved such deeds, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam represented before the sublime throne, that it was right that the Khurāsān emissaries[7] should be conducted to the capital, and attain the honour of kissing the royal hand. On the command being issued, on Wednesday, the 8th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 658 H., the august retinue [of the Sulṭān] moved to the Kūshk-i-Sabz [the Green Castle], and Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam gave orders, so that the Ṣāḥib, the Dīwān-i-'Āriẓ-i-Mamālık [the Head of the Department of the Muster-master of the Kingdom] marshalled in order the men bearing arms from the different parts around and in the vicinity of the capital. About 200,000 footmen, well armed, came to Dihlī, and they drew up, in battle array, about 50,000 horse[8], fully equipped with defensive armour, and with banners [displayed], and of the populace of the city—the higher, middle, and lower classes—so many men bearing arms, both on horseback and on foot went forth, that, from the Shahr-i-Nau [new city] of Gilūkharī to within the city where was the Royal Ḳaṣr, twenty lines[9] of men, one behind the other—like the avenue of a pleasure-garden with the branches entwined—placed shoulder to shoulder, stood row after row. Truly you might say—"It is the last great day, the time of the general resurrection, the hour of perturbation, the rendering of account of good and evil"—through the experience, energy,

[6] Compare ELLIOT here

[7] Now, in ELLIOT, we have "*the* Mughal ambassador IN Khurásán." In the Printed Text "*they*" correctly, the—رسل—[plural of رسول] خراسان See note [7], page 851.

[8] The Calcutta "official" Printed Text, copying the I O.L. *MS* 1952, has a very amusing blunder here. Instead of اماده—signifying "prepared," "ready," "drawn up," &c., after—سوار—it has—ماده—signifying "female"—سوار—thus turning them into 50,000 *female* horse!! The R A S. *MS* is also incorrect, but has—مادو—not—ماده—and the former word is meaningless.

[9] Twenty-seven lines, in some copies "The author becomes very diffuse in his description and praises, which are not worth translation," according to ELLIOT, vol. ii page 382, which see.

ontrol, and lieutenancy of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam—God erpetuate his good fortune! The arrangement of the ines, the assignment of the place of every one of the Amīrs, Maliks, Grandees, and Ṣadrs, with their followings and lependants, the disposition of the standards and banners, he donning of arms, the preservation of every one's rank, which Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam directed, he himself saw to, y moving from one end of the lines to the other, placing very one in the place which had been assigned to him.

That concourse of people presented such a tremendous ppearance, that the ear of the heavens, at the dín of the ymbals and kettle-drums, the cries of the trumpeting elehants, the neighings of the prancing horses, and the vocierations of the people, became deaf, and the eye of the nalicious and envious blind. When the Turkistān emisaries[1] mounted and set out from the Shahr-i-Nau [of Jilū-kharī], and their sight fell upon that concourse, their right was such from the awe inspired by that immense oncourse and the warlike apparatus, that the danger was est the bird of their souls should take wing from their odies. It is most likely—indeed it is the fact—that, at the ime of the charge of the trumpeting elephants, some of[2] hose emissaries got thrown from their horses and fell to he ground. May the Most High God avert the evil eye rom this kingdom and realm, capital and army, and the Maliks of the dynasty!

When the emissaries[3] reached the city gate, by the royal ommand, and the approval of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, all he Maliks observed the custom of going to receive them, nd, in doing honour to the emissaries' party, observed towards them] the usages of respect, and with due reve-

[1] They are so-called here in all the copies of the text collated, with a single xception, but, hitherto, they have always been styled emissaries "from Khurāsān," and "of Khurāsān," and the context proves the above a mistake for Khurāsān, because they came from thence, and not from Turkistān. See page 59.

[2] They and their followers must be meant, as the emissaries were but three n all.

[3] These persons came with no political object: merely respecting this matrimonial alliance with Ulugh Khān, and therefore I have neither styled them nvoys nor "ambassadors from" Hulākū Khān, but Ulugh Khān evidently wished to let them see the Dihlī forces to the best advantage, and carry back a ood report of them.

rence conducted them to the Ḳaṣr-i-Sabz [the Green Castle] and before the exalted throne of sovereignty. On that day, the Castle of Sovereignty was adorned with various kinds of carpets and cushions, and a variety of princely articles of luxury and convenience, both of gold and silver, and round about the royal throne two canopies[4], one red and the other black, adorned with jewels of great price, were extended. The golden throne ornamented with the *masnad* [seat] of empire, and the series of illustrious Maliks, great Amīrs, distinguished Ṣadrs, eminent personages, the handsome young Turk slaves with golden girdles, and the champions in pomp and pride ranged around, made the assembly halls studded with gems, and saloons burnished with gold, seem like unto the garden of bliss, and the eighth heaven, so that the [following] lines having become applicable to the occasion, and having been pronounced before the exalted throne by one of the sons of this suppliant, from his composition, are here introduced. [These lines are a mere repetition of the same fulsome epithets and exaggerated figures as are found in the preceding and following prose, and are scarcely worth insertion here.]

Thou mightest with truth say that that assembly was as a heaven full of stars, or like a firmament teeming with planets. The sovereign of the universe on the throne appeared as a sun from the fourth heaven, with Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam in attendance as a shining moon, kneeling upon the knees of veneration and reverence, the Maliks in rows like unto revolving planets, and the Turks in their gold and gem-studded girdles like unto stars innumerable.

In short, all this arrangement, and preparation, and [these] different matters, were carried out with the approval and wise counsel, and sagacious conception of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, for, although the Sultān of Sultāns, in conformity with the Prophet's sayings, accords to him the position of a father, nevertheless he is more obedient and submissive than a thousand newly-purchased slaves.[5] So

[4] If چتر signified an *umbrella* merely, it would scarcely be applicable here. What canopies of state are may be seen from Plate vii. to Blochmann's Translation of the Ā'īn-i-Akbarī.

[5] I should imagine that this remark—in fact the whole of this account—

the emissaries, after their reception, were conducted, after receiving various marks of favour, and different benefits were conferred upon them, to the assigned place prepared for their residence.

It is necessary at this place to mention what was the motive of the arrival of these emissaries from the country of Khurāsān,[6] and from Hulā'ū [Hulākū] Khān, the Mughal, and how it fell out. The facts of the matter are these, that Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Malik Ḥasan the Ḳarlugh—The Almighty's mercy be upon him!—perhaps, entertained a strong inclination to cause a pearl from the oyster shell of his family to be transferred to the string of marriage to Shāh,[7] the son of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, in order that, through that union, he [Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad] might display his glory over the Maliks of the time and the great rulers of the world, and that that connexion might be a means of strength to him, and a source of security. On this subject he wrote secretly and confidentially, to one of the servants of the household of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, and endeavoured to obtain an inkling as to the possibility of the [proposed] connexion, and intimated that he himself would, under this veil, submit the matter for the august consideration of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, by way of sincerity and duty. As Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan the Ḳarlugh, was one of the illustrious Maliks of his day,[8] it became necessary, on the

clearly proves that Ulugh Khān was not Sulṭān when this was written. It is somewhat remarkable that our author has never once mentioned whether Ulugh Khān had obtained his freedom or not. We must hence suppose that he had not, for our author would scarcely have omitted to mention such an important fact.

[6] The following six paragraphs are what, in ELLIOT [page 383, vol. II.], is said, by the Editor, to be "*a long digression* of no interest."

[7] All the copies of the text are alike here, but it is very certain that Ulugh Khān's son must have had some other name prefixed to the word Shāh, but no son of his is mentioned in history of whose name Shāh forms a part.

[8] See Thomas PATHÁN KINGS, page 98. It is there stated that he, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Ḳarlugh, "*seems* to have succeeded to his father's dominions in *Sind*, and to have been held in consideration as a powerful *monarch*. He was still reigning on the arrival of the ambassadors of Hulágú Khán in A.H. 658." His holding dominions in Sind is entirely erroneous. Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, held Sind in 658 H., and was still holding it when this history was brought to a conclusion, and where the dominions of the Ḳarlugh lay will be found in the following statement, and likewise the proof respecting 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān's still holding Sind and Multān also.

part of Ulugh Khān, to give an answer on the subject, and his consent to the connexion. He, accordingly, directed one of the middle rank among his retinue to bear the answer to this request, and that bearer, a Khalj, they used to style by the name of the Ḥājib-i-Ajall [the most worthy Chamberlain], Jamāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī.

On this Khalj being nominated to this important matter, he obtained from the royal revenue department an order for a number of captives, on account of unavoidable necessaries, and the expenses of the road,[9] and to enable him to get over his journey. When he set out upon the road, at the different stations and stages, the toll-collectors, on the way, continued to demand of him and expect payment of the established tolls and fixed cesses, and the Ḥājib, 'Alī, continued, in this manner, to repudiate them [saying]: "I am an agent [and therefore exempt]."

By the time he had got over the stages and stations within the kingdom [of Dihlī] and reached the territory of Sind, the report of his being on a mission became public; and, when he passed on to Multān, and from thence to Ūchchah, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, commanded that he should be summoned.[1] So they summoned the Ḥājib, 'Alī, and detained him,[2] and demanded of him the letters he was bearing, that they might become acquainted with the nature, import, and contents of the documents The Ḥājib, 'Alī, denied his mission; but, when the affair assumed severity, on being constrained, he avowed, in the presence of the Mughal Shaḥnagān [Intendants][3]: "I am an Emis-

This Nāṣir-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, the Ḳarlugh, is the same who presented himself to Sulṭān Raẓiyyat when in the Panjāb in 637 H., and was probably personally known to Ulugh Khān. See page 644, and note 7.

[9] These slaves or captives must have been given him for the purpose of being sold to provide for the expenses of his journey as occasion required, after the same fashion as our author obtained a grant of forty head to send to his "dear sister" in Khurāsān These captives could have been of no other use to him, and the object is evident.

TAVERNIER says, respecting an ambassador of the king of Mingrelia whom he saw at Constantinople when he was there, "The first time of his audience, he had a train of above 200 persons. But every day *he sold two or three to defray his expenses.*"

[1] See note [8], preceding page

[2] The Calcutta Printed Text has مالش—chastising, &c., instead of موقوف—delaying, postponing, and the like

[3] The word is in the plural here—شحنگان This conduct on the part of

sary, and I am going upwards." Having, in the presence of that assembly[4], made such a statement, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū-Khān, as a matter of necessity, gave over requiring aught from him, and said: "It is necessary for thee to proceed, that I may have thee taken to thy place of destination." The Ḥājib, 'Alī, replied: "My orders are on this wise, that I should proceed to the presence of Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan the Ḳarlugh," and, consequently, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban, was under the necessity of allowing him to proceed in the direction indicated.

When the Ḥājib, 'Alī, reached the *khittah* [district or country] of Banīān, the report of his coming from the borders of Dihlī, on a mission, having become published and disseminated among the Mughal Shaḥnagān [Intendants], and the gentle and simple of that territory, Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh, had to send him, perforce[5], towards 'Irāḳ and Āzarbāījān, to the presence of Hulā'ū, the Mughal, and he [Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan], of his own accord, and without the sanction of this Court [the Court of Dihlī], indited letters as from the dear tongue of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, and, sending some small present along with the Ḥājib, 'Alī, despatched him along with confidential persons of his own.

On arriving in the neighbourhood of the 'Irāḳ territory, they reached Hulā'ū's presence in the city of Tabrīz of Āzarbāījān. Hulā'ū treated the Ḥājib, 'Alī, with much honour, and showed him great consideration. At the time they desired to read out the letters unto Hulā'ū, the Accursed, it became necessary to translate them from the Persian into the Mughalī language. In the letters they had written the name of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, '*Malik*,' for the

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, shows that he had thrown off all dependence on the Court of Dihlī, but he does not appear to have benefited much from so doing, as he was now a mere vassal of the Mughals.

[4] The word [illegible] is used here, with reference to the Mughal Shaḥnagān, and shows that Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān must have had several—more than one, at least—of the Mughal Intendants to take care of him.

[5] Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, also, had been obliged to succumb to the Mughals, and receive their Shaḥnagān. He will be referred to again.

These last three paragraphs prove how erroneous is Mr Thomas's statement, mentioned in note [8], page 859.

custom of Turkistān is this, that there is but one supreme ruler, no more, and him they do not style Malik, but KHĀN, and all others have the name of *Malik*[6]. So, when they read out the letters to Hulā'ū, the Mughal, he said: "Why have ye given an equivalent for the name Ulugh Khān? it behoveth that his designation of Khān be preserved." Such honour and respect did he esteem fit to show towards Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam. Every person of the Khāns of the countries of Hind and Sind, who proceeded to the presence of the Khāns and rulers of the Mughals, they altered the title of, and styled them all simply '*Malik*,' with this exception of the name of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam which they recognized as it originally stood. This is one, among the proofs of the Divine grace, that both friend and foe, believer and unbeliever, mention his august name with veneration:—"This is the grace of God which He bestows on whomsoever He pleaseth; and God is the possessor of great grace[7]."

When the Ḥājib, 'Alī, was dismissed, on his return, the Shaḥnah [Intendant] of the *khittah* [territory] of Banīān, who was the son[8] of Amīr Yagh-rash[9], a famous person, and a respected Musalmān, was nominated by Hulā'ū to accompany him, and Hulā'ū sent orders to the Mughal forces which would be under the standard of Sārī [Sālī], the Nū-īn, saying: "If the hoof of a horse of your troops shall have entered the ground of the dominions of the Sultān of Sultāns, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh—God perpetuate his reign![1]—the command unto

[6] The Calcutta Printed Text is a mere jumble of words here.

[7] ḲUR'ĀN: chap. lvii verse 21

[8] Why then is his name not given as well as his father's? The Mughal troops had, at this time, been nearly three years—from the end of 655 H.—on the western frontier of the Dihlī kingdom, and this fact does not speak much for its power. Perhaps internal dissension prevented vigorous measures being taken against them For what purpose this person came to Dihlī does not appear, unless it was to inform the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, that, out of respect for Ulugh Khān, his troops had been directed not to molest the narrowed frontier on the Biāh.

[9] This name is somewhat uncertain, and may possibly be Bagh-rash. It is written يغرش as above in three copies, including two of the oldest, and in others نغرش بغرش and يعرش

[1] We may scarcely suppose that our author wishes us to believe that these are the *exact* words of Hulākū Khān's order

you is this, that all four feet of such horse be lopped off." Such like security did the Most High God miraculously vouchsafe unto the kingdom of Hindūstān through the felicity attending the rectitude of the Ulugh-Khānī counsels.

When the emissaries reached the capital, the sovereign of Islām, in requital and return for that honour which Hulā'ū, the Mughal, had been pleased to show towards the Ḥājib of this Court[1], conformable with the saying, "Verily the reward of kindness should be nought save kindness"—great favour was lavished upon his emissaries likewise. This [which has been related] was the reason of the arrival of the emissaries of Khurāsān and the troops[2] of Turkistān.

May the Most High God long preserve the Sulṭān of Islām, NĀSIR-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN, ABŪ-L-MUZAFFAR-I-MAHMUD SHĀH, upon the throne of sovereignty, and the prosperity of the Khākān-i-Mu'-azzam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, in successive increase and augmentation, for the sake of Muḥammad and his posterity!

[1] At page 860, he is said to have been a Ḥājib of Ulugh Khān's own household No doubt, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, was acquainted with the matter of this proposed alliance from the outset.

[2] This remark is unintelligible save as referring to a retinue or escort accompanying this nameless person, the son of the Shaḥnah of Banīān, and the other nameless persons who accompanied him. The word used is لشكر signifying an army, a body of troops, large or small. As to emissaries, there is only one mentioned here—the person above referred to, but, in the account of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, our author states that he despatched his own agents along with the Mughal Shaḥnah [at page 860 the plural is used—Shaḥnagān] of Sind, on account of the Mughal army being on the Dihlī frontier, to the Sulṭān's presence Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Karlugh, in all probability, also despatched an emissary of his own with Ulugh Khān's Ḥājib. Our author is either very reticent or appears not to have known the upshot of these matters when he finished this work, for he says, at page 786, "Please God it may turn out well and advantageously" It is also plainly apparent that both Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān and Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Karlugh, could not act independently, and that eir Mughal Shaḥnahs must have had the control of their affairs.

It is much to be regretted that our author has not given us more particulars respecting these events, and particularly of the last six years of the reign of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh. It would have been interesting to have known the upshot of Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān's career, and whether the matrimonial alliance took place between the son of Ulugh Khān, and the Karlugh chief's daughter, and many other interesting matters, which are not to be found in any subsequent writer.

We have again returned to our history, and the last of the events thereof is this, that Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, having carried out, after the manner [before related], holy-war upon the infidels of the Koh-pāyah with such condign severity, a large number of the remainder of the kinsmen of those rebels, who, previous to that, had escaped from the neighbourhood of the Koh-pāyah from the hand of the troops and defenders of Islām—may victory ever attend them!—and fled into different parts, and, by great stratagems, had managed to preserve their abominable lives under the protection of flight from the keen swords of the retainers of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam's house, began, a second time, to renew their sedition, and commenced to infest the roads and to shed the blood of Musalmāns, and, by reason of the violence of that gathering, the roads were perilous. This fact being brought to the august hearing of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, he despatched intelligencers, informers, and spies, so that they reconnoitred the remaining positions of the rebels, and made thorough inquiry as to the present whereabouts of those vagabonds. On Monday, the 24th of the month of Rajab, 658 H., Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, *mounted with his own following*, the forces of [the contingents composing] the centre [division], and other troops of the Maliks and warriors, issued from Dihlī and pushed on towards the Koh-pāyah, in suchwise that, in one march, he proceeded about fifty *kuroh* or more[4], came unexpectedly upon that gathering, captured the whole of them, and put about 12,000 persons, consisting of men and women, and their children, to the sword. All the passes, defiles, and the crests of the hills, were purified of the bodies of the rebels by the wounds of the swords of the Auxiliaries of the Truth, and much booty was captured. Praise be unto God for this victory of Islām, and honour to its votaries!

This much, which had been witnessed of that dynasty by the author, came under the pen of sincerity—from

[4] There is not a word about *kos* in the whole text. Fifty *kuroh* is not a very astonishing distance for a forced march of cavalry, and is not more wonderful than the previous one of the *same distance* mentioned at page 851. Compare ELLIOT, page 383.

readers and examiners he is hopeful of benediction, and, from the possessors of dominion, hopeful of honour, that which is hoped for through God the Beneficent, and that asked for through God the Merciful—in the month of Shawwāl*, in the year 658 H.

Praise be unto God, and blessings upon His Prophet, and progeny, and his companions all, through Thy mercy, O Thou Most Merciful of the Merciful!

* Shawwāl is the tenth month. In the account of Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, page 799, he states that he finished it in Rajab, the seventh month.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE.—As I am unacquainted with the Turkish language Mr. Arthur Grote was kind enough to refer, at my suggestion, a List of the less known Turkish titles and names occurring in this and the preceding Sections, but in this one more particularly, with the various readings and the names pointed, as in the very old MS. of our author's work in my possession, to Professor A. Vambéry, to ask him if he could submit them to some Turkish scholar for elucidation. In reply, the Professor himself has been so good as to supply the following explanations; but, while tendering to that gentleman my best thanks for the trouble he has taken, I fear I cannot possibly adopt his solutions of the difficulty, with two or three exceptions, for reasons here mentioned:—

Page 720—الغ قتلغ—"(*Ulug Kutlug*) the great blessed, can be taken as a proper name as well as for an attribute paid generally to princes. To *kutlug* corresponds the Arab مبارك and Mongol Oldjaitu."

The Professor seems to read غ—*gh*—as simple گ—*g*—which is not correct. Of the meaning of Ulugh there was no doubt.

Page 722—كزلك—"Judging by the subsequent خان is a proper name, and is probably instead of كدلك *kudjluk* = the mighty, the powerful. كزلك can only signify a knife, in *king* [?] dialect."

There was no doubt of its being a name or title, but, in the majority of copies collated, it is written with ز—*z*, not with ذ, or with ج

Page 722—"بالابان—*balaban*, a bird of prey, a much used proper name."

The word in my List is بلبن—not بالابان which does not occur in any work I have ever met with.

Page 725—"كبير خان منكرتى—an erroneous transcription of منككرتى—*mingkirti* = he broke, annihilated thousands. (2) منكرتى—*mengzeti* = he was like. (Instead of *mangits* [*sic* in *MS.*]), of the tribe of منغت—*mangit*."

As the name is not written with غ—*gh*—it cannot possibly refer to any tribe called 'Mangit.' The second definition is nearer the mark—but not with two ك's—and that reading, viz.—منكرتى—was given in my List. It is by no means improbable, although it only occurs in one of the copies of the text collated, that the fifth consonant should be ت instead of ر—a mistake which is very liable to arise, and, from what our author himself states at page 725, that he

was styled Ayāz-i-Hazār-Mardah, that is Ayāz [in prowess] equal to a thousand men, the first signification is not inapplicable

Page 727—" ايلم for يلم—*yilim* = a youngster, a lad?"

This definition will certainly not apply to the person in question.

Pages 513, 729, &c—" ايبك for *eybek*, *iybek*, also *iybik*, decidedly the name of a bird (swan, *kookoo*, the Arab كوكو and Osmanli—چاوش قوشی = *chaush kushu*) frequently used as a nickname in older Turkish writings"

From the way the word is pointed it cannot be read otherwise than Ī-bak, which is fully described in some of the best lexicons as a Turkī word, with the definitions I have given to it at pages 513 and 729, and is frequently used in Persian Histories, as our author's work shows. What will Mr Blochmann say to the above definition? Fancy Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, the Swan! The Arabic —كوكو—*kūkū*, signifies the cooing of a dove, not a swan

Page 732—" تاسی—instead of تاشی—*taishi* = a writer, a secretary. It is a Chinese word, and occurs in Vassaf's and Sherefeddin's works"

Since note [2], page 732, was written, I find the word تاشی—Tā-ishī—repeatedly used in the History of Amīr Tīmur, the Gūrgān Abu-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, in his Shajarah-ul-Atrāk, says a man possessing a fine voice is so styled, and Vambéry says it is Chinese for a writer, but he has evidently confounded it with the Turkish word Bituk-chī, which bears that signification. There cannot be any doubt of its being a Turkish word, and it is undoubtedly a title of rank It is therefore clear that the words in the text—نیشی and تاسی—are meant for تاشی—Tā-ishī The only difficulty in adopting this solution of the matter is, that a Turk of that rank should have been in a state of bondage; but he may have been taken captive in some of the constant feuds between the Turks of the Tāttār and Mughal i-māks, and sold as a slave

Page 731—يغان تت—Yughān-Tat—This title the Professor defines thus—" ايغان تت—instead of *aygan tat* = the named foreigner"

The above definition is wholly out of the question with respect to Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, who received the title of Yughān-Tat, on account of, or, after his capturing several elephants in Bang

Page 761—" طغرل—*Toghrul* = a proper name, not the righteous as hitherto believed, but *toghraul* = the breaker, from *toghramak* = to put in pieces."

Here the Professor writes غ correctly with *gh*, but the definition of this well known word, which depends upon the pointing, is thus described in a very trustworthy work before referred to—"Spelt 'Tughrul,' it signifies a species of the falcon tribe used in the chase"—and, as plainly indicated by our author farther on, page 936, with reference to the Awang Khān—"and 'Tughril,' the name of a man," which may signify "the breaker" Moreover one noble is named Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān See page 743

Page 742—" تمران تمرخان—Either a displacement of تمرقران خان *Temir kiran khan* = the iron breaking Khan, or temir who defeated Kamreddin"

The Iron [like] Khān would be appropriate, and the word *tamur*—iron—has already been described at page 742.

Page 746—" قراش خان ايتكين—*Kara kash khan aytkin* = the man named

Kara kash khan. *Kara kash* = black eyebrow, is a frequently-used proper name."

Undoubtedly it is the name of a man, and *may* mean the Black-eyebrowed, but what does Aet-kīn mean? The former is also written قرا قوش—Ḳarā Ḳūsh.

Page 748—" التوبه—instead of التون یاهی—*altun yay* [yāhī ?] = the golden bow."

Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn of the Golden bow is not inapplicable, but the word signifying gold is written either التون or آلتان with long *ā*—آ.

Page 752—" سنقر—*sonkar, shonkar* = a bird of prey, a hawk"

Sunḳar, as it is written, on the authority before referred to, which gives the meanings of some—but not all, I regret to say—Turkī words, signifies a black-eyed falcon of a particular species See note * to the page above referred to.

Page 754—" قبقلق—*kabakluk* = the gross, the thick; or a mistake of the copyist instead of *kulluk* = مبارك"

The word in the majority of the copies of the text collated has قیقلق—*ḳīk-luḳ*, with the vowel points, but two copies have certainly قتلق, and the first meaning assigned to it is not inapplicable, i e. Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar, the Stout or Gross. The Professor previously said that *kutlug* meant مبارك"

Page 756—" کریت خان—*Kerit khan* a title = the prince of *Kerit*, a known Turkish tribe."

This I look upon as wholly inadmissible, because the *Karāyat*—کرایت—tribe—not کریت certainly—so famous in the history of the Mughals, as will be found farther on, was a purely Mughal tribe, and Karāyat signifies dark or swarthy The Malik referred to at page 756 was a Turk, and not of the Mughal Ī-māḳ.

Page 673—" ملك یکتم اور خان—The incomprehensible part is یکتم and here I suppose it to be an orthographical mistake for یکتم—*ynkitim* = my champion, a hero."

The word may possibly be یکتم as a single point makes all the difference, but it might, after the same fashion, be meant for یکتم or بکتم and the like, but the next question is, as اور is not translated with it, whether "my champion" is possible or not. I rather think it is not.

Page 775—" بالبان کشلو—*balaban keshlu* or *keshili* = of the tribe *Balaban*. *Keshi* [or ?] *kishi* means a person, an individual, but *keshli* [*sic* in MS] or *kishili*, if preceded by a proper name, signifies *a man of.* Thus *Uigur kishili* = a man of the Uigur tribe; *balaban kishili* = a man of the Balaban tribe."

Unfortunately for these definitions the word I submitted was بلبن—*balaban*—not بالبان—*bālābān*, and this latter word has already been stated to mean "a bird of prey, a much-used proper name" Since these words were submitted to the learned Professor, I have found, beyond a doubt, according to my authorities, as will be found farther on, that Kashlū Khān is a title, and it is said, in the history of the Mughals, that Koshlak Khān, the Nāemān, was entitled Kashlū and Kashlī Khān, which title is said to be the same in signification as Koshlak, who is also called Kojlak Khān "*A man of*" therefore is entirely out of the question for Kashlū here, at least.

Page 831—" چماق—rock. چماق = a block, a hatchet. قرا چماق—*kara chumak* = the black hatchet, a proper name."

This rendering is not improbable, and not unlike many other Turkish nicknames, but between a *block* and a *hatchet* there is a great difference except

when they come together. In the work I have before alluded to چماق—Chumāḳ [in the text it is جماق—Jamāḳ] is described as an iron mace of six points or divisions.

From the above result, I fear that a satisfactory solution of the correct significations of these titles and names, with the few exceptions referred to, must remain in abeyance until some good Dictionary of the old Turkish language shall be forthcoming.

## SECTION XXIII.

### THE AFFAIRS OF ISLĀM, AND IRRUPTION OF THE INFIDELS.

[As our author relates here the various prophecies respecting the end of the world, of which the irruption of the Mughals was one of the chief indications, I need scarcely follow him, since the world has not yet come to an end, although more than six centuries have elapsed since he foretold it, and closed his history, and, therefore, I may pass over these matters altogether, and begin where he commences his relation of events.][1]

Notwithstanding that, by the will of the Almighty, and the decrees of Destiny, the turn of sovereignty passed unto the Chingiz Khān[2], the Accursed, and his descendants, after

[1] This is, perhaps, the most interesting portion of our author's work; and it contains much information not hitherto known, and many important particulars respecting the Panjāb, Sind, and Hindūstān, and throws additional light on other events mentioned in the preceding Sections. This highly important portion has not been given at all by ELLIOT in the extracts from our author's work contained in the second vol. of his "Historians of India."

[2] Chingiz or Chingīz Khān signifies "THE GREAT KHAN," and therefore, although apparently pedantic, that is the correct mode of writing his title, which will be explained farther on.

I did not intend to give an account of the descendants of Yāfis, son of Nūh, but, perhaps, it will be well to do so, since many persons appear to entertain very erroneous ideas respecting Turks, Tattārs, and Mughals, and respecting their correct names, and as our author here has also made some errors respecting the last-named people. I shall be as brief as possible; but I fear that, in giving this account, I shall seriously interfere with some people's theories on the subject.

This account is taken from several histories which I will name, in order that I may not have constantly to quote them, viz:—'Abd-ullah bin Khurdād-bih, Tārīkh-i-Fanākatī, Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh of the Wazīr, Rashīd-ud-Dīn, Tārīkh-i-Ghāzānī, Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr, Tārīkh-i-Alfī, Shajarah-ul-Atrāk, Mujmal-i-Fasīḥ-ī, Tārīkh-i-Yāfa-ī, Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah, Tārīkh-i-Jahān-Kushāe of the Jūwainī, Tārīkh-i-Jahān-Ārā, Lubb-ut Tawārīkh, Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Rauẓat-uṣ-Safā, Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, Majāmi'-ul-Khiyār, Tārīkh-i-Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, and the Akbar-Nāmah, the last of

the kings of Ī-rān and Tūrān, that the whole of the land of

which works contains the history of the Mughals more for the purpose of glorifying the author's master than anything else, as I shall presently show.

I. YĀFIS, son of Nūḥ, from whom the Turks and all their ramifications claim descent, after coming out of the ark with his father, is said to have been sent, by him, into the farther east, and to have fixed his *yūrat* or encampment, and to have pitched his tent, at a place written in the original—سیکان سکان which is somewhat doubtful, in the vicinity of the rivers Ātil—اتل—the Wolga, which rises in the country of Rūs and Bulghār—and Jāīk—جایك. He received from his father the famous stone which possessed the virtue of producing rain and other blessings, which stone the Turks call *yadah-tāsh*, the 'Ajamīs, *sang-i-yadah*, and the 'Arabs *hajar-al-matar*—the rain-producing stone

In after-times the descendants of Yāfis casting lots for the possession of this miraculous stone, the Ghuzz, hereafter to be mentioned, are said to have made an imitation of it, and the Khalj tribe won the false stone, while the Ghuzz secured the real one. The author of the Ḥabīb-us Siyar says it was preserved among the Ūzbaks and Mughals, and possessed the same virtues when he wrote!

Yāfis had eight sons —1 Turk—ترك—2 Chīn—چین—3 Khurz—خرز—4 Saklāb—سقلاب—[also Ṣaḳlāb], 5 Rūs—روس—[an 'Usmānlī Turkish author, who lately published a work at Paris, very correctly, contends—according to the historians previously quoted, among whom the Fanākatī says his work contains what the Sages, Astronomers, and Chroniclers of the Ī-ghūrs, the people of Tibbat, and the tribes of the Turks relate in their chronicles—that the Russians are not Sclaves—i e Saḳlābs. See also Mascou's *History of the Germans*, vol ii page 615] 6. Mang—منك also written Mansag—منسك Manj—منج and Manshīj—منشيج 7. Tāraj—تارج also written Tārakh—تارخ Bārakh—بارخ and even Mārakh—مارخ from the fourth son of whom is descended Sikandar-i-Zū-Ḳarnain, not the Macedonian. 8 Gumārī—کماری [Gomer] also styled, by some of the writers quoted, Kīmāl or Gīmāl—کیمال and Gimāl or Kimāl—کمال and Gimīāl or Kimīāl—کمیال [I may repeat here that I always put the most trustworthy names *first*, in all instances]. Some of these writers, and also the author of the Jāmi'-i-'Uzm, add the names of three more sons—Khalj—خلج—Ghuzz—غز—and Sadsān—سدسان but the two first mentioned cannot be sons of Yāfis, from what these writers themselves subsequently state respecting the origin of their names, presently to be noticed.

Some of the authorities mention the confusion of tongues, which necessitated the eight sons of Yāfis separating, and they are mentioned as taking up their residence, with their families, in different parts of what they call Turkistān, and which, subsequently, were called after their respective names, but the others state that Nūḥ sent Yāfis into the farther east, into Tūrān

II TURK, the eldest son of Yāfis, son of Nūḥ, took up his residence in that pleasant locality famous for its hot and cold springs, which the Turks call Salingāe—سلنکای—and Sālingāe—سالنکای—which is also written Issī-Kol—اسی کول—Sī-Kol—سیکول—by some writers, but which, as subsequently explained, refers to the parts about Issīḳ-Kol—اسق کول—or Issīgh-Kol—اسیغ کول—or Issīgh-Kol—اسیغ کول—ق and غ being interchangeable

According to 'Abd ullah-i-Khurdād-bih, and Abū-l Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, "Salingāe lies round about Issīgh-Kol, which is a little sea, or great lake, seven days' journey in extent [about 120 miles long], surrounded by mountains,

Tūrān and the East fell under the sway of the Mughals

and into which seventy rivers fall, but the lake is salt, and some say the wate is warm."

Chīn, son of Yāfis, was very clever, and inventive, and among other thing invented by him was the custom of winding silk [from the cocoon], and weavin silken textures. He had a son whom he named Mā-Chīn, who was exceedingl wise. When the latter's family became numerous, he said to his father that h would construct a place of abode for himself, and he founded the city of Mā Chīn. He acquired the jade stone, and discovered its properties and virtues and made it known to his people, and he also took musk from the musk-deer.

Khurz, son of Yāfis, was very mild, tractable, and taciturn, and, havin roamed about in all directions, at length fixed his residence by the bank of th river Ātil—اتل In the summer season he dwelt [with his family] in the ope country, and, in winter, in a town [شهر]—a fixed habitation, probably.

Saklāb, son of Yāfis, made some request to the chief of his *ulūs* or trib —one writer says, to Gumārī, Khurz, and Rūs, to be allowed to dwell wit them—which was not granted, and, on this account, enmity arose betwee them. Others say, that the descendants of Saklāb, having become much mor numerous than the others, came to a fight with their kinsmen, but, bein worsted, took up their residence in more distant parts, farther west, beyond th seventh clime, where the cold is great. They appear to have not only mad up their feud in these latter days, A D 1876, but also, for political purposes, t have merged into one people 'Abd-ullah-i-Khurdād-bih calls him Sag-lāb—سگ لاب—and says that he was suckled by a bitch, hence the name, and whic if true, may account for the very Christian-like proclivities manifested latel by his simple-minded "Christian" descendants, so-called, in cutting off ear lips, noses, and heads, and otherwise mutilating their dead foes, a very dog lik disposition They—the *Slavs* of European writers—are notorious for such-lik acts, as Tacitus and Procopius testify.

Rūs, son of Yāfis, is the ancestor of the Rūsīāns [Russians] Being hel in little account, and without sufficient means, he continued, for some time, t dwell along with Saklāb, but, subsequently, left him Among the descendan of Rūs the custom prevails of giving the parents' whole inheritance to th daughters, and nothing but a sword to the sons

Mang, or Mansag, son of Yāfis, was full of deceit and artifice, and h took up his dwelling on the side of Bulghār There is the land of the Ghuz and the whole of that race are his descendants, from his son, named Ghuzz and they are the worst of the descendants of Yāfis Some few writers sa "the worst of the Turks," but to be Turks they must have been descende from Turk, which does not appear to have been the case After the deceas of Yāfis, Mansag managed to get possession of the rain stone, and it remaine with the Ghuzz, but, on one occasion, when Turk required it to bring rai he sent and demanded the stone from them They substituted a false one an sent it, which being discovered, strife arose, and numbers of the Ghuzz fami were killed in consequence, and, from that time, enmity has continued betwe the Turks and Turk-māns [See under Āghūz, farther on, for the origin o this name.] Ghuzz's eldest son was killed in this affair He was name Beghū—بغو which is also written Beghūn—بغون—the ن being nasal, an hence the Turk-māns style themselves Beghū. See note [4], page 374, an note [6], page 433.

Gumārī [Gomer of European historians who is also called Kīmāl or Gīm

**and that the authority of the Muḥammadan religion de-**

and Kîmān or Gîmān and Gimîāl, &c., as previously stated], son of Yāfis, was addicted to pleasure and jollity, and passionately fond of the chase; and he took up his residence in the part which is known as Bulghār. He had two sons:—1. Bulghār, and 2. Barṭās, and the Māshkrūīān—باشقرويان—probably, the Bāshghrūīān or Bāshkrūîān—باشغرويان or باشقرويان—[the Bāshkirs?] are of their seed. Barṭās took up his quarters on the side of Bulghār, and the taking of furs is attributed to him Bulghār is the ancestor of the Bulghārs, vul. Bulgarians, and therefore are not Saḳlabs [Slavs].

Some historians are of opinion that the Yūnānîān, and Rūmîān [Ionians and Romans], are descended from Gumārî, otherwise Kîmāl or Gîmāl, and that Yā-jūj and Mā-jūj [Gog and Mā-gog]—who, probably, are the ancestors of the Samoydes—were likewise sons of Gumārî

No account whatever is given of the eighth son of Yāfis—Tāraj, Tārakh, or Bārakh.

This is the genealogy of the descendants of Yāfis, son of Nūḥ, but, as such numbers of tribes have sprung from them as cannot be easily enumerated, and, as the object of the writers was merely to give an account of the Turks, they do not chronicle much more respecting the other sons of Yāfis, but concentrate their attention on the movements of his eldest son, Turk

Yāfis, son of Nūḥ, having died at the age of 250—some say 240—years, Turk was chosen head of his people, and they styled him Yāfis Ughlān, or the Younger Yāfis The vast tract of country, called Turkistān, takes its name from him. He is said to have been contemporary with Gaiū-murt, the first of the Maliks of 'Ajam, and he was the first who was chosen Khān among the children of Yāfis The Jāmi'-i-'Uzm states that he succeeded to the authority at a place named Sîlūḳ—سيلوق

He had four sons —1 Tūnak or Tūnag—تونك—but, according to some, his name was Tūtag or Tūtak توتك 2 Jinkal—جنكل—also written Jikal or Jigal—جكل—and Chukal or Chigal—چكل [This latter name is still known, and is now applied to a small tract of country], 3 Barsinjār—برسنجار—and Barsinjūr—برسنجور and 4. Amlāḳ or Imlāḳ—املاق which may be written also Amlāgh or Imlāgh—املاغ

Tūnag, or Tūnak or Tūtak or Tūtag, took up his quarters on the banks of the river Ātil, but the dwelling places of the other brothers are *not mentioned*

At this point considerable discrepancy occurs among the authors quoted, respecting the successor of Turk, entitled Yāfis Ughlān With a single exception they state that, *when his end drew near*, Turk *made over the* chieftain-ship to his son, whom they styled Alminjah—النجه—Almînjah—المنجه—and Alinjah—النجه In some works—Iljah—الجه—Înjah—اينجه—and Îljā—ايلجا Turk, however, had no son so called, even by their own accounts, for, as regards the names of his four sons, previously given, they all agree except the Ḥabîb-us-Siyar, in some copies of which Turk is said to have had five sons, of whom Alminjah—النجه—was the eldest, but this, although apparently correct from what follows, is contrary to every other work I have named, except Abū-l-Ghāzî's, which again is different to all others It is possible that Alminjah was a grandson of Turk, and son of one of the four named above

Abū-l-Ghāzî, Bahādur Khān, states, that "Turk, at his death, bequeathed his sovereignty to his son Tūnak" [Tūtak or Tūtag, previously mentioned], and that "Tūnak left the sovereignty to Jal[?]ah [? جلزه], his son" This

parted from those regions, which became the seat of

Jalzah may be meant for Alinjah or the like, but I must mention that Abū-l-Ghāzī is *the most modern* of all the authors I have referred to, he having only begun his History in 1074 H. = 1663 A D, and that, in one place in his work, he states that he himself copied from other authors what is contained therein down to the time of his ancestor Shaibānī Khān, the contemporary and enemy of Bābar. Those authors must have been some of those whose works I have already named; but Abū-l-Ghāzī differs from them essentially, and can scarcely be considered a better authority than those who centuries previously compiled the history of the descendants of Yāfis by command of Mughal sovereigns, and from the best authorities.

For the above reasons I must assume that Turk was succeeded by his grandson, Alminjah or Alinjah, possibly the son of Tūtag or Tūnag

III. ALMINJAH—النجه—or ALINJAH—النجه—having succeeded, during his chieftain-ship the whole of the Turk tribes forsook the true faith [of their ancestor Yāfis] and turned pagans When he became stricken in years he resigned the chieftain-ship to his son, Dib-bākūe.

IV. DIB-BĀKŪE—دباقوی—also written Dib-bādkūe—دبادقوی—Dībā-kūn—دباقون—and Dib-yākūn—دب یاقون—and Dib-bāūkūe—دباوقوی— the son of Alminjah or Alinjah, succeeded his father, and, in his chieftain-ship, all the Turks took the road of error and perversity *Dib* signifies throne, grandeur, possession, and *bākūe*, great, venerable, and the like He had four sons

V. KIWAK—کیوک—also written Kīwak—کیوک—by some, Kyūk, and by two authors Kūr, or Gūr—کور—another son of Alminjah or Alinjah, but, according to some, his eldest son, succeeded to the chieftain-ship over the Turks. He became an idol worshipper according to the Fanākatī, who then makes a sudden leap to Āghūz Khān who does not belong to this dynasty at all Others state however that Kiwak did not deviate from the just and virtuous path of his forefathers.

VI I now come to a period respecting which all the authors named, with a single exception, to be referred to presently, agree, namely, that wherein Kiwak was succeeded by his son, ALINJAH—النجه—Khān, during whose chieftain-ship his people, filled with arrogance at their prosperity and flourishing condition, continued to fall deeper into darkness and perversity until they all became infidels. After a considerable time, two sons were born to him at one birth, to the eldest of whom he gave the name of Tāttār—تاتار—and to the second the name of Mughal—مغل which is also written Mughūl—مغول—and Mūghūl—موغول—but *Mongol* is wholly erroneous I cannot imagine how it ever came to be adopted. When Alinjah became old and infirm, and his two sons had grown up, he divided his territory between them, giving to each a half, and retired from the world The two brothers appear to have ruled jointly, and in harmony, for some time, but, eventually, separation took place between them, and two septs or tribes arose, which authors call by the Turkish words Ī-māk—ایماق—Ī-māgh—ایماغ—and Ūī-māk—اویماق—or Ūī-māgh—اویماغ

It may be well to mention another matter which occurs to me here, and, although it is not a necessary or very material part of the present subject, it can scarcely be deemed foreign to it.

Those Turks—Tāttārs, and Mughals—who occupy at present the old seats of the Tājzik Ghūrīs, between Hirāt, Kābul, and Kandahār ["the *Afghans* of Ghore" as they were wont, until very lately, improperly to be styled, and who are said to have "founded the 'pre-Mughal' *Patān* dynasty of Hin-

paganism, the kingdom of Hindūstān, by the grace of

dostan"], to whom ELPHINSTONE refers in his "*Account of Caubul,*" under the name of "Eimauks," still style themselves "*Chahār* [Four] *Ī-māk or Ūi-māk*," after the same Turkish words as given above, they having been originally four tribes of those people, and the people now styled Hazārahs—which word is not a proper name but derived from *hazār*, a thousand, the name given by the Mughal rulers to bodies of 1000 men, but these so-called *hazārahs* often contained many more, even 4 and 5000. One or more bodies of these troops were, with their families, stationed in those parts—once exceedingly flourishing and populous—after their conquest by the Mughals, subsequent to which period likewise the Chahār Ī-māk were settled therein. One of the former was the Hazārah of the Nū-yīn, Muḳah, a Karāyat Mughal, who with his *ulūs*, was sent to reside on the frontiers of Khurāsān, and occupied the tracts extending from the limits of Balkh to Bādghais of Hirāt. They were not the first, however, for, long prior to the time of the Turkish rulers of Ghaznīn, we find Turkish tribes settling in the N.W. parts of that tract of country which is called Afghānistān in later times, and in the parts between Kābul and Peshāwar, about the skirts of the Safed Koh. Elphinstone says, "Their features refer them at once to the Tartar stock, and a tradition declares them to be the offspring of the Moguls (*sic*)," and, in a foot-note, he adds: "I find it difficult to account for the number of Toorkee words which are met with in the language of those tribes. *Why, if they be Moguls, should they have spoken Toorkee?*"

"*Toorkey*," I beg leave to observe, is the mode in which DOW and BRIGGS thought proper to write the word Turkī—ترکی—after the absurd elegancies of a "pronouncing-dictionary," I suppose, or the Fonetic Nuz, and they appear to have been under the impression that Turk and Turkī referred solely to the 'Usmānlī (Ottoman) Turks and their language, and that they, according to their supposition, were a totally different race from the children of the son of Yāfis, and so they invariably wrote the word, without any authority whatever—*Toorkey*—as if it were written in the original تورکی with و which it is not. It will also be seen that Elphinstone's difficulty was a self-made one, and that the "Moguls should have spoken *Toorkee*" is not to be wondered at. He also says [vol. ii. p. 222] "the Moguls and Uzbeks"—for he seems to have been unaware that the Uzbaks are Mughals in reality—"compose what *we call the Tartar nation*"! The fact however is precisely the contrary.

BĀBAR mentions these Chahar I-māk. He styles them respectively "the Turk Ī-māk," "Hazārah Mughals," "Turk-māns," and "Iāīmānī [not 'Tymunee'] Ī-māk." I have never come into contact with them myself or I would have learned the correct names of their I-māks and their descent, but, certainly, the Nikūdarīs *were* included among them in former days. "Fīrūz-kohī" is a mere *local name*.

I now return to the account of the two Ī-māks of Tāttār and Mughal, and commence with the eldest branch.

THE TĀTTĀR Ī-MĀK.

The chiefs or sovereigns of the Tāttār Ī-mak consist of eight persons, the first of whom was the eldest of the twin sons of Alinjah Khan.

I. TĀTTĀR KHĀN—تاتار خان—son of Alinjah, ruled for a considerable time, and was succeeded by his son,

II. BŪKĀ KHĀN—بوقا—also written, in some histories, Būḳū—بوقو—who was succeeded by his son,

**Almighty God, and the favour of fortune, under the shadow**

III. Aminjah—امنجه—and, by different authors, Alinjah—النجه—Balinjah—بالنجه—Malinjah—مالنجه—and without points—النجه—which may be anything, but Abū-l-Ghāzī, contrary to all other writers, styles him Jalinzah [? جلنزه]. He was succeeded by his son,

IV. Ī-ley—ایلی—whom some style Ansī or Insī—انسی—and Īsley—ایسلی—and ایلی without diacritical points. Abū-l-Ghāzī styles this ruler Itelah [? ایتله] He was succeeded by his son,

V. Atsiz—اتسز—which is written in some of the works quoted Altūr التور and Astir استر but they are evidently both intended for اتسز which is a well-known Turkish name This however is a specimen of the manner in which careless copyists, ignorant of the subject copied, make correct names incorrect Abū-l-Ghāzī calls him Atasir or Atsir [? اتسر]. He was engaged in wars, but against whom is not recorded. Hostility had probably already arisen between the Tāttār and Mughal Ī-māks.

VI Ardū or Urdū اردو also written Ardah or Urdah اورده son of Atsiz, succeeded to the authority, and, at his death, his son,

VII Bāīdū—بایدو succeeded to the chieftain-ship He was much superior to his predecessors in power and state He marched his forces against the Ī-māk or *Ūlūs* of the Mughals, and hence commenced that inextinguishable hostility which has ever since existed between the two septs Abū-l-Ghāzī says he died whilst war was going on against the Mughals

VIII. Sūnj Khān سونج and by some styled Sūndz—سوندز—son of Bāīdū, succeeded, but, before I say more concerning him, I must bring the Mughal Ī-māk down to his time.

THE MUGHAL OR MUGHŪL ĪMĀK

This Ī-māk was ruled over by nine persons, and from this circumstance the number nine is held in great veneration by the Mughals The first was,

I Mughal—مغل—or Mughūl—مغول—Khān, second son of Alinjah, who was a chieftain of great dignity It must be remembered, however that nearly every one of the writers named at the head of this account wrote for, or under the reigns of, the Mughal sovereigns, and, consequently, nothing good is said of the Tāttārs Mughal Khān had four sons 1 Karā Khān—قرا 2 Āwar, Āwur, or Āor Khān—اور 3 Kir Khān—کر [illegible], 4 Kur, or Gur Khān—کر—also written Kūr or Gūr—کور With respect to the second and fourth sons' names, particularly with regard to the second, considerable difference exists in these Histories. Some call him Āzar or Azur—آزر—perhaps Azar or Azur—آزر—is meant, others, Āwaz or Āwuz—اوز—Āwas or Āwus—اوس And the fourth son is called Kuz, or Kawz Gūz or Gawz—کوز and Kuz or Guz—کز—&c, according to the vowel points, that may be used with the word when not marked in the original

II. Karā Khān, eldest son of Mughal Khān, succeeded his father, and in his time, most of the descendants of Turk were idol-worshippers, and but few followed the faith of their ancestors During his reign a movement took place among his people, and he made subject the parts about Karā-Kurum, and the tracts lying between those two lofty mountain ranges which they call Ur-Tāk—ار تاق—or Ūr-Tāk—اور تاق—and Kar-Tāk—قر تاق—and some, War-Tāk—ور تاق—and Kar Tāk, or, as—ق—*k* is interchangeable with غ—*gh* in Turkish words, it may be more correctly written Ur-Tāgh or Ūr-Tāgh, and Kar Tāgh, or War-Tāgh and Kar Tāgh—*Tāgh*, in Turkish, signifying a range of mountains—and therein took up his *yūrat*—encamping

of the guardianship of the Shamsī race, and the shade of

ground—and his *ī-lāk* or *ī-lāgh*, or summer, and *kish-lāk* or *kish-lāgh*, or winter station These terms are still used by the Chahār-Ī-māḳ in Afghānistān, and even the Afghāns have, during the course of time, adopted the terms from them.

Abū-l-Ghāzī says "those mountain ranges are now [in his time] called Ulugh-Tāgh—the high, great, over topping mountains, and the Ḳizil-Tāgh—the red or ruddy mountains," which are sufficiently delineated on all good maps, but under various different names Ḳarā Khān's *kish-lāk*, or winter quarters, was generally at the foot of the mountains in about Lat 40°, Long 94° or 95°. The name *kizil*—red—occurs constantly in the names Kizil-kol, Ḳizil-ḳum, and the like Another writer describes the country of the Mughal Ī-māḳ as bounded E by Khitā. W by the Ī-ghūr country, N by Ḳiḳīr [which is also written, by some, Ḳirkīz, and Kirḳīz, but Mīrzā Ḥaidar always writes it Ḳirā-ḳīr—قراقیر—which evidently refers to the country around the Ḳirḳīr Nor of the Jesuits' map, and the Tārīkh-i-Alfī has Kirḳir—قرقر Mīrzā Ḥaidar does not refer to the tribe of Ḳirghīz, which he always writes قرغیز] and S. by Kharkhez Tungūt—خرخیز تنگوت

Ḳarā Khān was a tyrannical and odious infidel, and greatly feared and avoided. During his sovereignty he had a son born to him by his chief Khātūn, who received the name of Āghūz, which name refers to his refusal of nourishment from his mother's breast for three days and nights, according to the Mughal tradition—but I have not space to detail it here—because she too had become an infidel, the word Āghūz being said to mean the sound of milk taken from an ewe which has recently had young It was usual among the Mughals not to name their offspring until they were a year old, but Āghūz turned out to be a most remarkable infant, and so he named himself, to the surprise of his parents, who were consulting upon what name to give him, crying out from his cradle "My name is Āghūz"

Āghūz Khān grew up in the true faith, which his mother returned to, and his father, Ḳarā Khān, discovering this, resolved to put him to death, and to take advantage of such time as Āghūz should be following the diversion of hunting in order to carry it out Āghūz was married, in succession to three daughters of his three uncles, one of whom adopted the true faith, and she gave him intimation of his father's design, and he, being in consequence joined by numerous partisans, kept aloof from his father. At last, however, a conflict ensued between the father and son, and Āghūz slew his parent Abū-l-Ghāzī says the father "was killed" during the rout of his followers

III. ĀGHŪZ KHĀN — اغز — also written ĀGHUZ—اغز—which is equally correct, and by the Fanākatī, ŪGHŪZ —اوغوز—having succeeded to the authority, for a space of two or three years, but, according to some of the best of the Histories this account is taken from, for seventy-two or seventy-three years [seventeen years are more probable], waged war with his paternal and maternal uncles and other kinsmen and their dependents, and his own tribe, and, at length, succeeded in compelling the greater part of them to return to the true faith, and those who would not he treated with the utmost rigour. His uncles, however, with their dependents, and some of his father's likewise, fled from his territory farther to the east, to the borders of Chīn, and sought protection from the Malik of the Tāttār Ī-māḳ He aided them with his forces, and they marched against Āghūz Khān, but, being filled with fear and terror of him, they were put to the rout Āghūz Khān pursued them, and even

the protection of the I-yal-timishī dynasty, became the

penetrated to the frontiers of Chīn, and subdued part of that clime likewise. How this will agree with the Chinese annals remains to be seen, but, as one of his uncles was named Kin Khān, this may possibly account for the Kin—who are styled "Kin Tartars," but, perhaps, more correctly, should be Kin Mughuls—in the farther east, who subsequently conquered Northern China.

After this, such was his power, and the awe he was held in, that many *ulūs* or tribes of the Tāttār Ī-māķ, as well as that of Mughal, became subject to him He also brought under his sway the city of Tālāsh, and Ṣairām or Ṣīrām to the frontiers of Bukhārā.

He adopted wise laws and regulations, and assigned names to several Turkish tribes [i e. his own Mughal Ī-māķ and such of the Tāttār Ī-māķ as had acknowledged his sway], by which names they are known still, such as Ī-ghūr—ايغور—[an offshoot of Mughal Khān's family] which signifies "coming to one's aid" and "making a compact," they having been the first to join him when his father resolved to take his life, Ķānķulī—قانقلى—which is also written Ķānghulī—قانغلى—and Ķanghulī—قنغلى—and Ķanķulī—قنقلى—which means a wheeled-carriage or cart, which they, on a certain expedition, invented, when the booty was so immense that there was difficulty in removing it They are still to be found on the banks of the Sīḥūn and parts adjacent. Abū l-Ghāzī says *kankul*—قنقل— signifies the creaking of a wheel ; Ķabchāķ—قبچاق—which is also written Khafchāķ—خفچاق—and Ķafchāķ—قفچاق—the meaning of which, it is said, is derived from قوق or خوق—signifying a tree hollow in the trunk

One of the conflicts in which Āghūz Khān was engaged was with Āyat, the Burāķ, and Āghūz was overthrown, and had to retire into a delta, but seventeen years after he finally overcame him

There was with his forces, on that occasion, a pregnant woman—the Mughals and Tāttārs used to take their wives with them in war—whose husband had been killed in that affair, and, being taken in labour, she took shelter within the trunk of a hollow tree which happened to be there, and gave birth to a son. Āghūz, hearing of it, took pity on her, as her husband had been slain in his defence, and adopted the boy, and gave him the name of Ķabchāķ because he was born in a hollow tree. When he grew up, Ķabchāķ was sent into the tract of country called Tāmāk, to guard that frontier, and it got the name, in course of time, of *dasht* or plain of Ķabchāķ

The next to whom he assigned a name were the Ķārlūķs—قارلوق—also قارلوغ—Ķārlūgh—Ķarluķ—قرلق—and Ķarlugh—قرلغ—and the circumstance which gave rise to it was this. Āghūz Khān, returning from an expedition into the eastern parts of Ī-rān Zamīn, was passing the borders of Ghūr and Gharjistān on his way back to Tūrān It was the depth of winter, and he therefore commanded that his followers should not loiter on the line of march because of the dangerous state of the route by reason of the frost and snow. Some few of his followers however—men of one family—did loiter, and soon found themselves unable to come up with the main body until a considerable time afterwards—some say Āghūz was on his way into Ī-rān Zamīn, and that the loiterers did not rejoin him until the following spring After punishing them he gave them the nick-name of Ķārlūgh, which word, in Turkish, according to my authorities, signifies "the father of snow," i e. "pertaining to snow," but here, "detained by the snow," which name their descendants, who formed

focus of the people of Islām, and orbit of the possessors of

a separate tribe of Turks, were ever after known by, and continue to be known by up to this day. There is a couplet respecting them which is well known :—

گون هرکه او هست قارلغ نژاد همان است کز نسل ایشان نژاد

and they are continually mentioned in Oriental history, but European translators have transliterated the words قارلوغ — قارلوی — قرلغ and قرلق — according to their ideas of the value of the letters of the 'Arabic alphabet, and the different languages in which they themselves wrote, and turned them into *Carlouks*, *Karliks*, *Corlucs*, *Carlugues*, *Carracs*, *Karluks*, and the like, whereby they are nearly unrecognizable.

Some of these simple Turks, who appeared on the N W frontier of the I-yal-timish̲ī kings of Dihlī, subsequent to the irruption of the Mughals, have been turned into "Indo-Scythians" by Major-General A Cunningham See THOMAS, "Pathán Kings," p 97 See also the theories on this name contained in the *Geographical Magazine* for 1875, vol ii page 217, last para

Ā̲gh̲ūz K̲h̲ān also named the Turk tribe of K̲h̲alj—خلج—sometimes pronounced K̲h̲alaj, in poetry—from the following circumstance On one of Ā̲gh̲ūz's expeditions, the particulars of which are too long for insertion here, some of his men fell out on the line of march, and remained behind When they came up with the army again, Ā̲gh̲ūz demanded the reason of their disobeying his strict orders against loitering One of them replied, although they had been directed to take food with them sufficient for some days, that they had stayed behind in search of it, and that, in his own case, he had to remain because his wife was taken in labour, and, when the child came into the world, the mother, for want of nourishment, had no milk to give it He had no food to offer her, when, looking about him, he espied, near by, a fox which had caught a partridge He threw a stick at the fox which dropped the bird, which he seized, and, having roasted it, gave it to his wife to eat, and thereby she was able to afford nourishment to her babe Hearing this tale, Āgh̲ūz gave the child—a boy—the name of K̲h̲alj or K̲h̲alaj, which signifies according to some authors, "leave the woman behind," but others again say it is a compound word derived from خل—*khal*, left, and اج—*āj*, hungry—"left hungry" The posterity of this man became, in time, very numerous, and various branches of them went out into Māwar-un-Nahr, the Garmsīr of G̲h̲ūr, and other parts of K̲h̲urāsān, and into 'Irāk [see also note ⁹, page 287] They furnished subsequently several independent Sultāns to Lakhanawatī [Bengal], and other independent kingdoms of India There are branches of them still to be found in Central Asia Conolly, during his travels, had one of their descendants as his guide at Astarābād

The 'Usmanlī [vul Ottoman] Turks trace their descent from Ā̲gh̲ūz

It may not be amiss here to mention likewise the tradition respecting the origin of the Turk-māns, and the reason of their being so named On the occasion of Ā̲gh̲ūz K̲h̲ān's entering K̲h̲urāsān with his tribes, some of them had children born to them there, and, liking the climate "in preference to the rigorous winters and hardships of Turkīah," and partly through certain exigencies which arose—they were enemies of the Turks from the time Beg̲h̲ū, son of G̲h̲uzz, was slain—they selected to remain and dwell there, near the banks of the Āmūīah. They multiplied considerably, and by degrees, possibly by further intermixture with the natives of the country, their appearance became, in course of time, somewhat like the Tājīks, or S..ts, as they are also styled,

religion ; and, as from the extremity of the territories o

but, as they were not Tājzīks [Can the term Sārīk—ساریق—or Sārīgh—ساریغ—applied to the Tājzīks by the Turks, signifying poor-spirited and the like, b the derivation of *Sart?* The Ūzbaks call traders, and citizens, and people o the towns generally, Sarts, while others style them Bukhārs], those peopl styled them Turk-mānind, and Turk-mān, the both terminations, *mānind* an *mān*, signifying, like, similar, &c. In this tradition, Khwārazm or the northern tracts between the Sīḥūn and the Jīḥūn, and not Khurāsān, must be meant because most authors agree that it was many centuries after the time assigne to Āghūz Khān before any Turk-māns made their appearance west of th Jīḥūn or Oxus, which, by two channels, then fell into the Caspian. Se note [b], page 374. Some traditions assert that the Turk-māns have neithe connexion nor affinity with the Turks, and that they are altogether of a different race, which is tolerably correct, since they are not descended from Turk, but his brother.

The Ḳanḳulī tribes dwelt in the same tracts as the Turk-māns for some time in the sandy desert, but, on a great movement among the latter, and some o them taking up their residence in towns and villages, the Ḳanḳulīs left them, and pitched their tents about the Tālāsh river, and Issīgh-Kol, or the Issīgh Lake, but the greater part of those who continued there were massacred by the Chingiz Khān on account of their relationship by marriage to the Khwārazmī Sulṭāns.

The movement of the Ḳārlūghs is connected with that of the Ghuzz already mentioned in note [a], page 374, which see.

The other tribes of the Turks, not being so much mixed up with the events of Western Asia and frontiers of Hind, at the period of our author's history, need not be referred to here, as the details would make this account much longer than necessary

To return to Āghūz Khān He, having returned to his original *yūrat*, "which was Ḳar-Tāgh and Ūr-Tāgh," after his great expeditions and proposed conquests, gave a mighty feast, to which all the chiefs and principal men of all the tribes were summoned, and, at which, 90,000 sheep and 900 mares were consumed, besides other dainties, and a vast quantity of *kamīz*, and other strong drinks. He assigned *yūrats* and names to all the different tribes [under his sway], made laws and regulations, and organized armies into the various divisions, as subsequently continued to be observed. He occupies much the same position and celebrity among the Mughal Ī-māḳ, as Jamshed among the Ī-rānīs. According to Abū-l-Ghāzī, he was contemporary with Gaiū-murt and his son Hūshang, but, as he said *the very same thing* previously with respect to Tūtag or Tūnag, son of Turk, we may doubt his accuracy upon other subjects.

One day, Āghūz Khān, attended by his six sons, went out on a hunting excursion, when the latter found a golden bow and three golden arrows which they brought to their father. He gave the bow to the three eldest, and the arrows to the three youngest The former divided the bow into three portions, for which reason they were styled Bardz-ūḳī—بوزوق—and Baj-ūḳī—بجوقی—from Bardz-ūḳ or Baj-ūḳ, which is said to mean "broken bow," but, more probably, "sharers of the broken bow," and the three youngest were styled Ūdz-ūḳī—اوزوقی—and Ūj-ūḳī—اوجوقی from Ūdz-ūḳ or Ūj ūḳ, signifying "three arrows. On this account, the Bardz-ūḳī are greater in degree than the Ūdz-ūḳī, in the same manner as the bow represents sovereignty, while the arrows refer to the

Chīn, Turkistān, Māwar-un-Nahr, Ṭukhāristān, Zāwul,

sovereign's representatives and lieutenants On all state occasions, and in war, the right hand, which the Turks call baranghār—برنغار—or baranḳār—برنقار, and the succession to the sovereignty, was assigned for ever to the Badz-ūḳī, and the left hand, or juwānghār—جوانغار—or juwānḳār—جوانقار—to the Ūdz-ūḳī, with the lieutenancy and command of the soldiery.

After having ruled for 116 years, Āghūz Khān died, leaving the sovereignty to his eldest son, Kun or Kūn

The six sons of Āghūz Khān are named 1 Kun—کن—or Kūn—کون which signifies *sun*, 2. Ae or Ā-ī—آی—*moon*, 3 Yal-dūz—یلدوز—Yūl-duz—یولدز—Yūl-dūz—یولدوز or I-yal-dūz—ایلدوز *star* [See APPENDIX B, pages xi and xii This is a complete answer to Mr Blochmann's "*Contributions*" as to "آی āī—*a moon*"—instead of *yal*—یل—and *I-yal*—ایل—being contained in the name of I-yal-timish—یلتمش—or I-yal-timīsh—ایلتمش &c, as well as in Ī-bak—ایبك], who were the eldest or Badz-ūkī, and 4 Kūk—کوك—or Kuk—کك—*sky*, 5. Tāḳ—تاق—or Tāgh—تاغ—and Dāgh—داغ [Turks use *t* where 'Ajamīs use *d*, and substitute *b* where the latter use *p*] *mountain*, and 6 Tingīz—تنگز *sea*, but probably lake, and this name is still used for the great lake known as the Bāl Kash, or the Tingīz

From these six sons descended twenty-four sons, and, according to some historians, each had four sons, while some others say that each of the brothers had six sons, but this last seems an error Abū-l Ghāzī states that each of the six brothers had four legitimate sons, and also four natural sons, which appears from the very even numbers to be doubtful and improbable, and is totally contrary to other writers, thus making them forty-eight in all, but, farther on, he again contradicts his own words

The Akbar Nāmah of Abū-l-Fazl, contrary to all others, asserts that Āghūz's sons and sons' sons are twenty-four in all, and that "the whole of the Turk-māns" are descended from these patriarchs or great men This statement does not give us a very favourable opinion of that writer's knowledge of his subject, and, if all these six sons' descendants were Turk-māns, where does he manage to get a Mughal pedigree for his master from? This is what *my* Akbar Nāmahs have what other Akbar Nāmahs may contain I am unaware

The Fanākatī says that "Ūghūz Khān sent some of his sons and kinsmen, with a body of forces, into the parts more to the east, now called Mūghūlistān," which statement I shall have to refer to again farther on

IV KUN—کن—or KŪN—کون KHĀN, eldest son of Āghūz, succeeded his father. He ruled over an extensive territory, and acquired predominance over great part of Samāīrān, and died after a reign of eighty years, but some say seventy-three, and some seventy By advice of his father's old Wazīr, Ḳabal Khwājah, he made such wise arrangements that each of his brothers and their sons had an appanage conferred upon him, and the place and rank of every one was so specifically assigned that each knew his proper place and his share even to the portion of the sheep at meal times, and this tended to keep them all on a good understanding towards each other.

Abū-l-Ghāzī says he divided his territory among his brothers and "their *twenty-four* legitimate sons and natural sons" He appears to have forgotten that, by his own previous account, *four* legitimate sons, and as many natural ones, belonged to Kun Khān himself. What he calls a division of dominions is, no doubt, what I have just previously mentioned.

V. On the death of Kun Khān, his brother, Āe or Ā-ī KHĀN, succeeded, and, after a long reign, was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. YAL-DŪZ—يلدوز—YŪL-DŪZ—يولدوز or I-YAL-DŪZ ايلدوز During his rule the people of Mughalistān were flourishing and prosperous. Abū-l-Ghāzī, contrary to other writers, says he was not Āe Khān's brother of that name, but merely one of the same family, and says nothing of his being Āe Khān's son.

VII. Next succeeded MANGALĪ KHĀN—منگلی son of Yal-dūz He also made his people happy and prosperous, and died after a long reign. Some writers, however, do not even mention his name

VIII. TINGĪZ KHĀN—تنگز also written, according to the Tājzīk method of substituting ج for g—TINJĪZ—تنجز son of Mangalī, succeeded on the death of his father. A few writers are in doubts whether he was the son of Mangalī or not, but there can be no reasonable doubt on the subject. By some he is said likewise to have abandoned the just ways and customs of his ancestors, but the contrary seems the fact, and that he reigned worthily for a period of 110 years over Mughalistān, and then resigned the authority into the hands of his son, and retired from the world Some say his rule extended to a period of 100 years, and some 102

IX I-YAL KHĀN—ایل—but which *may be*, according to the vowel points that may be used with it, Īl Khān, son of Tingīz or Tinjīz, succeeded to the chieftain-ship of the Mughal I-māḳ. His reign is a most important one in the annals of the descendants of Turk; and, at the period in question, Tūr, son of Farīdūn, sovereign of 'Ajam, ruled over [what the 'Arabs subsequently styled by the name of] Māwar-un-Nahr, and Turkistān, which he had, it is said, lately reduced, and invaded I-yal Khān's territory with a numerous army. Inveterate enmity had, long prior to this, arisen between the Ī-māḳ of Tāttār and Ī-māḳ of Mughal, as previously mentioned, and Tūr succeeded in gaining over to his side Sūnj or Sūndz Khān, the eighth chief of the Tāttār dynasty, and his subjects, and the Ī-ghūrs, who were descended from another son of Mughal Khān, and had formed a separate tribe at an early date, and had now become a great nation, likewise aided Tūr. The confederates marched against I-yal Khān, but the tribes of the Mughal Ī-māḳ, being much attached to I-yal Khān, fought bravely in his defence, and a great number of Tāttārs and Ī-ghūrs and followers of Tūr were slain in the conflict which ensued, and were pursued for two *farsakhs* by the Mughals; but victory was soon turned into defeat. The retreat of the confederates was a mere ruse, and, the Mughals having left their strong position and broken their array to pursue them, the confederates faced about—some say the confederates did not renew the attack until next day, when they fell upon them unawares—and entirely overthrew them, put the whole of them to the sword, and made a general massacre of the Mughal people, in such wise that, with the exception of Ḳaiān—قیان—son of I-yal Khān, and Nagūz—نگز—son of I-yal's maternal uncle, and their two wives who were sisters, and all four of whom chanced to be without the camp at the time, not a soul escaped of the whole Mughal Ī-māḳ

This event is said to have happened 1000 years after the time of Āghūz Khān. At this rate, his five successors must have reigned 200 years each on the average, and it is therefore evident that, either what are termed rulers are the names of dynasties, or that only the names of the most celebrated of their chiefs or sovereigns have been handed down to posterity, or the thousand years must mean from the time of Yāfis, not Āghu

the Jazīrah, Anbār, Sijistān, Mukrān, Kirmān, Fārs,

At this point, the Fanākatī, who gives but a very brief notice of the Chingiz Khān's ancestors, seems quite at sea. He says nothing whatever about Āghūz Khān's five successors, but states that, "after Ūghūz had conquered many countries, and had become firmly established, he despatched some of his sons and kinsmen, with other persons, and a body of forces into the east, into the parts *now*, i. e. in his time, called Mūghūlistān [only Āghūz himself was ruler of Mughalistān as his forefathers had been before him], and, after a period of 4000 years, one among the Bādshāhs of Khitāe began to make expeditions against those peoples, crossed the Ḳarā Mūrān or Black River, made a night attack upon them and massacred the whole [of the males], and carried off into captivity their women and children. Of that people, but two persons, named Nagūz and Kaiān, with their families, fled into the mountain tract which they call Irkanah—ارکنه—in one copy, and Irākanah Ḳūn—ایراکنه قون—in another, entered it, and there continued to dwell for a period of 400 years, during which time they increased to such degree that that tract became too confined for them," &c.

This statement of his is simply impossible, because, if it were only those peoples sent into the east, into what in the writer's time was called "Mūghūlistān," by Ūghūz, under "some of his sons and kinsmen," that were massacred, what became of the parent stock of the Mughals over whom Ūghūz reigned? They too must have also increased immensely during 4000 years. How is it that he says nothing about them? He has turned two events into one, and the last part of his statement is the account of the extermination of the Mughal Ī-māḳ related above, and the former refers to a great massacre of the Jalā-īr tribe by the Khitā-īs in after years, as will be presently related.

There is little to be gathered from the traditionary history of Ī-rān respecting these events, and the little that is mentioned is contradictory of the Mughal accounts. Careful comparison of the voluminous traditions of the two peoples might throw some light upon these occurrences, and some day I may attempt it. According to the Ī-rānī accounts, however, Farīdūn divided his dominions among his sons, and gave Tūrān—not *all* Asia east of the Oxus, as modern writers appear to assume—the capital of which is Kāshghar, and part of which tract was afterwards called Māwar-un-Nahr by the Arabs, Khutan, and Saḳlāb, to Tūr, and Tūrān is so named after him. Some of the Ī-rānī chronicles relate that the Turks are of the seed of Tūr, and that Afrāsiyāb [who is certainly styled "the Turk" by the 'Ajamīs] was his great grandson, and that he ruled over the countries east of the Jīḥūn, from the limits of Hind to the frontier of the Turks.

Our author, Minhāj-ud-Dīn, in his account of the Ī-rānī or 'Ajamī kings, also says that Afrāsiyāb was third in descent from Turk, and that his father was Sunj—سنج—which is much the same name as that of Sūnj—سونج—Khān, the VIIIth of the Tattār Ī-māk, which may also be written Sunj, without the long *u*.

But, as all this happened 1000 years—taking the most moderate period—*after* Āghūz Khān, and as Farīdūn, father of Tūr, was contemporary, they say, with the patriarch Ibrāhīm, who was born in his reign, Āghūz Khān must, according to those chronicles, have flourished very far back indeed, and anterior to Nūḥ's flood.

Abū-l-Ghāzī, whose history, as previously mentioned, is the most modern of those named at the beginning of this account, relates these events differently.

Khūzistān, the Diyār-i-Bakr, and Mauṣil, as far as the

He says that I-yal or Īl Khān and Sūndz Khān were continually at war with each other, and the former was always victorious, but it must be remembered that Abū-l-Ghāzī sprung from the Mughal Ī-māḳ. Sūndz Khān had therefore to seek aid from the Khān of Ḳarḳīr or Ḳarḳiz, who was a very powerful ruler, and he also worked so much upon other tribes, the neighbours of I-yal Khān, that they too combined with him. I-yal Khān, in consequence, took up a very advantageous position which he strengthened so much, that the confederates were unable to force it, but, having placed their best soldiers in ambuscade, pretended flight, to draw the Mughals from their stronghold.

The rest agrees with what has been already stated, and Ḳar-ḳīr or Ḳar-ḳiz is evidently a mistake for Khar-khez—خرخز—also written Khar-kher—خرخر—of the Ī-ghūrs, which is generally used in conjunction with Tungūt in the history of the Chingiz Khān. Abū-l-Ghāzī however mentions, with regard to those who escaped the massacre, that they were taken captive by the Tāttārs, but, subsequently, escaped from the solitary guard placed over them. The Khān of Ḳar-ḳīr or Ḳar-ḳiz, in this account, would seem to be meant for Tūr of the I-rānī authors.

Abū-l-Ghāzī however constantly falls into error, for, after having given this account of the destruction of the Mughals by the Tāttārs, he, in another place, makes "the tribe of Tāttārs" an entirely new subject, as though another, and distinct tribe. See also the translation of that work:—"*History of the Turks, Moguls, and Tatars*," page 38, vol. i. London, MDCCXXX.

Mīrzā Muhammad Hasan Khān, otherwise Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar, son of Muhammad Ḥusain, Doghlātī, who preceded Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, by about a century, says, that the country and tribes of Mughalistān had become so utterly ruined and dispersed a hundred years or more before *his time* even—he wrote in 951 H.—that not a sign or trace remained of men capable of writing history, and mentions this as the reason of his own inability to furnish better accounts of them than he has done. I mention this to show that Abū-l-Ghāzī, although he did possess eighteen books on the subject—including the Tārīkh-i-Ghāzānī—written by Turks and Tājzīks, preferred, it seems, rather to collect oral traditions, many centuries old, than refer to his written authorities.

Abū-l-Faẓl, the author of the Akbar Namah, who conceals everything that he fancies does not tend to the glorification of his master, Akbar, smoothes over this total overthrow and almost extinction of the Mughal I-māḳ, from which his master traces his descent, gives a cock and bull story to begin with, and says that, "after putting Tūr, and Sūndz Khān, and the Ī-ghūrs to flight, they played the part of the fox upon the Mughals," and winds up with excuses and apologies for the disaster, where none are required, and the unction of consolation that it was "all for the best," &c., &c. If the Mughals had been the triumphant party, what a flourish of trumpets we should have been treated to!

Thus it was then that the Mughal I-māḳ was exterminated, with the exception of two males, Ḳaiān and Nagūz, and two females, their wives, and, hence, all Mughals whatsoever are descended from them—with the exception of those of the Ī-māḳ who followed the uncles of Āghūz into the farther east, according to the traditions contained in some works—and are not Tāttārs, although they are, by descent, Turks.

From what has just been stated, and what has been previously mentioned, it will now be clearly seen why such hostility existed—and continues to exist to

boundaries of Rūm and Shām, fell into the hands of the

this day—between the Turks of the Tāttār Ī-māk, from that time known in the writings of Oriental historians under the general name of Turks as well as Tāttārs, and the descendants of the two Mughals who escaped this general massacre, and who were destined to become the progenitors of that sanguinary conqueror, the Chingiz Khān This enmity, doubtless, burnt in the breasts of himself and his tribe, when he invaded and attacked the dominions of Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, besides the provocation he had received through the treatment of his envoys and merchants, that Sultān being a Turk of the Tāttār Ī-māk, and also allied to them by marriage

We cannot fail to perceive the same enmity existing from the pages of our author The great Turk Maliks of the Dihlī kingdom, and the Dihlī sovereigns, were Turks of the Tāttār I-māk, and, consequently, natural foes of the Mughal Ī-māk, and our author, probably taking the cue from his patrons, invariably styles the latter the "infidel Mughals," and hence too the refusal of Sultān, I-yal-timish, to hold any communication with the emissaries of the Mughal Khāns, the descendants of the Chingiz Khān, and of Barkah Khān in particular, although he was a Musalmān like himself, and his emissaries likewise were of the same faith, and the Sultān's sending them to the fortress of Gwāliyūr, and afterwards, by command of his daughter, Sultān Raziyyat, they were confined at Kinnauj, beyond which city they were not allowed to go, and there they subsequently died, as will be found farther on Ulugh Khān's own tribe—the Ilbarī—too had to fly before the Mughals when they acquired predominance over Turkistān, and the tribes of Khifchāk, and his little brother, afterwards the Amīr-i-Hājib of Sultān Nāsir ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, fell into the hands of the Mughals, and was sold by them as a slave, as previously related, at page 800, which see

The same natural enmity probably influenced Tīmūr in some way, in after years, in his hostility towards the 'Usmānlī Sultān, Bāyazīd, for Tīmūr was of the Mughal I-māk, and of the royal tribe of the Mughals, whilst Bāyazīd was of the Tāttār Ī-māk To call a Turk, or a Tāttār Turk, a Mughal was the greatest insult that could be offered him, or to call a Mughal a Tāttār, but several European writers have held peculiar ideas respecting these two Ī-māks I extract the following as a specimen, from a work entitled "*Travels in the Steppes of the Caspian Sea, the Crimea, the Caucasus,*" &c, by Xavier Hommaire de Hell London, 1847

"Perhaps no people has given occasion to more discussions than the Tatars and Mongols, nor is the problem of their origin completely solved in our day, notwithstanding the most learned investigations Some admit that the Tatars and Mongols formed but one nation, others allege that they are *two essentially different races* According to Lesvèque, D'Herbelot, and Lesur, the Tatars are but Turks Klaproth, while he asserts that the Tatars and Mongols spring from the same stock, nevertheless regards the White Tatars whom Genghis [Chingiz?] Khān conquered, as Turks"

The first three authors mentioned were quite correct in their statements, and Klaproth is both right and wrong, for his "white Tatars," like *all other* Tāttārs, are undoubtedly Turks. The statement of D'Ohsson is the most astonishing, and totally incorrect:—"Lastly, D'Ohsson, in his remarkable history of the Mongols, treats the Mongols and Tatars as *distinct race*, but *does not admit the theory* [!] *of the Turkish origin*"

The writer continues:—"The same uncertainty, that hangs over the Mon-

infidel Mughals, and not a trace of the Muḥammadan

gol and Tatar hordes of the fourteenth century, prevails with regard to the people who, under the name of Tatars, now dwell in the southern part of the Russian empire; and they have been considered sometimes as descendants of the Turkish tribes that occupied those regions previously to the twelfth century, sometimes as remnants of the conquering *Mongol Tatars*."

This last compound is an utterly impossible name. There is no uncertainty, and no theory, whatever, in the matter, as might have been seen had the Oriental writers been correctly read, and the difference between the Turks of the two Ī-māķs of Tāttār and Mughal been properly understood. I hope I have clearly demonstrated the fact now, because, according to compilers of Indian history, who merely draw their inspirations from Dow, Briggs, and some few others, the Turks with other wholly different races have formed their "Paṭhān or Afghān Dynasties," so-called—the "Dehlī Pathans," "Jounpoore Pathans," "Ghorī Pathans," "Khilji Pathans," "Tughluk Pathans," &c., of the Oriental Congress of 1874—and which fantastic names, I am lately informed, signify, or, are *meant* to signify, "Pre-Mughal" dynasties!

The same writer continues to show into what a state of utter confusion this simple genealogy has been thrown by the writers themselves.—"The Chinese writers for the first time make mention of the Tatar people in the eighth century of our era, under the name of Tata, and consider them as a branch of the Mongols. The general and historian, Meng Koung [Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*], who died in 1246, and who commanded a Chinese force sent to aid the Mongols against the Kin, informs us in his memoirs that a part of the Tatar horde, formerly dispersed or subdued by the Khitans [who, in the same work, are said to have occupied the country north of the Chinese provinces of Tschy Li and Ching Ching, watered by the Charamuin [Ķarā Murān ?], or Liao Ho and its confluents] quitted the In Chan mountains, where they had taken refuge, and joined their countrymen who dwelt north-east of the Khitans. The *white* Tatars and the savage or *black* Tatars then formed the most important tribes of those regions." Here undoubtedly the issuing forth of the descendants of Ķaiān and Nagūz is referred to, which I shall presently mention.

The author continues in the same strain, making similar blunders, while the truth lies under his very nose, but he fails to see it, and here is a very rich specimen.—"*The princes of this empire* [*Kaptshak*—Khafchāķ ?] *were Mongols or Tatars, but the majority of their subjects were Turks*"!! He also states, taking his information from different European writers, that "*Genghis Khan*, though born in the tribe especially designated as black Tatars, yet *adopted the denomination of Mongols for his people*," and "that *the appellation Tatar lost all signification in Asia* under the destroying power of Ghenghis (*sic*) Khan, and has ever since existed *only in the European vocabulary*."

The writer of this last marvellously incorrect statement also asserts that "the word Tatar *owes its origin only to* a *jeu de mots* of which St. Louis was the author." Perhaps St. Louis stood god-father to Tāttār the son of Alanjah, and gave him that name.

The assertion that the Chingiz Khān was "a black Tatar," and *adopted* the denomination of "Mongols" or Mughals for his people is, as I have already shown, and shall show still more farther on, totally and utterly incorrect, and for that, as well as the other incorrect assertion contained in this book, and its author's authorities, respecting the Turks, Tattars, and Mughals, I challenge

**Maliks and Sulṭāns of Islām remained in these countries—**

any one to show me *a single proof in any Muḥammadan*, or *in any Asiatic, writer whatever*

I notice, and, I must say, with utter surprise, that much the same erroneous ideas are put forward in "AN ANCIENT HISTORY from the Earliest Records to the Fall of the Western Empire, by *Philip Smith, B A*, one of the principal contributors to the Dictionaries of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Biography, and Geography," published in 1868, and which has gone through several editions He says [vol iii., page 737] —

"Sober criticism has cast more than a doubt upon the romantic story, originated by Des Guignes and adorned by the pen of Gibbon, which seeks in wars upon the frontiers of China the remote cause of the appearance of the HUNS in Europe in the former part of the fourth century It is quite true that the people belonged to that great Turanian race, known to the Greeks as SCYTHIANS, and in modern times as TATARS," &c, &c

No "romantic story" originated with Des Guignes, he merely related what he found in the history of the people he wrote about, and who, at least, may be allowed to have known their own history and traditions better than a Greek who wrote down what he heard from illiterate soldiers, and the often idle tales of traders.

In a foot-note he says "The extension of this from a specific to a generic name is due to the prominent place occupied by the Tatars of Eastern Mongolia in the army of Zingis (or Genghis) Khan and the common corruption into *Tartars* is ascribed to a pun of St Louis . . As the name of Tatar is even more specific than that of Mongol, it were to be wished that ethnologists would follow the practice of the Greeks, and use SCYTHIANS for the generic name"

If ethnologists were to do so, they would commit a terrible blunder The error of asserting that the name of Tattār—which appears in the earliest of the Muḥammadan writers—is modern, is not greater than the assertion that they owed the name "to the prominent place they occupied in the army of Zingis (or Genghis) Khan"

"The Tatars of Eastern Mongolia" did not occupy "a prominent place in the army of Zingis (or Genghis)," but the Mughal I-mak did, and the Tāttārs contained in it, who were comparatively few, had been compelled, by the Chingiz Khān, to join him

Again [page 738] "The Scythians are divided into four great races —1 The *Mongolians* are the least numerous though many writers apply their name to the whole family, in consequence of the fame of their chief Zingis Khan. . 2 The *Tungusian race*. . 3 The *Ugrian race* 4 The *Turkish race* occupied not only the great region of West Central Asia from the Lake Baikal to the Caspian, which the progress of Russia is fast depriving of the name of *Independent Tartary*, but they extended over the vast steppes of south-eastern Europe, round the northern sides of the Caspian, the Caucasus, and the Euxine. Their precise partition from the Slavonian race is a difficult problem," &c, &c

Their "precise partition from the Slavonian race" is no "difficult problem" whatever In the Scythians so-called, we have clearly included the whole of the descendants of Yāfis' sons, as given in the fourth para of this account of them The localities of the Turkish races are wrongly given, and most of the tracts mentioned above were peopled by the descendants of other sons of Yāfis, more particularly of Bulghār, ancestor of the Bulgarians, Saķ-lāb, of the Slavonians,

the Almighty's mercy be upon them, and may He long pre-

and Rūs, of the Russians. It is something new to hear the name of "Mongolians," who "are the least numerous," applied to the whole race of Scythians.

The writer continues in a similar strain, and we are at length told that the name "Decebalus" is "strange to Gothic, strange to Slavonic, *not strange to Turkish* history," but the writer would have had some little difficulty to name any Turkish history in which such a name occurs, and Darius and Herodotus are also quoted to prove such statements as these, but which the authors who wrote *in the country of the Turks, Tāttārs, and Mughals, and with many tribes of those people dwelling around them*, would simply ridicule

After this long, but necessary, digression, I return to the subject of the Mughal Ī-māķ

The reason why we possess much greater information respecting the Mughal Ī-māķ is owing to their overwhelming successes and conquests, and because nearly all authors who have written on the subject were subjects of the Mughal rulers, and their object was to trace their descent more particularly, but the main facts are not concealed—they merely gave more attention to the history of the Mughals It is to be regretted however that we have no detailed accounts of the movements of the tribes of the Tāttār I-māķ and their rulers, after the time of Sūndz Khān the VIIIth of the Tāttār dynasty herein mentioned, who, with the aid of his allies, nearly exterminated the whole Mughal race; but, from what may be gathered from Oriental history, and as shown in this Translation, the Tāttār Ī-māķ, the offshoots of the descendants of the seven chieftains preceding Sūndz Khān, also formed, like preceding offshoots of the descendants of Turk, in the course of time, great independent tribes who are correctly styled Tattārs, as well as those springing from Tāttār Khān and his descendants, the whole being undoubtedly Turks, or, in other words, all those who do not spring from the Mughal Ī-māķ, and are not descended from Mughal Khān—Tāttār's brother—being correctly styled Tāttārs, and others, not springing in a direct line from Tāttar Khān, but from others, the offshoots of his ancestors, being properly called Turks.

All these formed mighty tribes and nations, the names of some of which have been herein mentioned, and some formed great empires, like as did the Saljūķs, Khwārazmīs, and others The early Musalmāns made raids upon them, and the Khalīfahs also, from a very early period, entertained numbers of Turks and Tāttār Ī-māķ in their service, but we *never hear* of Mughals being entertained by them There is no doubt that their taking service under the Khalīfahs and their great vassals, many of whom were their own countrymen, considerably tended to the greater civilization of the Turks and Tāttārs, and their early conversion to the Musalmān faith, but, with regard to others not converted, it is evident that feuds arose among them and that Musalmān merchants carried on a large traffic in Turkish slaves

The four persons, two males—Ķaiān, son of I-yal-Khān, and Nagūz, his maternal uncle's son, with their respective sisters, their wives—the Tīmūr Nāmah says two females, sisters, who, at this juncture, they took to wife—having escaped the slaughter of their people, secured some of their effects, and as soon as night set in they mounted horses, and made for the mountains which were some distance off They also collected some of the stray cattle and flocks which they met with in their flight, and reached the mountains—some say, the next morning—entered them by a narrow track, scarcely distinguishable, made by the wild animals haunting it, and which was almost inaccessible, from rocks

**serve the Nāṣiriah dynasty!—I desired to record in writing**

and forests, and proceeded onwards for a long distance among its mazes until they reached a more open country where was plenty of pasture. At some distance, farther off, they perceived a still higher range, the sides of which, bare and barren, appeared to be of flint alone, and which towered upwards like a vast fortress. With much difficulty they ascended it, and to their great joy found themselves in a delightful tract of country, well watered, with plenty of rich pasture, and abounding with game, and there they resolved to take up their dwelling. This higher range is called Irgānah Ḳū or Ḳūn—قون, or قو ارگنه—*irgānah* being said to signify a valley, and *ḳū* or *ḳūn* a steep ascent or height—the valley [or table-land ?] surrounded by hills, or valley of precipices. The mountains referred to are evidently those mighty ranges towards the sources of the Sāliugah and its upper tributaries.

In this place of residence Ḳaiān and Nagūz flourished, and in the course of time their posterity multiplied, and separated into several branches under different names. The descendants of Ḳaiān are styled Ḳaiāt—قيات—and those of Nagūz, Dūral-gīn or Dūr-la-gīn—دورلگين—or Dural gīn or Dur-la-gīn—درلكين. After a considerable period, which most of the works I have quoted do not pretend to fix, their writers moreover stating that no chronicler is cognizant of it, but which the Fanākatī, who is followed by Abū-l-Ghāzī, says, was over 400 years, the tribes of Ḳaiāt and Dūral-gīn had increased to such degree that the country about Irgānah-Ḳūn was insufficient to afford them subsistence. They therefore resolved to leave it, and seek the encamping grounds which they had heard, through tradition, their ancestors had formerly possessed, and they entered the old country of the Mughal Ī-mīk accordingly.

Abū-l-Faẓl, the author of the Akbar Nāmah, however, makes a very bold guess indeed, and has the assurance to fix the period at "about 2000 years." —This is almost as absurd as the Fanākatī's 4000 years previously referred to— He has mixed up the account of the Ī-ghūrs with that of Ḳaiāt and Dūral gīn, and hence this assumption. He also asserts that this migration took place at the end of the reign of Nūshīrwān, the Just, ruler of Īrān [A.D. 531–579], and "supposes" that the art of writing and reading did not exist. He also states that, during that period of "nearly 2000 years," while they dwelt in Irgānah-Ḳūn, twenty-five persons "reigned," which would give over eighty years' reign to each; but most of the other writers I have compiled this account from, with the exception of Abū-l-Ghāzī, say nothing about any previous rulers, while some others distinctly state that they obeyed no single chief, until the period when the chief authority over the different tribes fell to I-yal-dūz, son of Mangalī.

At the time that the descendants of Ḳaiān and Nagūz determined upon issuing from Irgānah-Ḳūn, the chieftainship had fallen to YAL-DŪZ—يلدوز—or YŪL-DŪZ—يولدوز—or I-YAL-DŪZ—ايلدوز—Khān, son of Mangalī Khān, [styled Mangalī Khwājah, by some] son of Tīmūr-Tāsh, of the race of Ḳaiān, and he was a chieftain of considerable power and dignity. In this matter all agree except Abū-l-Ghāzī, who states that, when they issued from Irgānah-Ḳūn, their chief was named Bartazīnah [? برتزينه], and gives names of seven other chiefs before he reaches that of Tīmūr-Tāsh, Mangalī Khān, and Yūl-dūz or I-yal-dūz, but gives no account of them beyond their succeeding and dying. This however we cannot credit, since, in the account of the Chingiz Khān, almost immediately after, he says, that, while dwelling in Irgānah-Ḳūn, the Mughals were in total ignorance of the names of the rulers, but that they

an account of these occurrences, from the beginning of the

were certainly Ḳaiāts, and, since the books of the Mughals contain nothing certain on this head, he is obliged to leave a gap in this place !!

At this point the different writers I have been quoting mention the boundaries and limits of the Mughal country—Mughalistān. "It lies," they say, "a long way east, and far from cultivated countries, and is seven or eight months' journey (in extent)," some say it is a year's journey. The Mughals lived in forests and wilds, their food was from the animals of the chase, and the produce of their flocks and herds, and their garments the skins thereof. The extreme eastern limit was the frontier of Khitā, on the west it adjoined the country of the Ī-ghūrs. On the north it extended as far as the country of the Ḳirghiz—قرغز—[the Akbar Nāmah has Farghānah which is S.] which is also written Ḳirghiz—قرقز—and Ḳirḳīz—قرقیز—and Ḳirḳiz—قرقز—غ and ق—being interchangeable, and Sālingāe—سالنکای—[the country towards the River Sālingah is evidently meant here], and south it reached to the frontiers of Tibbat. Our author [page 273] says the forces of the Chingiz Khān had to undertake a three months' march through "the wilderness," or steppe, from the place where he assembled his host on hearing of the massacre of his emissaries and merchants by the Khwārazmīs, to enable them to reach the Utrar frontier

The country of the Ī-ghūrs is described as containing two great ranges of mountains, one of which they call Ḳarā-Tū, and the other, Usḳūn-Lūḳ, and the mountain (range?) of Ḳarā-Ḳuram lies between these two ranges. The residence built by Ūktāe Ḳā'ān near it is named after this *koh* of Ḳarā-Ḳuram. To the south of these two great ranges, before named, is another which they style Ḳūt-Tāgh. Out of one of these ranges ten rivers flow, and out of the other nine, and, in ancient times, the Ī-ghūrs dwelt along the banks of these rivers. Those who dwelt on the ten [*ūn*] rivers were called Ūn-Ī-ghūrs, and those who were located on the nine [*tokūz*], Tokūz-Ī-ghūrs. There were some other tribes dwelling near them, but space forbids my going into farther detail here.

Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar, of the Doghlātī tribe of the Mughals, previously mentioned, a native of Farghānah, in his work, written in 951 H., explains the southern boundary as extending towards Tungūt or Tūngūt, and the northern to Ḳirā-ḳīr, the Ḳirḳīz or Ḳirghīz of others. He adds [I only give a brief abstract] that of "these four boundaries, mentioned in the Jahān Kushāe of the Jūwainī, the country of Khitāe is distinct and known, but, as regards the Ī-ghūr country, nothing is known of it at present as to where it is, and, at this day, nothing is known of Ḳarā-ḳīr or Sālingāe, and no places with such names are indicated. The name of Tungūt often occurs in the history of the Mughals, and the Chingīz Khān, at the outset of his power, despatched an army thither, but now nothing whatever is known of it, nor is information to be obtained regarding these parts which are mentioned in books, and the same may be said of many famous cities such as Bilāsā-ghūn, Ṭarāz, and the like."

He further states, that "the extent of Mughūlistān, so called in his time, which was much contracted from what it had been [and which is styled Jatah in the History of Tīmūr], was seven or eight months' journey in length and breadth, and gives the following as its boundaries. On the N. the Kokjah Tīngīz—کوکجه تینگز—Bom-Labas or Labs—بوم لبس—and Ḳarā-Tāl—قراتال—S. the territory of Farghanah, Kāshghar, Aḳsū, Jālish, and Ṭūrfān. On the E. it adjoins the land of the Ḳālmāks [the Ḳal I-māḳ ? this is not the name

irruption of that race, and domination of that nation, up to

of the people, but merely their nickname] which is the Pāras or Pārs-Kol—پارس کول—Ī-mīl—ایمیل—Irtīsh—اریش [or Irdīsh—اردیش—also the name of a tract of country] and the Pāras-Kol is its eastern limit, and the W boundary is the territory of Turkistān and Tāshkand [the Āltān or Golden Mountains, the northern boundary of Tāshkand] The writer was himself well acquainted with its southern boundary, and, respecting the other three, obtained his information from persons who had visited, and were acquainted with them, and Mughūlistān consists entirely of mountains and plains [steppes]" What he himself saw of it, he says, he cannot find words to praise sufficiently, and that, from the accounts of others, the other parts are equally delightful, but the winters are cold. "Mughūlistān," he says, "has several rivers, like unto the Jīḥūn and Sīḥūn in size and extent, such as the Ī-lah—ایله—I-mīl—ایمیل—Īrtīsh-Jūīlik—اریش جویلك—and the Nārīn—نارین—all of which, in respect of volume, are not less than the Jīḥūn and Sīḥūn These waters mostly fall into the Kokjah-Tingīz, which is a *Kol* or Lake Bāe-Kol [the Baikāl Lake of our maps] between Mughūlistān and Ūzbakistān Its length is eight months' [weeks'?] journey, and its width, in some places, by computation, is thirty *farsakhs*, and, when it is frozen in the winter, the Ūzbaks pass over it, and enter Mughūlistān The Issīgh-Kol is also in Mughūlistān"

Bābar however, who preceded Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar, a few years, says that Ālmāligh, Almatū, and Utrār, lay north of Farghānah, but that they had been laid waste by the Ūzbaks

Abū-l-Ghāzī says the true Mughal country contains two ranges of very lofty mountains [which are plainly shown on the best maps of Central Asia] extending from east to west, and between these two ranges, nearest to the west, is the true country of the Mughals Still more west lay the country of the I-ghūrs This description agrees with that given by other authors in the account of Ḳarā Khān [page 875], and those two great ranges of mountains have been already named

To return to the descendants of Ḳaiān and Nagūz. They, having determined to issue from Irgānah-Ḳūn, thought of doing so by the same route or defile by which their ancestors had entered it, but they found it impossible The pass had been destroyed by an earthquake, and no trace of it remained They searched about in all directions, and at last they found one spot which seemed easier than any other, but it was impeded by a hill in which was a mine of iron [iron-stone rock possibly], and to enable them to get out they split the rocks by means of fire [Hannibal used vinegar in the Alps], and succeeded in making a practicable route The tribe of Ḳungḳurāt or Ḳunghurāt, as it is also written, led the way out, and were in such haste to do so that they are said, in the tradition, to have burnt their feet. The Majāmi'-ul-Khiyār distinctly states that this event took place some time after the 200th year of the Hijrah

This is improved upon by Petis de la Croix, in his "Life of Genghizcan the Great," page 6, who says that the Cayat [Ḳaiāt?] derived their name "from a certain people who lived in the remotest Northern Parts of *Mogolistan* which were called *Cayat*, because their Chief had heretofore erected a Foundry for Iron-work in a mountain called *Arkenekom*, which gained them a great Reputation, and made this Branch of the Moguls highly esteemed, by the great advantage all the Moguls Country received from this Invention, they therefore called these people the *Arkenekom-Smiths*" This is history with a vengeance!

the year 658 H., when this work was brought to a conclusion,

Their former country had been in the meantime occupied by tribes of the Tātār Ī-māḳ, and other Turks, and the Mughals fought with them, and drove them out. The former, consequently, had to seek other tracts. Some went away to the eastward, while others went west, and south, and north; and, about this period, we find a great movement among the Saljūḳs and the Ghuzz in a south-westerly direction. Those tribes of the Mughal Ī-māḳ which left Ūghūz Khān's country, as previously related, and had gone towards the borders of Chīn and sought the protection of the Tātārs, now returned, and rejoined the tribes of Ḳaiāt and Dūral-gīn, while some other small tribes, but of which Ī-māḳ is not mentioned, which submitted to Yal-dūz or I-yal-dūz Khān, were permitted to dwell in his newly acquired territory.

According to the Fanākatī the name Mughūl or Mūghūl is the appellative or generic name applied to those who came out of Irgānah-Ḳūn, and to the others of that Ī-māḳ who rejoined and continued to dwell with them, and that name commenced to be used respecting them *from this period*, but they had been known, *centuries before*, as Turks of the Mughūl Ī-māḳ, by his own account.

Some writers who approach this subject from the "Mongol" point of view, and who, unable to read the originals for themselves, imagine that every author who wrote in the Persian language must necessarily be a Persian, and, consequently, cannot know anything of Mughal or Mughūl history, because such a word as "Mongol" is not to be found in their works, hug themselves with the idea that the History written by the "great Raschid" may contain something in support of their crude ideas. For the information of such I here append the headings of the first four Sections of Rashīd-ud-Dīn's History of the Mughūls, as he styles them, and which was compiled from the Āltān Daftar, or Golden Record, and other authorities:—

"*First Section.*—History of the tribes of Āghūz, who was the great grandson of Ālminjah Khān, son of Turk, son of Yāfis, son of Nūḥ, the Prophet, and of the tribes descended from his uncles, with an account of their genealogy and ramifications.

*Second Section.*—Account of the Turk tribes whom they designate by the name of Mughūls, but every one of which, in ancient times, bore distinct and particular surnames, and have had Sar-wars and Amīrs over them

*Third Section.*—Account of the Turk tribes, every one of which have had Bādshāhs and Chiefs, but who bore no relationship to the tribes mentioned in the preceding Sections. [This is a paradox, even from his own words, because, being Turks, they naturally bore relationship to the Turks as descendants from a common ancestor ]

*Fourth Section* —Account of the tribes of Turks, whose surname from time immemorial was Mughūl, and this Section is in two parts. 1 Account of the Dural-gīn Mughūls. 2 Account of the Nairūn Mughūls [The author cannot be right, for has not Mr. H. H Howorth, in the Geographical Magazine for November, 1876, declared that Mongols are not Turks? This *may* be correct with regard to "Mongols," but scarcely so with respect to Rashīd-ud-Dīn's Mughūls.]"

The next Section treats of the ancestors of the Chingiz Khān.

Every year, when the anniversary of that day comes round on which the Ḳaiāt and Dūral-gīn came out of Irgānah-Ḳūn, the Mughals keep it as a great festival, and on the night thereof the Mughal sovereigns have the implements of the blacksmith brought in, place a piece of iron in the fire, and heat it, and,

and in order that that which I myself witnessed, and what

when hot, beat it on an anvil with a hammer, in commemoration of opening the way out, and this custom, imperfectly understood by Ibn Baṭūṭah, and others, led them probably to make the absurd statement that the Chingiz Khān, or Tamur-chī, "was in his outset a blacksmith in the country of Khiṭā"!

Other authors say that all who can trace their descent to Ḳaiān or Nagūz—Ḳaiāts and Dūral-gīns—are considered true Mughals.

On the death of Yal-dūz or I-yal-dūz his son succeeded to his authority.

JŪ-ĪNAH—جوینه—and, by some few writers, Chūbīnah—چوبینه—and Khū-īnah—خوینه—and even خوابنه but these two last forms are erroneous without doubt, particularly the last, succeeded his father, Yal-dūz or I-yal-dūz, in the chieftainship, but the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr does not account him as a ruler, and makes Jū-īnah's daughter next in succession to Yal-dūz or I-yal-dūz. The Tārīkh-i-Ghāzānī, which Abū-l-Ghāzī also quotes, differs considerably from other writers. It states that Yal-dūz or I-yal-dūz had two sons named Bakjadī or Bagjadī—بکجدی—and Bilkadae or Bilgadae—بلکدی—[according to Rashīd-ud-Dīn, in the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, Nūsh-Tigīn-i-Gharjah, the founder of the Khwārazmī empire, claimed descent from Āghūz through this very Bilkadae or Bilgadae. See note [4] to page 231, para. 4], but these names are somewhat doubtfully written and may not be quite correct. According to the same authority, both died before him, and he gave to the son of one of them, named Do-yūn or Doī-ūn Byān—دویون بیان or Do-yūn Bāyān—دویون بایان which is also written Dūbūn—دوبون—Diyūn—دیون—and in other ways, the daughter of the other son, who was named Ālān-Ḳuwā, a damsel of great beauty and talent, in marriage. Abū-l-Ghāzī however differs from the preceding this much that he says the husband of Ālān-Kuwā, who was Yal-dūz's grandson, did not succeed to the sovereignty because he had not attained the age of thirty, and died soon after his father, leaving two sons—named as above—by Ālān-Ḳuwā, and that she acted as regent only, while others say that her husband was chief over some few *ulūs*, and that the Turks generally were under various independent chiefs.

The Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr however says that Ālān-Ḳuwā was given in marriage by her father, Jū-īnah, to her uncle's son, as stated by the others, and that, by him, she had two sons named Bilkadī or Bilgadī and Bakjadī or Bagjadī, and after his death she assumed the sovereignty and occupied herself in the nurture of her two sons. At this time she dwelt near the upper sources of the Kalūr-Ān river.

ĀLĀN-ḲUWĀ—آلان قوا—which is also written ĀLĀN-ḲŪ—آلان قو—and ĀLĀN-ḲUWĀN آلان قوان—on the death of her father, her husband being dead, was entrusted with the direction of affairs until such time as her eldest son should become of age to succeed, but, in the meantime, although she refused to marry again, whilst lying asleep upon her couch, on a certain ocassion, a mysterious light entered through the hole in the top of the felt tent and enveloped her, and the light passed through her mouth, penetrated her, and she conceived. This mysterious light came more than once, such was her story, and, as matters could no longer be concealed, it was made known unto her tribe, who reviled her, and refused to believe her story. Some writers state that she asked some of the chief persons of her tribe to keep watch, and satisfy themselves of the truth of what she had stated, and that some did so, and found her story correct, and the tribe were satisfied.

This is not much like the "story of the incarnation of the Buddha Sakya-

I became cognizant of from the accounts of trustworthy

muni" as a recent writer asserts, considering that the husband of his mother [who had never consummated her marriage with her husband] was, according to Chinese belief, ruler of Kashmīr, and that his birth took place 1222 years before the Christian era, while the Hindūs, on the other hand, give a different account of his birth.

This story of Ālān-Ḳuwā is related somewhat differently by nearly every author, including Abū-l-Ghāzī, but I have no space for the various versions here. Abū-l-Faẓl, however, for the glorification of his master, according to his usual unctuous system of flattery, compares this circumstance to the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mother of our Blessed Saviour!

In due time, Ālān-Ḳuwā gave birth to three sons at one time, with one of whom, the youngest, a new dynasty, and a new era commences, and therefore it will be well to conclude this one here.

### THE BŪ-ZANJAR OR BŪ-ZANJAR DYNASTY

I BŪ-ZANJAR. Ālān-Ḳuwā, the widow, having given birth to three sons at once, fathered on the mysterious light, according to the fabulous tale just narrated, the youngest of the brothers, according to some writers, and the eldest of the three, according to others, who was named BŪ-ZANJAR—بو زنجر—which some write Abū-zanjar—ابو زنجر—and Bū-ẕanjar—بو ذنجر which is said to signify Bādshāh-i-Mu'aẓẓam—Great Sovereign—and who is the ninth ancestor of the Chingiz Khān, and fourteenth of Amīr Tīmūr, in due time succeeded to the chieftain-ship over the Mughals, and, as I wish to compress as much as possible, I will only mention that the other two sons of Ālān-Ḳuwā—the eldest and second sons—became the progenitors of the Ḳat-ghan—قتغن—and Sāljīūt—سالجیوت—tribes, and whose descendants, together with those of Bū-zanjar himself, are designated Nūrūn—نورون—from nūr—نور—light, which some authors write, Nairūn—نیرون. The whole of the Mughal Khāns [one copy of the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr adds—"and *all the Sulṭāns of Turkistān*"] trace their descent from Bū-zanjar, but, really, the whole of his descendants are Mughals *only on the mother's side*, unless the father, of which there can be no doubt, was a Mughal also.

The descendants of Ālān-Ḳuwā's legitimate sons, by her husband, are styled by the general name of Dural-gin—درلگین—previously written Dūral-gīn—دورلگین—Dural-gīn—درلگین and applied to the descendants of Nagūz, whilst, by the different writers' own accounts, without exception, they, as well as their father and mother, belonged to the Ḳaiāt sept. They are considered lower in rank than the Nūrūn or Nairūn

The majority of writers state that the birth of these sons of light took place in the time of Abū-Muslim, the Marwazī, the proclaimer of the rights of the 'Abbāsīs to the Khilāfat. He was born in 99 H [A D 717—718]—some say in the following year—and he began to advocate the claims of that house in 128 H. [A D. 745—746]. Abū-l-Ghāzī states that 450 years elapsed between the flight of Ḳaiān and his cousin Nagūz and the reign of Bū zanjar, and, calculating from these dates, their flight would have taken place about 322 years before the first year of the Muḥammadan era, that is, about the middle of A.D. 300, but other historians, as I have stated before, mention that the Ḳaiāt and Nagūz continued to dwell in Irgānah-Ḳūn 400 years, and they say that Bū-zanjar succeeded to the chieftain ship, when in his fifteenth year, in

informants, the events of the Muḥammadan territory, and

Rabī'-ul-Awwal, but no year is given. One work, however, the "Shajarah-ul-Atrāk," states that it was on the 1st of that month in the year 130 H.

Abū-l-Faẓl, in the Akbar Nāmah, as before mentioned, says the Mughals came out of Irgānah-Ķūn at the end of the reign of Nūshīrwān, but he died in A.D 579, about forty-three years previous to the year of the Flight or *Hijrah*, but Abū-l-Ghāzī gives neither month nor year. Faṣīḥ-ī, on the contrary, states, that Ālān-Ķuwā gave birth to Bū-zanjar and his brothers in the year 376 H. [middle of A.D. 986], and this, coupled with the statement in the Majāmi'-ul-Khiyār, that the Ķaiāt and Nagūz issued from Irgānah-Ķūn some time *after* H. 200 [A.D 815—816], doubtless, is the correct date. Now, if we add 400 to 579—the date of Nūshīrwān's death, and suppose that the date of Ķaiān and Nagūz *entering* Irgānah-Ķūn, instead of the date of leaving it, we shall have 979 years, and, if we take 400 years from A.D. 986—the year mentioned by Faṣīḥ-ī, namely 376 H, we shall have 407 years remaining, and this seems, to me, to show that the flight of the two fugitives and their wives took place about the middle of Nūshīrwān's reign, and not their issuing from Irgānah-Ķūn, which took place some time after H. 200 [A.D. 815—816], and, if we allow the average of thirty years for each generation, and consider that Bū-zanjar was the great grandson of Yal-dūz or I-yal-dūz, we shall not be far from the year 376 H [A.D 986].

More events are assigned to the period of Abū-Muslim than can be credited, and this is the period our author assigns to the rise of the Shansabānīs of Ghūr The date given by Faṣīḥ-ī, for the birth of Bū-zanjar, is 186 years previous to the death of the Chingiz Khān's father, the eighth in descent from Bū-zanjar, an average of little more than twenty years to each, but 130 H. for the accession of Bū-zanjar gives an average, to the death of the Chingiz Khān's father, of exactly fifty-four years to each reign. On the other hand Bū-zanjar was third in descent from Yal-dūz or I-yal-dūz.

Bū-zanjar, who is styled Ķā'ān, framed laws and regulations, and divided the Mughals into tribes as they still existed at the period when the different authors I have named, with the exception of Abū-l-Ghāzī, and Abū-l-Faẓl, wrote their accounts The Tārīkh-i-Jahān gīr and a few other histories likewise state, that some of the Tāttār chiefs and Amīrs of other tribes which, for a long period of time, had been ruled by their own chiefs, now submitted to Bū-zanjar Ķā'ān's authority, and acknowledged his suzerainty, but this, it must be remembered, is a Mughal account. Bū-zanjar at his death, of which no date is given, left two sons, Būķā—بوقا—also written Būķīā—بوقیا—and Būķāe—بوقای—and Tūķā—توقا—also written Tūķīā—توقیا—and Tūķāe—توقای The latter had a son named Mā-Chīn

II BŪKĀ or BŪKĀE KHĀN succeeded his father in the chieftain-ship, and, dying, was succeeded by his son,

III ZŪTŪMIN — ذوتومن — or Zūtūmīn—دوتومین—Zūtū-manīn—دوتومنین—Zūtūm Manīn—ذوتوم منین—as it is variously written, who was the father of nine sons, one of whom, Ķāīdū, succeeded to the chieftain-ship. During the time of Zūtūmin's chieftain-ship hostilities broke out between the Jalā-īr tribe, of the Dūral gīn branch of the Mughals, and the Khiṭā-īs. The Jalā-īrs had become a very numerous tribe at this period, and amounted to about 70,000 families, and had pitched their tents on the banks of the river Kalūr-Ān—کلوران The Mughals and Khiṭā-īs were always at enmity, and hostilities continued perpetually to go on between them. At the period in question, the latter suddenly

**the transmission of the Mughal sovereignty from one to**

resolved to make a raid upon the Jalā-īrs, but on reaching the river found it too deep to ford. They constructed a temporary bridge, crossed over in the night, fell suddenly upon the Jalā-īrs, and almost annihilated them. Those that escaped, and other portions of the tribe not then present, fled for shelter into the parts where the other Mughal tribes dwelt.

This is the affair about which the Fanākatī makes such a great blunder previously noticed in the account of Āghūz Khān. He there stated, that, "when Ūghūz became firmly established in his sovereignty, and had secured his conquests, he sent a party from among his sons and kinsmen, and a considerable army, into the east, into the land called, in the writer's time, Mughūlistān. Four thousand years after, one among the Bādshāhs of the Khitā-īs moved against them, crossed the river Ḳarā-Mūrān in the night, fell upon them, and slew the whole of them [the males] and made their wives and children captives, and only two persons escaped—Ḳaiān and Nagūz—with their wives, who fled to Irāganah-Ḳūn, where they and their posterity dwelt 400 years." It will easily be perceived what a muddle we have here · he has confounded the two events, and makes a sudden leap from Āghūz Khān to the period of the massacre of the Jalā-īrs.

After the death of Zūtūmin, his Khātūn, Matūlūn—متولون—or, as some write it, Manūlūn—منولون—an error probably of *n* for *t*—who was a talented woman, with eight of her sons, and her numerous herds and flocks, took up her residence in the retired tract of country—some say hill tract—named, but somewhat doubtfully, Alūsh or Ulūsh Arkī or Argī—الوش اركى—but the first name is also written Alūs or Ulūs—الوس—and Kolūsh—كولوش—[Ulūs-i-Aurgah or Ūrgah—the Ourga or Kuren of modern maps? in about Lon 108° Lat 48°] whilst her ninth son, Ḳāidū, was absent He had gone to his uncle, Mā-Chīn—some say, to his uncle's son—to demand in marriage a daughter of a kinsman of the sept of Dūral gīn, who had become exceedingly numerous, and who were also kinsmen of Mā-Chīn. During Ḳāidū's absence some of the Jalā-īrs, overcome by the Khitā-īs, came and took up their quarters among the *ūl* or tribe of Matūlūn and her sons, and, in a dispute arising between them, the Jalā-īrs slew her and her eight sons. Ḳāidū sought his uncle's assistance to avenge them, and a message was sent to the heads of the Jalā-īrs demanding satisfaction for this outrage. This had such an effect upon the chief men of the tribe, who were absent with their people fighting against the Khitā-īs, that they slew seventy Jalā-īrs concerned in the slaughter of Matūlūn and her sons, and sent their wives and families, with many apologies, to Ḳāidū to do with them as he might think fit. Ḳāidū kept them as slaves; and, from one generation to another, for a long period, they continued the slaves of his family.

IV ḲĀIDŪ—قايدو—KHĀN—the sixth ancestor of the Chingiz Khān, through the endeavours of Mā-Chīn succeeded to the chieftain-ship. He had three sons, 1 Bāe-Sunḳar—باى سنقر—or Bāe-Sunghar—باى سنغر—who was the eldest, and successor of Ḳāidū, 2 Jirḳah-Langūm—جرقه لنكوم—also written Jirḳah-Līkūm—جرقه ليكوم—and even Kharḳah-Langūm—خرقه لنكوم—but this last is probably a mistake of خ for ج, and 3 Jār-chīn—جارچين—which some write Jār-jīn—جارجين—and Chār-chīn—چارچين—called Jaochīn—جاوچين—by Abū-l-Ghāzī. These two last brothers were the progenitors of other tribes. Some few authors relate that the son of Ḳāidū's second son, named Hamanḳā or Hamanghā—همنقا or همنغا—was carried off by the

**another, might become known, and also that [such account]**

Tāttārs, and given up to the Āltān Khān, who put him to death, but this appears to be incorrect, and to be the same circumstance which happened to Ḳabal's son, mentioned farther on, as it is unlikely Ḳabal himself would have ventured to the Āltān Khān's court *after* one of his race had been thus put to death

Ḳāīdū cut a canal, in his territory, from a river, and named it Jarā-lūm—جرالوم—[D'Ohsson's Karokol?] and thereby rendered that part exceedingly prosperous and flourishing. He also went to war with the Jalā-īrs and overcame them. At his death he was succeeded by his son,

V Bāe-Sunkar—بايسنقر—or Bāe-Sunghar—باى سنغر—which the Fanākatī writes Bāe-Sunḳūr—باى سنقور—who made some conquests, and, dying, was succeeded by his son,

VI. Tūminā-ī—تومناى—also written Tūmnah or Tūminah—تومنه—Tūmīnāe—تومينهاى—and Tumīnah—تومينه He was a powerful chieftain, and added other territories of Turkistān to his own, brought the whole of the Nūrūn or Nairūn tribes under his authority [this seems to indicate that part of them had been independent some time previously], and in all Turkistān [sic in *MSS*, but probably Mughalistān] there was no sovereign equal in power to him He had two Khātūns, by one of whom he had seven, and, by the other, two sons, who were twins These twins were named Ḳā-jūlī—قاجولى—also written Ḳā-chūlī—قاچولى—and Ḳabal—قبل—also called Ḳabalī—قبلى—

In consequence of a strange dream which Tūminā-ī had, when its interpretation was told him, he made these two sons enter into a solemn compact, whereby it was agreed between them, in their father's presence, that the sovereignty should pertain to Ḳabal and his descendants, and the Deputyship or Lieutenancy, and leadership of the troops to Kā-jūlī and his progeny A compact to this effect was drawn up in the Ī-ghūrī language—which is said to be the same as was in use in Tibbat, and written in what are called Tūngūt characters, signed by them both, and deposited in the treasury Abū-l-Ghāzī does not mention this circumstance at all! Āghūz Khān is said to have made a similar arrangement with respect to his six sons—styled the Bardz-ūkī and Ūdz-ūḳī, but, when all perished but two persons, the compact terminated

If I mistake not, we shall find that the people named Budziāk, who dwell on the banks of the Borysthenes, W of the Black Sea, are offshoots of the Bardz-ūḳī division

VII In accordance with the above compact, on the death of his father, Ḳabal—قبل—or Ḳabalī—قبلى—Khān succeeded to the chieftain-ship, and his brother Ḳā-jūlī, to the leadership of the troops The Mughals style Ḳabal Khān Alan-jik—النجك—or Alan-jīk—الن جك—which signifies "the cherisher of his people" He is the great grandfather of the Chingiz Khān, and of Ḳā-jūlī, who is the eighth ancestor of Amīr Tīmūr All the tribes of the Mughals were in unanimity and accord with him, and stood in awe of his power and ascendancy, and the Āltān Khān of Khitā sent an emissary to him and summoned him to his Court Those, however, who desire to glorify the Mughals, say, he "invited him to his Court, in a friendly manner," but there is little doubt, even by their own accounts, that the Mughals were dependent upon, and paid tribute to the Āltūn or Altān Khans, as our author, Minhaj-ud-Dīn, likewise asserts.

Ḳabal, leaving his brother Ḳā jūlī as his Deputy or Lieutenant, set out for

might remain a memorial of the writer of this ṬABAḲĀT—

Khiṭā, and, having arrived there, was treated with honour and consideration; but, while in a state of intoxication, at an entertainment, Ḳabal committed an offence which greatly displeased the Āltān Khān, so he presented him with a head-dress and belt, and sent him away. The glorifiers of the Mughals say "a crown," but crowns are not generally pre-ented at such times; and Abū-l-Faẓl, not to offend his master's vanity, and Abū-l-Ghāzī, who was himself a Mughal, and descended from Ḳabal, leave out this little incident altogether.

After Ḳabal had departed, the Āltān Khān was blamed for letting him go so easily, and messengers were sent to recall him. He refused to return, upon which the Āltān Khān sent a party after him to compel him to do so. They came up with him whilst he was stopping in the camp of a friend named Sān-jūtī Ḳabal was for going back with them, but his friend lent him a very swift horse he possessed, and advised him to fly. This certainly does not bespeak the powerful sovereign. He at once mounted and made off for his own *yūrat* or camp The party still pursued, but only found him after he had reached his home and people. He then, with the assistance of Ḳā-jūlī and the tribe, put the whole of the Āltān Khān's men to death At this period also, the eldest son of Ḳabal, whose name was Ūkīn or Ūkain-Barḳāḳ اوکین برقاق—also written Ūkīn-Barḳā—اوکین برقا—while out on an excursion, was fallen in with, suddenly, by a tribe of the Tāttār Ī-māḳ, their mortal enemies—some say Ūkīn-Barḳāḳ was following the tracks of the Ghuzz Turk-māns at the time—who carried him off to the Āltān Khān, who put him to death. Here was a fresh cause of feud between the already inveterate foes, the Mughal and Tāttār Turks

Some few writers, as I have just noticed above, say he was called Hamanghī or Hamanḳà, thus showing that it was merely one person who was thus put to death, and that those writers divided one event into two.

Besides Ūkīn-Barḳāḳ, Ḳabal had five other sons, two of whom were Ḳūbilah Khān and Bartān Bahādur, but the others are not named, and the eldest of them, Ḳūbilah, succeeded on the death of his father

VIII. ḲŪBILAH—قوبیله—also written ḲUBILAH—قبله was a man of prodigious strength, immense stature, and great valour "His voice would pierce the seventh heaven, and his grip was like that of a bear. He could take a strong man, and with both hands bend him like a twig until his back broke, and one author states that he delighted in amusing himself in this pleasant way! During the cold nights of winter he was wont to go to sleep naked before a great fire made of the trunks of trees. He used not to care for the sparks of fire which used to fly out and touch him, for, if he chanced to awake, he would fancy the fleas had disturbed him, and he would scratch himself and go off to sleep again!"

In order to avenge the death of his brother, Ūkīn Barḳāḳ, whom the Tāttārs had carried off, and delivered over to the Āltān Khān, who put him to death by having him mounted upon a wooden ass and nailed to it with iron spikes, and kept there until he expired, Ḳūbilah led his forces against the Āltān Khān, and the Tāttārs, overthrew them [1], and carried off immense booty.

Ḳūbilah Khān is not even named by Abū-l-Ghāzī, whose work is much confused here; and, in several places, he relates events twice and even three times over, and differently each time

This is the Katula of Beresine and Kutlah of Erdmann, derived from this

Minhāj-i-Sarāj. He confidently hopes that, during his life-

word incorrectly written with two dots over the third consonant instead of one under.

IX. On the death of Ḳūbilah Khān, his brother, BARTĀN—برتان—succeeded to the authority. The title of Khān was dropped with respect to him, and the new one of Bahādur was introduced. It is said that there was no one among their rulers who was endowed with greater valour and wisdom, and hence that title was assigned him. During his reign Ḳā-jūlī died, and his son, Īradam-chī, succeeded his father in his hereditary offices. "In the Turkish language, Īradam or Īridam—ايردم—they call a Mīrzā—a secretary or writer—to which chī—چى [the shortened form of chīz—چيز] is affixed, indicating the actor or instrument, when applied to Turkish words." From this explanation, however, *īridam* may mean *writing*, not a writer. He used to be styled Barlās, by Bartān, because he had no equal in valour, and hence he is known as Īridam-chī, Barlās, but some say Barlās signifies a leader of troops. He had twenty-nine sons, and the tribe of that name are so called after Īridam-chī. The Bahādur, Bartān, had four sons, some say, several, one of whom succeeded him. "*Baghatur*," I beg to remark, is an utterly impossible title, and shows how those, who cannot "dig out the gold," are apt to vitiate the metal—the pronunciation of names.

X. YASSŪKĀ—يسوكا—the Bahādur, whose name is also written YASSŪKĪ—يسوكى—and YASSŪKĀE—يسوكاى—and, erroneously, Tasūkā—تسوكا—the most competent and sagacious of Bartān's sons, succeeded to the chieftain-ship of the Mughal tribes, and ruled over 40,000 families. This last statement shows plainly, however, that these persons, whom chroniclers make out to be such mighty sovereigns, could only have ruled over a few tribes, or their power must have dwindled considerably. The rulership over 40,000 families was not considerable, since the Jalā-īrs alone were previously computed at 70,000. Yassūkā is the father of the Chingiz Khān, and, during his chieftain-ship, Īridam-chī, the Barlās, died, and his eldest son, Sūghūj-chī—سوغوجى—whose name is also written Sūghū-jijan—سوغوججن—signifying wise, succeeded to his late father's offices. He is the fifth ancestor of Amīr Tīmūr, the statement of Mr. H. H. Howorth, in his "*Mongols Proper*," notwithstanding.

On account of the ancient enmity which had come down from one generation to another, and still more recent causes of hostility between the Ī māḳs of the Tāttār and Mughal Turks, the Bahādur, Yassūkā, in concert with Sūghū-jijan led an army against them, overthrew them, and made captive Ṭamū-chī, but more correctly, Tamur-chī, which is also written Tamur-chīn—the meaning of which will be explained farther on in the account of the Chingiz Khān—and Ḳarbūḳā or Karbūghā, who were their rulers and chiefs, and plundered their property and effects. After this the Bahādur, Yassūkā, set out in great pomp, for Dilūn-Yūldūḳ—دلون يولدوق—which is also written Dilūn-Yuldūḳ—دلون بلدوق and, on reaching that place [which Petis de la Croix, in his innocency, says—Life of "*Genghizcan the Great*," page 13—was "his *Country-House*, where he commonly resided" !], Yassūkā's Khātūn, who was named Ūlūn-Ānkah or Āngah—اولون انكه—but whom the Fanākatī and Faṣiḥ I call Ūlūn-Kūjīn—اولون كوجين of the tribe of Ūlḳūnūt, who was pregnant, gave birth to a son, on the 20th of Zī-Ḳa'dah, 549 H. [25th January, 1167 A.D.], and to commemorate his victory over the Tāttārs, by Sūghū-jijan's advice, he named that son Tamur-chī, afterwards the Chingiz Khān. Yassūkā, the Bahādur, besides this son, had, by the same Khātūn, three other sons—Jūjī Ḳasār—

**time, he will be [considered worthy to be] remembered with pious benediction, and, after his death, with invocation**

جوجی قسار—Ḳājbūn—قاجبون or Kājfūn—قاجفون—and Ūnjī—اونجی or Ūnchī—اوچی—also written Ūtchkīn—اوتچکین—said to mean the youngest son, and also called Ū-tigīn or Aw-Tigīn—اوتکین and, by a second Khātūn, a fifth son, who was named Bilkūtī—بلکوتی—likewise written Bīlkūtī—بیلکوتی—by others, who constantly attended Tamur-chī.

When Yassūkā died in 562 H., his son Tamur-chī was in his thirteenth year. About the same time Sūghū-jijan also died, and the Nū-yān, Ḳarāchār, his son, was also young in years, and the Nūrūn or Nairūn tribe—their own—forsook them and went over to the Tāijīūt, and other tribes.

At this period the tribes of the Mughals, Tāttārs, and Turks, were ruled by *seventy-one chiefs* or ḥākims, each of whom ruled over one or two tribes; and this shows very clearly what I have before stated, that the chiefs I have been here giving an account of were not supreme *rulers over the whole* of the Mughal tribes even, but only over a certain portion of them, and that only a portion of the Nūrūn or Nairūn division of them were under the sway of the Bahādur, Yassūkā.

I have now brought down, in an abstract form, an account of the Turks, and the Tāttār and Mughal Ī-māks, according to the accounts compiled by command of the Mughal sovereigns, and contained in the Histories I have named at page 869, to the point where our author begins his account of Tamur-chī, afterwards the Chingiz Khān. I have done it chiefly because he has confused events, and with respect to their earliest history he is in some error, and states contrary to all other authors who have written on the Mughals, but I also do so because European writers go on floundering and blundering with respect to these people, the descendants of Yāfis, while, at the same time, the matter lies in a nutshell. One of the latest specimens of this kind is contained in the "TIMES," whose special correspondent, writing from "Therapia," Nov. 7th, 1876, says. "The conglomeration of Eastern races, the *Turks* and Arabs, detest their enforced unity with their *Turanian* oppressors, their very existence culminating with a common feeling of unextinguishable hatred for the Osmanli." So the writer appears to have made the wonderful discovery that the 'Usmānlī Turks are not Turks but Tūrānīāns, and so, by the same logic, these Turks are not Tūrānīāns. Who knows? perhaps he has discovered that they are Aryans, or even "Tartars," as some of the newspaper philosophers have lately discovered.

The Yarkand Mission [to the ruler of the State of Kāshghar] made some similar ethnological discoveries in that part of Central Asia, of which the following is one specimen out of many. At page 81 of the "REPORT," we are told respecting "the urban population," that they consist of "two typical forms," one of which, "the Mongolian," contains "the Manjhu, the *Moghal* or *Mongol*, the Kalmák, the Kirghiz, the Noghay, the Kapchak, and the *Uzbak*. All of whom are designated *Tartar*, together with the Kara Khitay, the Khitay, and the Tungani, who are excluded from the catalogue though *of the same stock*" This may be termed, confusion worse confounded, but two pages farther on we are informed that "all that can be distinctly stated is that *Tartar* blood predominates with a greater or less admixture of the *Turk* element," &c., &c.

The monkish travellers found, centuries ago, how incorrect it was to style Mughals by the name of Tartars De Plano Carpini [A.D. 1246] says he and

of pardon, in the world-illumining opinion of the Sovereign of the people of Islām—NĀṢIR-UD-DIN, MAḤMŪD SHĀH—and other readers of his work.[1]

* * * * * * *

## FIRST INROAD OF THE TURKS OF ḲARAH KHIṬĀ.

Trustworthy persons have related after this manner, that the first irruption of the Turks was that the tribes of Ḳarah Khitā issued from the territory of Chīn and land of the East, and came out upon the confines of Ḳaiālīḳ[2] and Bilāsāghūn, and withdrew their allegiance from the sovereign of Ṭamghāj,[3] and made the frontier tracts of Islām their dwelling-place, and their grazing-grounds. On agreeing to pay certain fixed imposts, for pasturage, to the Afrāsiyābī Maliks,[4] who were Musalmān sovereigns, of the

his party "*came to the land of the Munghals, whom Europeans call Tartars.*" Rubruquis also [A D 1253] says, "near them [the Mughals] are the Tartars, *by which name the Muals cannot endure to be called*"

Turks consist of those branches and offshoots from Turk and his descendants before the time of Tāttār Khān and Mughal Khān, who continued, and continue to retain the name of Turks, and of the two latter, who gave name to the two Ī-māḳs of Tāttār and Mughul. Both are Turks, by descent, but Tāttārs are not Mughals, nor are Mughals Tāttārs

[1] Here our author proceeds to give an account of the various predictions respecting the end of the world, which the irruption of the Mughals prognosticated, but which I need scarcely insert here

[2] Ḳaiālīḳ—قيالق—or Ḳaiālīḳ—قيالیق—the last letter of which may be also written with غ—gh—which is interchangable with ق—ḳ—namely, Ḳaiālīgh or Ḳaiālīgh, is the correct name. In nearly every copy of our author's work the copyists have written the word Ḳabālīḳ—قبالق—with—ب—instead of—ی—which is incorrect, as at page 154. These two letters which, in the middle or beginning of a word, differ in one point only, are very liable to be written one for the other in *MSS* by ignorant scribes In the oldest St Petersburg *MS*, instead of Bilāsā-ghūn, the name of the city is written with an extra—د—*d*—Bilādsa-ghūn—بلادساغون—as will be again noticed farther on

Rubruquis describes Ḳaiālīḳ, under the name of Koylak. He says it was a great trading city in his time, and had three idol temples, the doors of which were always open to the south.

[3] This country will be found referred to at page 933.

[4] At page 154 our author says "they solicited Sulṭān Sanjar to assign them lands," but, although expressed in different words, the same thing, in fact, is there meant as is here related Sanjar was the *suzerain*, and the Afrāsiyābī Sulṭāns or Maliks were *subject* to him, as is plainly indicated from the following account of them. Nothing is more dangerous or more likely to bring a writer into trouble than a superficial knowledge of Oriental authors derived from translations often made from a single and imperfectly written *MS*

It will probably be well to give, however, a brief account of the Afrāsiyābī

posterity of Afrāsiyāb—the descendants of the Ī-lak Maliks, because our author, both here and in his account of the Sāmānīs, Saljūķs, and Khwārazmī Sulṭāns, occasionally confuses their names in such a manner as to puzzle and bewilder his readers. Such brief account of them will also tend to make the preceding account of the Turks clearer, and throw light upon the previous account of the Khwārazmī dynasty and of the Gūr Khāns farther on, and correct some crude theories recently put forth.

The Muḥammadan writers make continual mention of the Turks and infidels of Māwarā-un-Nahr and Turkistān, from the time that the first 'Arab—Ḥakam, son of 'Umr, in the Khilāfat of Mu'āwiyah, drank of the waters of the Āmūīah, and 'Abd-ullah, son of Ziyād, was the first to cross it, but those writers give no consecutive accounts of the Afrāsiyābī Maliks until they come down to the year 367 H. It must also be borne in mind that the name of Afrāsiyāb does not occur in the Turkish traditions, although the 'Ajamīs style him "the Turk."

The first person with whom most Muḥammadan writers begin this dynasty is *the* Bughrā Khān, [No IV in this account] whose Musalmān name was Abū-Musā-i-Hārūn, and his title, Shihāb-ud-Daulah, and who, in 380 H., defeated Mardāwanj, the general of the Sāmānī forces, near Samrķand. Although this Bughrā Khān, "the Turk," is said to have been the son of Sulīmān—whom some also style by the title of the Ī-lak Khān—son of *the* Ī-lak Khan, the meaning of which will be presently given, they do not include these two personages, among those rulers, although the latter, probably, brought the dynasty into greater notice, and splendour.

A few writers, however, including Abū-Sa'īd-i-'Abd-ul-Ḥaiy, son of Ẓuḥāk, a native of Gardez in Karmān of the present Afghānistān—begin somewhat earlier, and, accordingly, I shall follow them. On reaching the time of the Bughrā Khān, Abū Musā-i-Hārūn, son of Sulīmān, the different accounts agree. The Gardezī wrote about 441 H., in the reign of Sulṭān 'Abd-ur-Rashīd, son of Maḥmūd-i-Sabuk-Tigīn, the seventh of the Sulṭāns of Ghaznīn, and that writer is, therefore, a little before Abū-l-Faẓl-i-Baihaķī, who wrote in the reign of Farrukh-zād, the eighth of the Sulṭāns of that line, and who died in 470 H.

I. SATUK KUJAH, written Sātūķ—ساتوق—by one author, was an infidel, and the ruler of Turkistān; but, from a remarkable dream which he had one night, he, in the morning, became a convert to Islām, and induced his people to embrace it also. This happened probably about the year 315 or 320 H., but no dates are given. In Alfī he is called Satuķ-Ķarachār.

There is a History, so-called, of this personage, who, in recent times, has been regarded as a saint, and a tomb and masjid have been raised over him. The account is written by the Shaikh Najm-ud-Dīn, in Persian, and translated into Turkī; but, as might be expected, it is history burlesqued. It is quoted by Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., who was attached to the late Kāshghar Mission, who has composed a "History of Káshghar, from the *Tabkáti Násari*," etc., etc., which may be styled history in chaos. Shaikh Najm-ud-Dīn causes Ḥaẓrat Sātuķ to be born in 333 H., and to die in 430 H., at the age of ninety-six years. Unfortunately for such history, the IXth sovereign of the race, and the eighth or ninth in descent from the Satuķ in question, was reigning over Turkistān including Kāshghar in 430 H. The Doctor, however, "would identify" Sātuķ with, whom he calls, "Iylik Mázi—as he is usually styled [Ī-lak-i-Māẓī, probably—the past, or late Ī-lak, or of days of yore, as he is

[Khān], of days of yore[4]—and who were subject to the

[4] This is the Ī-lak-i-Māẓī referred to in para. 4, of the preceding note.

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always called in the Persian, and who was not an "Uighur,"], son of the Bughra Khan, who invaded Bukhárá, where he died in the reign of the Amír Sáid Abul Kásim," etc., etc The reign of the Sāmānī ruler, the Amīr-i-Sa'īd, or August Amīr, Abū-l-Ḳāsim-i-Nūḥ, will be found at page 45 of this Translation, and, farther on, when and where Shihāb-ud-Daulah, Abū-Mūsā-i-Hārūn, entitled the Bughrā Khān, died, which event did not take place at Bukhārā, neither did his dominions extend to the Caspian, but, on the west, adjoined the Sāmānī empire.

The Doctor, in several places, states that the Kāshghar territory, "from occupation," was styled, "Mogholistan, or the country of the Moghol," but this is wholly erroneous, and no History will show that Turkistān was ever styled Mughalistān, which Mīrzā Ḥaidar, the Mughal Prince, and others distinctly describe, as may be seen in the note at page 889

The Doctor tells us that the name of the city—Kāshghar—only "came into use under the rule of the Chaghtay Khans," as referring to the territory, but this is also erroneous, as Histories written before their time sufficiently prove, and as may be seen at page 133 of this Translation.

II After Satuḳ-Ḳūjah's death, of which likewise no date is given, his son, MUSĀ, succeeded him as ruler The date of his death is not stated.

III. On the death of Musā, his grandson, Abū-Naṣr-i-Aḥmad, son of 'Alī, son of Musā, son of Satuḳ-Ḳūjah, succeeded to the sovereignty, and became famous under the title of *the* Ī-LAK-KHĀN. I-lak, in the Turkish language, is said to mean "prudent in counsel," but some writers say that it is the title by which the rulers of Yughmā, that is to say, Turkistān, who are the lowest of the rulers of Tūrān, are known, and that, in comparison with Khān, it merely signifies a chieftain, or leader, the ruler of a tribe The poet, Abū-l-Faraḥ is also quoted, to show that a difference exists between the two titles, by the following couplet :—

تا ایلك و خان قلمه' یغما تارند　　　　هر درگه تو قلمه مادا ایلك و خان را

This Ī-lak Khān bore the Musalmān title of Shams-ud-Daulah, and is evidently the same who entered Māwarā-un-Nahr from Turkistān in 367 H, just eleven years before Ālān-Ḳuwā gave birth to the three sons of light.

IV. We now come to Shihāb-ud-Daulah, BUGHRĀ KHĀN, whose name was Abū Mūsā-i-Hārūn, son of Sulīmān, son of the Ī-lak Khān, and no doubt the latter is one and the same person with the one previously mentioned above, No. III

The Bughrā Khān entered Māwarā-un-Nahr, from Kāshghar, the city of which name was his capital, the first time, in 372 H Subsequently, he was induced to invade it again, by Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr, and Fāyiḳ-i Khāṣah, the traitor nobles of Amīr Nūh, son of Manṣūr, the Sāmānī. [See their dynasty, page 45, and note [8], where, from the similarity of names, some slight confusion arises through our author calling Hārūn [Abū-Mūsā-i-Hārūn], "Ī-lak Khān," instead of which, the Ī-lak Khān was his grandfather's title ] On comparing our author's statement, at page 51, with the account of the Gardezī, I find he confirms that author's statement by mentioning "Amīr Abū-l-Ḥasan, Ī-lak-i-Naṣr, son of 'Alī, *brother* of the Great Khān," which evidently refers to the first Ī-lak Khān [No III ] here mentioned, viz .—Abū-Naṣr-i-Aḥmad, son of 'Alī, son of Mūsā, son of Satuḳ-Ḳūjah

Saljūḳī Sulṭāns, they occupied those plains and pasture

During the reign of Abū-Mūsā-i-Hārūn, Shihāb-ud-Daulah, son of Sulimān, son of the Ī-lak, the Bughrā Khān, in 375 of the H., Saljūḳ, son of Luḳmān, and his family and dependents, entered Māwarā-un-Nahr from Ḳarā-Khiṭā for the sake of pasturage. In this same year a wonderful bird was seen to rise daily, for three days in succession, from the sea of 'Ummān, which was said to portend evil to Islām; and indeed, in the following year, 376 H., Ālān-Ḳuwā gave birth to the three sons "of the mysterious light," as related in the Mughal tradition, one of whom was Bū-zanjar, the great ancestor of the Chingiz Khān. The Bughrā Khān was subsequently induced once more to invade Māwarā-un-Nahr by 'Abū-Alī-i-Sīmjūr and Fāyiḳ-i-Khāṣah, the traitor nobles of Amīr Nūḥ; and, in the year 380 H., he entered Māwarā-un-Nahr and defeated Mardāwanj, the general of Amīr Nūḥ, in the vicinity of Samrḳand. Fāyiḳ also became subject to him, and was allowed to hold Isfanjāb. In 382 H., accompanied by Fāyiḳ, he appeared before Bukhārā, entered it in Rabī'-ul-Awwal, and Amīr Nūḥ fled. Whilst at Bukhārā, the Bughrā Khān was attacked with a painful disorder, and set out to return into Turkistān, but death overtook him on the way in 383 H.

Bughrā in the Turkish language signifies a stallion kept for breeding purposes, but, more particularly, a two humped stallion camel.

The Bughrā Khān was a just and well-disposed monarch, the friend of learning and the learned, and ruled over the vast tract of country extending from Kāshghar to Chīn. He was succeeded by his brother's son, the Ī-lak Khān, Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-Naṣr, son of 'Alī

V. The Ī-LAK KHĀN, Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-Naṣr, son of 'Alī, brother of Hārūn-i-Bughrā Khān [this is the person our author mentions at page 51], marched from Ūz-gand, and acquired predominance over Bukhārā on the 10th of Zī-Ḥijjah, 389 H., seized Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Nūḥ, the Sāmānī, and sent him away to Ūz-gand—اورکند—in Farghānah [a totally different place from Ūrganj—اورکنج—as stated in note *, page 52, through an error of the copyist in writing ر for ز—and from Gur-gānj—گرگانج—of Khwārazm], and took possession of the whole of Māwarā-un-Nahr. He again came to Samrḳand in 391 H; and, in 393 H., Abū-Ibrāhīm-i-Muntaṣir, the last of the Sāmānīs, with the aid of the Ghuzz, defeated the Ī-lak Khān, and compelled him to retire. With the help of the Ghuzz tribe, under their Mihtar, or Chief, Beghū, Abū-Ibrāhīm re-took Bukhārā, and re-subdued all Māwarā un-Nahr. It was but a temporary advantage however, although the Ī-lak Khān was a second time defeated by the confederates, for he returned soon after with a great host, and subsequently completely overthrew Abū-Ibrāhīm in 395 H., who, in the meantime, had been deserted by the Ghuzz tribe.

In Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 391 H, it is stated that an envoy came from the Ī-lak Khān to Sulṭān Maḥmūd-i-Sabuk-Tigīn, proposing that all the territories of Māwarā-un-Nahr should appertain to him, and all Mādūm-un-Nahr [مادوم النهر—I have never noticed this term applied to the cis-Āmūīah or cis-Oxus countries but in one old author. I shall refer to this again farther on] to Maḥmūd. Other writers state that a treaty to this effect was entered into between them in 396 H. There may possibly have been two treaties, the latter modified.

Whilst Maḥmūd-i-Sabuk-Tigīn was at Multān, after taking it in 396 H., intimation reached him that the Turks had broken the treaty, crossed the Amūīah in great numbers under Subāshī-Tigīn, and had penetrated as far even as Hirāt and Nīshāpūr, but, that they had been driven back, and all Mādūm-

lands; and, being few in point of numbers, they there

un-Nahr cleared of them. In the following year, Sulṭān Maḥmūd marched to Balkh, in order to avenge this attack; and the Ī-lak Khān assembled 40,000 horse in Māwarā-un-Nahr, and crossed the river to encounter him. A battle took place in the plain a few miles from Balkh, and a charge of elephants decided the fate of the battle, and the Ī-lak Khān and his ally, Ḳadr Khān—his brother, probably—ruler of Khutan, were completely routed, on Sunday, the 22nd of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 398 H., many prisoners were taken, and, in crossing the Āmūīah, the Ī-lak Khān lost a great number of his followers who were carried away by the current and drowned. The Khān nourished the hope of revenge, but Time did not permit him to gratify it, and he died in 403 H.

VI. Sharf-ud-Dīn-i-ṬUGHĀN KHĀN, his brother, succeeded to the throne of Māwarā-un-Nahr and Turkistān. In the Turkish language *tughan* signifies a species of hawk—[طغر]—the Hawk or Falcon Khān. In the year 408 H., [began 29th May, 1017, A.D., old style], his dominions were invaded from the side of Chīn, by a vast host of infidel Turks, who had been displaced from their former localities, to the amount of 300,000 *khargahs*—felt tents so-called by the Turks—and equivalent to that number of families. This must have been about the time of the Mughal ruler, Zūtūmin, No. III., at page 894—which see. They certainly were not the people called Ḳarā Khiṭā-ī, or "Kitān" of European writers, subsequently to be noticed. Ṭughān Khān, although suffering from illness at the time, sallied out against them; and, after much fighting, drove them back again. Vast booty, and a great number of captives fell into the hands of the Musalmān Turks [and their Musalmān allies?]. Ṭughān Khān died in the same year, and was succeeded by his brother.

VII. Abū-l-Muẓaffar-i-ARSALĀN KHĀN—also styled Ul-Aṣam, or "the deaf" brother of Ṭughān, succeeded him in the sovereignty. In 410 H., he is said to have fought a battle with Sulṭān Maḥmūd-i-Sabuk-Tigīn, and was overthrown, and, during his retreat across the Jīḥūn or Āmūīah, most of his troops were drowned, the incident which happened after the defeat in 398 H., above referred to. Maḥmūd, however, was engaged during part of this year in his expedition in Hind. The date of Arsalān Khān's death is not given, but, in 408 H., a princess of the family of the Ī-lak Khān, who had previously been betrothed to Prince Mas'ūd, Maḥmūd's son, arrived at Balkh on her way to Ghaznīn.

VIII. ḲADR KHĀN, son of Yūsuf, son of the Bughrā Khān-i-Hārūn, son of Sulīmān—the Gardezī, calls him Yūsuf-i-Ḳadr Khān, and states that he was one of the cousins of the Ī-lak Khān [No. V.?], and who had been made governor, on his part, over Samrḳand—succeeded to the sovereignty on the death of Arsalān Khān. He was a prince of great justice and goodness. The Gardezī states that, in 415 H., Maḥmūd-i-Sabuk-Tigīn reached Balkh with the intention of crossing the Jīḥūn into Māwarā-un-Nahr, to deliver the Musalmāns from the tyranny of 'Alī-Tigīn, ruler of Bukhārā, and one of the Afrāsiyābī Khāns, upon which, Yūsuf-i-Ḳadr Khān, who was the Sālār of all Turkistān and the great Ī-lak Khān, hearing of Maḥmūd's having crossed, left Kāshghar and came to Samrḳand. He then proceeded to meet Maḥmūd [see pages 116—118], and they entered into a fresh treaty. 'Alī Tigīn [this is the person referred to at page 121, which see], hearing of this, fled to the desert [the steppes E. of the Sīḥūn]. Fasīḥ-ī, however, says this took place in 419 H. It was at this time that Mahmūd seized Isrā'īl, the Saljūḳ, and sent

**continued to dwell, without violence or disturbance, in peace and tranquillity.**

him off to Hind [Kālinjar in the Panjāb]. In 416 H. [Faṣiḥ-ī, 419 H.]; Jaghar Beg, Abū Sulimān-i-Dā'ūd [also called Dā'ūd-i-Jaghar Beg. See page 116. Here are some more *iẓāfats* showing how they are used, and the necessity of their use], son of Ṭughrī or Ṭughril Beg, son of Mīkā'īl, son of Saljūḳ [the Gardezī styles the Saljūḳs Turks and Turk-māns indiscriminately], broke out, left the Bukhārā territory and the Sughd of Samrḳand, and retired into Khwārazm [see page 121], with the consent of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, but not the approbation of his ministers.

In 417 H., envoys came to Ghaznīn, to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, from Ḳayā [قيا] Khān, and Bughrā Khān, requesting a matrimonial alliance. Maḥmūd replied that he was a Musalmān and they were infidels, and that it was not the custom to give the sisters and daughters of Musalmāns to infidels, but that, if they would embrace Islām, the matter would be considered. These chiefs were Ḳadr Khān's brothers. Subsequently it was agreed that Zainab, the Sulṭān's daughter, should be betrothed to the son of Ḳadr Khān, who was then styled Yughān-Tigīn, and afterwards took the title of Bughrā Khān, and a daughter of Ḳadr Khān was betrothed to Muḥammad, but subsequently to Mas'ūd, Sulṭān Maḥmūd's eldest son. Ḳadr Khān died in the year 423 H., and was succeeded by

IX. ARSALĀN KHĀN, son of the Bughrā Khān [No. IV] who was, at that period, Lord of Kāshghar, Khutan, Khujand, and Bilāsā-ghūn, now succeeded to the sovereignty, but, between him and his own brother, Bughrā, hostility arose, and the latter overcame Arsalān, and made him captive. Arsalān is the person to whom Sulṭān Mas'ūd of Ghaznīn sent a despatch after the battle of Dandānḳān, mentioned in note [2], page 94.

X. The BUGHRĀ KHĀN, son of Ḳadr Khān, who was Lord of Bānkī, or Ṭarāz, and Sinjāb [Isfanjāb or Sfanjāb, as it is also written. See page 28], after having overcome his brother, Arsalān, became absolute ruler. The mention of these provinces and countries sufficiently indicates the extent of country under the sway of the Afrāsiyābī Maliks. The Bughra Khān nominated his eldest son, Ja'far-Tigīn, his heir, on which the mother of Ibrāhīm, the youngest son, poisoned the Bughrā Khān, together with some of his Amīrs, and also put an end to Arsalān Khān, who was still in confinement, in 439 H.

Bughrā, also written with ق for غ—Buḳrā, is the same well-known Turkish name that is turned into *Bagora* Khan by STEWART in his "*History of Bengal*," and Baikara by others.

XI. IBRĀHĪM KHĀN, son of the Bughrā Khān, succeeded to the sovereignty after the murder of his father. His mother sent him against Ināl Tigīn [one author has Niāl-Tigīn], who used to act rebelliously, and, in the encounter which ensued, Ibrāhīm was killed, and the family of the Bughrā Khān [No. X], in the direct line, terminated with him. The year of his death is not mentioned.

In 453 or 454 H., Sulṭān Alb-Arsalān, the Saljūḳ, undertook the subjugation of Turkistān, but had to return from the frontiers of Kāshghar and Bilāsā-ghūn to the aid of the Khalīfah. See page 134.

XII. Abū-l-Muẓaffar-i-ṬAF-KĀJ [طفغاج] KHĀN, son of another Ibrāhīm, son of Naṣr, who was likewise of the house of Afrāsiyāb, and whose father had withdrawn from the world, succeeded to the sovereignty. He had previously been ruler of Samrḳand, under the sovereign. He died of paralysis in 460 H.

XIII. Shams-ul-Mulk [some Mulūk] the KHĀḲĀN, NAṢR, son of Ṭaf-ḳāj

When the period of repose continued for a prolonged

Khān, succeeded his father, and the daughter of Sulṭān Alb-Arsalān, the Saljūḳ, was married to him, and the daughter of 'Īsā, his brother, was married to Alb-Arsalān's son, afterwards Malik Shāh. The Khāḳān, Shams-ul-Mulk, died in Zī-Ḳa'dah, 472 H.

XIV. KHIẒR KHĀN, brother of the Khāḳān, Naṣr, succeeded to the throne, but very soon after died.

XV. AHMAD KHĀN, son of Khiẓr Khān, succeeded to his father, but used to act in such a manner that Sulṭān Malik Shāh had to march into Māwarā-un-Nahr, in 482 H to coerce him. He defeated him, and sent him away to Iṣfahān, to the care of his aunt, Turkān Khātūn, Alb-Arsalān's daughter. After a time Sulṭān Malik Shāh restored him to the sovereignty, but in 488 H. he was put to death on being accused of heresy. The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā states that Sanjar gave the throne to Aḥmad's son, Naṣr by name.

XVI. MAHMŪD KHĀN, uncle's son of Aḥmad Khān, succeeded to the throne of Māwarā-un-Nahr and Turkistān; and, in the year 490 H, Dabḳūlī—[دبقولى]—i-Ṭughān Khān, son of Ḳarā Khān, marched an army against him and slew him Who he was does not appear.

XVII. ḲADR KHĀN, son of 'Umr Khān, son of Aḥmad Khān, succeeded him. In 495 H he became ambitious of possessing himself of part of Khurāsān, and invaded it. In Sha'bān of that year he was encountered by Sulṭān Sanjar [this was long before Sanjar became supreme ruler of the Saljūḳ empire] near Tirmiz, and was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death. He is called Ḳunduz Khān elsewhere See note [8], page 147

XVIII MUHAMMAD KHĀN [some, by mistake, call him Aḥmad Khān] to whom the title of ARSALĀN was assigned, son of Sulīmān by a sister of Sulṭān Sanjar, son of Dā'ūd, son of the Bughrā Khān [No X], and who, for a long time, had been an exile from Māwarā un-Nahr, and dwelling at Marw, at the Court of that Sulṭān, succeeded to the sovereignty in 495 H

In 523 H, Sayyid Ashraf, the 'Alawī, and the men of Samrḳand, slew Naṣ the son of Arsalān Khān, and openly rebelled against him. Arsalān Khān called upon his uncle, Sulṭān Sanjar, for aid, who set out in person with an army to succour him Before Sanjar reached Samrḳand, Arsalān Khān had suppressed the outbreak, and he despatched an emissary to make apologies to the Sulṭān [not wishing him to come seemingly] This conduct did not please Sanjar, and he continued his advance towards Samrḳand Arsalān Khān was also accused of sending persons to assassinate the Sulṭān The latter invested Samrḳand, took it in 524 H., imprisoned him, and sent him off to Marw, to his mother, Sanjar's sister

Muḥammad-i-Arsalān Khān, son of Sulīmān, was restored to the sovereignty of Māwarā-un-Nahr by his uncle, Sulṭān Sanjar, in 526 H Most of the authors I have taken this account from style him Muhammad as before, and one calls him Maḥmūd [his son], but Faṣiḥ-ī, and some others, distinctly call him Ahmad—and the context proves it correct—[see note [8], page 147], but they give 530 H as the date of his restoration This can scarcely be correct, as his son succeeded in 526 H What subsequently became of him is not stated, nor is the year of his death recorded

The Tārīkh-i-Alfī, the accounts in which are generally derived from the best authorities, without mentioning who he was or where he ruled, states that Ḳadr Khān invaded Māwarā-un-Nahr, at the head of a large army, with the object of conquering it and Turkistān, and that Arsalān Khān, Muḥammad,

**time, and their offspring and posterity had become nume-**

unable to cope with him, fled into Khurāsān to Sulṭān Sanjar for protection, and gave the Sulṭān a daughter in marriage. Sulṭān Sanjar marched into Māwarā-un-Nahr, overthrew Ḳadr Khān, put him to death, and restored Arsalān to his throne again.

After a short time, a number of the Khāns of the Turks became hostile to Arsalān, and, unable to resist them, he again fled to Sanjar for help, and again the Sulṭān restored him, after punishing his enemies. The soldiery of Arsalān Khān were principally of the two septs of Ḳārlūghīah Turks, and Ghuzz, and the former, having been intrigued with, and gained over by Ashraf, the 'Alawī, son of Muḥammad-i-Abī-Shujā', the Samrḳandī, to combine with Naṣr Khān, Arsalān's son, the 'Alawī incited Naṣr Khān to dethrone his father. Arsalān Khān gained intimation of the plot, and forthwith put his son, and the 'Alawī to death. After this, Arsalān regarded the Ḳārlūghīah with hostility, and they looked upon him with dread. At last, they combined to destroy him, and Arsalān had again to fly to Sulṭān Sanjar. He marched towards Samrḳand to quell this outbreak, upon which, the Ḳārlūghīah took to flight and retired to the mountains. Another version of these events is, that Arsalān Khān had located 12,000 khargahs, or felt tents of Ḳārlūghs, equal to that number of families, on his eastern frontier to protect it from the incursions of the Chinese [Khiṭā īs], but he had latterly ill-treated them, and they had left his dominions, and retired into the territory of Bilāsāghūn, the particulars respecting which will be found in the account of the Gūr Khāns, farther on.

Sulṭān Sanjar entered Samrḳand, and remained there a short time. It was at this period that, while occupied in the chase, the Sulṭān perceived a band of armed men lying in ambush in the Shikār-gah, or preserve. These were seized, and, they having confessed that Arsalān Khān had sent them thither, the Sulṭān proceeded to invest the ingrate within the walls of Samrḳand, captured him, and sent him away to Balkh, where he died. Some say his death was natural, but others, that the Sulṭān had something administered to him.

During this reign, in the year 522 H., Aghūz [illegible], the Chīnī, with a host more numerous than ants or locusts, invaded the territory of Kāshghar. The Wālī of Kashghar, Aḥmad, son of Ḥasan, collected his forces to repel the invaders. The two armies met within the frontiers of Kāshghar, and an obstinate battle ensued, which ended in favour of Aḥmad.

Who Aḥmad was is not mentioned, but he was, doubtless, one of the Afrāsiyābī family, subordinate to Arsalān as head of the house, and has, evidently, from the discrepancies above noticed, been taken for one of the sovereigns of this dynasty.

Aghūz, the Chīnī, after the slaughter of great part of his army, took to flight; and, after he had reached his capital, the name of which is not given, died of grief and chagrin. "The Gūr Khān," according to the same authority, "became his successor over the country of Chīn," as will be presently mentioned.

XIX. Ḥasan-Tigīn, son of 'Alī, son of 'Abd-ul-Mūmin [Alfī has, son of 'Abd-ul-Mūmin, son of 'Alī], famous under the name of Abū-l-Ma'ālī, Ḳulij-i-Ṭamghāj, who likewise was of the same family, was, by command of Sulṭān Sanjar, raised to the sovereignty, but he died very shortly after.

XX. Rukn-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Khān, Arsalān's son, and great nephew of Sanjar, who is mentioned in the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh and in Alfī as the

rous, they began to act in a refractory manner. The

KHĀḲĀN, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, son of Muḥammad, son of the Bughrā Khān [No. X Yāfa'ī says he was his great grandson], with the support of Sulṭān Sanjar was raised to the throne in 526 H., and, in Ramaẓān 531 H., he encountered the Gūr Khān of the Ḳarā Khiṭā-ī in battle, within the limits of Khujand, but was defeated, and compelled to retire to Samrḳand. Sulṭān Sanjar advanced soon after to his assistance with his forces, but he also was overthrown [in 534 H., A.D. 1134. Guzīdah and others say in 535 H. Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says in 536 H.] by the Khiṭā-īs under Āt Khān and Bānīko, as has been already stated under Sanjar's reign, at page 154, but, since that portion of this work was translated, some further particulars, tending to throw light on this subject, will be found in the notice of the Gūr Khāns farther on.

Rashīd-ud-Dīn, in the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, further states, that Sulṭān Itsuz [our author's Utsuz], Khwārazm, Shāh, in 547 H., marched against Saḳ-nāḳ—also written Sagh-nāḳ, which lies north of Utrār, and other tracts, and also against Kamāl-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān, son of Maḥmūd, the Wālī or ruler of Jund, who fled to Rūdbār. Who he was is not said, but he is evidently one of the Afrāsiyāb family. He was induced to return, but was put to death, and Sulṭān Itsiz annexed Jund, which he gave to his own son, I-yal-Arsalān. The year above-mentioned is that in which the Ghuzz acquired such predominance, but, according to some writers, and more correctly, the year previous to Sanjar's falling into their hands.

Maḥmūd Khān, forsaking country and possessions, after the victory of the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs, in 534 H., came into Khurāsān along with Sulṭān Sanjar, and continued at his Court, and, subsequently, after the Sulṭān was taken captive by the Ghuzz, he was raised to the sovereignty of Khurāsān, as a temporary measure. After his uncle's escape out of their hands, and his death soon after, Maḥmūd, in 552 H., for a time, again obtained the nominal sovereignty over Khurāsān, but, after a stormy reign of five years and a half, in 557 H., he was deprived of his sight by Sanjar's slave—Mu'ayyid ud-Dīn, the Ā'īnah-dār [See page 180], and died in 558 H.

XXI. ṬAMGHĀJ KHĀN, son of Muḥammad Khān [but whether this is the same Muḥammad, who is called Aḥmad, and dethroned and again restored to sovereignty by Sulṭān Sanjar, is not stated], became Wālī of Māwarā-un-Nahr after Sulṭān Sanjar's imprisonment by the Ghuzz, but he did not possess much grandeur or power, and his reign was a very stormy and agitated one. He was tributary to the Ḳarā Khiṭā-īs, who continued to hold sway in those parts, after Sanjar's captivity, until finally driven out and expelled by Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh.

Ṭamghāj Khān was at length slain and his corpse cast into the desert by the Ḳārlūḳs or Ḳārlūghs. This happened in 551 H., some say, in 550 H.

One author refers to a Tamghāj or Ṭaghmāj Khān, named Ibrāhīm, son of Al-Ḥusain [Al-Ḥasan?], as *one* of the Khāns of Turkistān, who, when he became absolute, came to Samrḳand, and dwelt there many years. He was a great patron of 'Ulamā and other learned men, and wrote Ḳur'āns which were sold, and the prices realized therefrom he subsisted on. He must be one and the same with the above, from the mention of Samrḳand, although there is a discrepancy with respect to his father's name, and he too had a son, Khiẓr Khān, who is said to have been a Sulṭān of great pomp. Probably, Nos. X and XI are referred to.

period of the Sanjarî empire had nearly reached its termi-

I may also add that Ṯamghāj, the name of which often appears in this Section, is a territory of Turkistān, as well as a name given to rulers, and that some writers state that it is the name—dynastic name, probably—of the sovereigns of Tibbat and Yughmā, which last word is also the name of an old city and territory in Turkistān.

XXII. Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, son of Ḥasan-Tigīn [Rashīd-ud-Dīn calls him Ḥusain merely], son of 'Alī, son of 'Abd-ul-Mūmin, who bore the title of KHIẒR KHĀN—some say Jaghar Khān—with the support of the Gūr Khān of the Ḳarā-Khitā-īs, after Sulṭān Sanjar's defeat at Ḳaṭrān, succeeded to the sovereignty of Māwarā-un-Nahr Khiẓr Khān, subsequently [in 553 H.] slew, in Khitā it is said, Beghū or Beghūn Khān, the chief of the Ḳārlūḳs or Ḳārlūghs, and other chiefs of that tribe, then located in Māwarā-un-Nahr, such as Lā-chīn Beg, and, the sons of the slain Beghū, fled to the Khwārazm territory, and connecting themselves with Sulṭān I-yal-Arsalān, Khwārazm Shāh, instigated him to attack Khiẓr Khān, the Khāḳān, as he is also styled—another title by which this dynasty is also called—of Samrḳand, that is to say, Māwarā-un-Nahr This is a sufficient proof that the rulers were not Ḳārlūghs, and that they were Ī ghūrs is utterly out of the question.

I-yal-Arsalān, Khwārazm Shāh, accordingly, in the same year [553 H.—A.D. 1158], in Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, marched an army into Māwarā-un-Nahr, arrived at Bukhārā, and, from thence, moved towards Samrḳand On the news of his movements reaching Khiẓr Khān, he at once summoned to his standard all the Tarākamah nomads of those parts, from the Ḳarā Kol or Black Lake, as far as Jund, and brought them to Samrḳand He mustered his forces on the bank of the Bagh-dād river in the Sughd, near the capital, and within the walls of the city He likewise sought aid from the Ḳarā-Khitā-Is, who despatched to his aid the Ī-lak of the Turkān, but the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, and Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, both style him the Ī-lak of the Tarākamah [plural of Turkmān, which, since they also consider them Turks, or belonging to the Turk tribes, is much the same in signification], who, soon after arrived, with a force of 10,000 gallant men to the aid of Khiẓr Khān, and, through the Ī-lak's endeavours, an accommodation was entered into, and the Khwārazm Shāh retired into his own territory again These were one portion only of the Ḳārlūgh Turks, for Ibn-Dastah, in his account of the Jīḥūn, says, several rivers flow into the Jīḥūn, among which is the considerable river called the Wakhsh river, which issues from the tract of country above the land of the Ḳārlūgh Turks

The Beghū are often referred to by our author, after this period, in several places in this work, as being located in Wakhsh and Badakhshān [see note *, page 374, and page 494], and they are the tribe of this same Beghū, the Ḳārlūḳ or Ḳārlūgh The Ghuzz are also styled Beghū, as previously stated in the account of the Turks, but these Beghū Ḳārlūghs are totally distinct from the Ghuzz There are no such people, I beg leave to say, as "*Ghozzes*," or "*Ghoz*" or "*Gusses*," nor do "*we* know that the Osmanli claim descent from the Ghozz," any more than they do from the "Kankulīs," but we know quite the contrary

Khiẓr Khān, and his predecessor also, were tributaries of the Gūr Khāns, as was likewise 'Usmān, Khiẓr's successor; but the mention here, by different historians, of the Ī-lak of the Tarākamah or Turkān being sent *by the* Gūr Khān *himself* to the assistance of Khiẓr Khān is very important, proving, as it does, what I was quite cognizant of before, how crude and erroneous are

nation, and they broke out into rebellion. Sulṭān Sanja

the theories put forward by a writer—Mr H H Howorth—who has bee writing largely of late on "Mongols," "Ghozzes," "Gusses," and the like, an imagines that the "*Ilk* [sic] Turkan," of D'Ohsson, was one of the sovereign of this dynasty I am here giving an account of, and that they were all styl "Arslan Khans," i.e "Lion Khans," when, out of the twenty-three sovereig here mentioned, but *three* were styled Arsalān, i e Lion. The Ī-lak-i-Turkā or Ī-lak-i-Tarākamah, as he is also called, was certainly one of the descendan of Afrāsiyāb, and that was why the Gūr Khān sent him to the aid of his kinsma Khiẓr Khān [and he had good cause to hate Ḳārlūḳs], and there were sever others, too, who claimed similar descent, as well as the dynasty of the Bugh and Ī-lak Khāns I have here given a brief account of Ī-ghūrs they certain were not.

The I-lak-i-Turkān above referred to is most likely the very same pers who, in 522 H [A.D. 1128], gave up his authority to the Gūr Khān, or othe wise his son or successor in that title The former is the more probabl The length of his reign, which must have been considerable, is not give neither the date of his son's succession.

XXIII SULTĀN 'USMĀN, son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, son of Ḥas. [Tigīn] of the Bughrā Khān family, who, on account of the antiquity of h race, is styled Sulṭān-us-Salāṭīn, is the last of this dynasty, but, at what peri he attained the sovereignty, is not stated As he had solicited a daught from the Gūr Khān, to whom he was tributary, in marriage, and been refuse Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, for that very reason, to spite the Gu Khān, gave him a daughter of his own in marriage in 606 H Great friendsh and intimacy arose, in consequence, between Sulṭān 'Uṣmān and his fathe in-law, but it developed into great resentment. 'Uṣmān abandoned th Sulṭān's friendship and was going to ally himself again with the Gūr Khā At last, Sulṭān Muḥammad marched against him, took Samrḳand, and secur the person of Sulṭān 'Uṣmān Sulṭān Muḥammad was inclined to forg him, but his own daughter, 'Uṣmān's wife, whose name was Khān Mal was against it, and, in 609 H, he was put to death, at her instigation, son say, by her command, and with him that dynasty became extinct. The leng of his reign is not mentioned

From the account of 'Uṣmān in the notice of the Karā-Khitā-īs farther o considerable discrepancy will be noticed respecting his again attaching hims to the Gūr Khān after his alliance with the Sulṭān of Khwārazm, and th Sulṭān's occupying Samrḳand, and the absolute contrary would appear to l the fact, but, that something unpleasant did occur between him and h father-in-law, 'Uṣmān's being removed from Samrḳand, and taking up h quarters at Khwārazm plainly show

Sulṭān 'Uṣmān—said to have been a second Yūsuf in beauty—it was, wh when along with the Gūr Khān's army, interceded with the Ḳarā Khitā- and saved Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī, from captivity and enabled him to escape from Andkhūd, after his defeat there in 601 H See page 480

Another proof that Turkistān was ruled by many petty princes is, th among the Maliks of the Dihlī kingdom in Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-ya timish's reign, one was 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, a Prince of Turkistān—a refuge apparently—but of what family he came is not mentioned He subsequentl gave considerable trouble, and was put to death in 634 H See page 64

marched to coerce them; and Bānīko of Ṭarāz, from the side of Khiṭā [the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-ī territory—from Ṭarāz] with a numerous army, advanced to encounter the Ṣulṭān, and a battle took place between that host of infidels and Sulṭān Sanjar. The army of Islām was defeated, and Turkān Khātūn, who was the Sultān's consort, became a captive [in the hands of the Khiṭā-īs].[6] After the Sulṭān retired, they [?] sought for peace, and sent back Turkān Khātūn, and they obtained immunity.

When the insurrection of the Ghuzz [tribe] of Khandān[7] broke out and continued, and the dominion of Sanjar declined, as has been recorded, the Ḳarah Khiṭā-īs acquired vast strength, and the Maliks of Turkistān, with their assistance, used to subdue each other, and were wont to send them riches, valuable gifts, and presents, in hope of their aid and help. Those Maliks continued to use their utmost endeavours in the subjection and destruction of each other for so long a time, that the Ḳarah Khitā-is became rulers over the whole of them; and, for a period of near eighty years and over, their power continued

At first, when they became supreme, the chief men among them, in succession to each other, were several persons; and those who lived near unto my own time, and of whom I have heard from narrators, were Ī-mā, Sunkam, Arbaz, Tūmā, and Bāniko [of Ṭarāz], and their sovereign was a woman, and, at last, after that female, there was a man, and his title was "the Gūr Khān," and they were wont to style him "the Khān-i-Khānān."[8] Some have related that

Another is mentioned as holding Utrār, and another Jund, during Sulṭān 'Usmān's reign over Māwarā-un-Nahr

[6] See also the account of the rulers of Sijistān and Nīmroz, page 188.

[7] Some copies of the text, as in the account of Sulṭān Sanjar's reign, where the particulars of these events will be found [page 154], have Khatlān, some Khandān Here, the former is correct · there the latter The Ghuzz or Ghūzz—غز or غوز—[it would require a good deal of "twisting" to turn their name into the impossible one of "*Gusses*"] came into the Musalmān territories from Khandān, which is on the frontiers of Chīn or China, but, when they revolted against Sulṭān Sanjar, they were dwelling in Khatlān, whence the confusion, and only crossed the Jīḥūn towards the close of Sanjar's reign, prior to his defeat by them. See notes [6], page 374, [8], page 424, and [6], page 426

[8] Which is the Persian translation of the title "Gūr Khān" Mr. H H. Howorth in his book on the "*Mongols Proper*," page 719, has the following :—

this Gūr **Kh**ān had, secretly, become a Musalmān, but God knows the truth in this matter. It is agreed, however, that the first among them [the Ḳarah **Kh**itā-ī rulers] were just sovereigns, and were adorned with equity, and ability, and used to treat Muḥammadans with great reverence, show respect unto ecclesiastics, and used not to consider tyranny and violence allowable towards any created being.[9]

"Colonel Yule adds, 'the tendency to swelling titles is always to degenerate, and, when the value of Khan had sunk, a new form, *Khán-Khánán*, was devised at the court of Dehli, and applied to one of the high-officers of state.'" Here we have the "new devised form" as early as 1259 A.D., nearly *three centuries* before the first Mu**gh**al Sulṭān of Dihlī appeared in India. The title of **Kh**ān-i-**Kh**ānān—**Kh**ān *of* **Kh**āns—is not at all uncommon, and is frequently mentioned in histories centuries before any Mu**gh**als reigned at Dihlī.

Surgeon-Major Bellew, the Historian of the Kā**sh**g**h**ar Mission of 1873, has fallen into error in his account of the "Gorkhán" from the "*Tabkáti Násari*," and other works quoted by him, for he makes out, in the first place [page 132], that the "Kara Khitáy," who "came to the cities of Cubáligh and Balásghún, took the government upon themselves" from "the Afrásyáb Princes descended from Iylik Marzī [*sic*]," and "kept it for eighty and odd years," and then tells us that "their *rulers* in succession were Ayma, and Sangam, and Arbar, and Tana, and Táynko, and then a queen who was succeeded by Gorkhan." All this is different from the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī, of which this work is a Translation.

[9] It would tend, probably, to elucidate the above statement, and to correct some of our author's errors and shortcomings, if I gave, here, a brief account of the dynasty known as the Gūr **Kh**āns of Karā-**Kh**iṭāe or Ḳarah-**Kh**iṭā.

The original country of these rulers is **Kh**iṭā or **Kh**iṭāe, which consists of several vast tracts of territory, and the designation of **Kh**iṭā differs according to the different races who speak of it. For example, "that great and famous country which has always been the seat of government of powerful sovereigns, and is so at present [when the Fanākatī wrote 578 years ago], is called by the people themselves—خانرحو خانقوی—**Kh**ān zjū **Kh**ān-ḳūe—and the Mu**gh**als call it جاقوت—Jāḳūt or جاهقوت—Jāh-ḳūt. The Hindūs call it **Ch**īn, while we, in Māwarā-un-Nahr, term it **Kh**itā and **Kh**iṭāe.

"There is another country of great extent, to the east of **Kh**iṭā inclining south—S.E.—which the **Ch**īnīs [Chinese] call by the name of مىرى or مرى [?]—but the Mu**gh**als style it نكاش—and the Hindūs, Mahā-**Ch**īn [not Mā **Ch**īn], which is to say **Ch**īn-i-Buzurg, or Great China." [That **Kh**utan was ever called **Ch**īn or Mā-**Ch**īn, as Remusat is said to have stated, cannot be shown, but it formed part of the Chinese empire.]

"To the north of **Kh**iṭā there are certain tribes of Ṣaḥrā-Ni**sh**īnān [Nomads] whom they [the **Kh**iṭā-īs] call Jīdān or Jaidān, and the Mu**gh**als know them by the name of Karā-**Kh**iṭā-ī or Black **Kh**itā-ī. The great barrier or wall separates **Kh**iṭāe from the lands of the Turks and Nomads." It must be borne in mind that it is a custom among eastern people to distinguish countries, and sometimes people, by the epithets of white—*āḳ* and *chaghan*—and black—*ḳarā* or *karah*, the former name being given to the most extensive or fertile countries, and most civilized people, and the latter to the poorest and least fertile countries, and the

less civilized people. The same may be remarked with respect to the term, *surkh-rū*—red-faced, that is to say, honourable, of good fame, and *siyāh-rū*—black-faced, meaning disgraced or dishonoured.

"The dwelling-places or lands of the Jīdān tribe adjoin the plains, wilds, or steppes of Mughalistān; and, on one occasion, a person of the Jīdān tribe rebelled, seized the sovereign of Khiṭā, and became Bādshāh himself. For several generations his descendants reigned. They were afterwards ousted by another person, and the Āltān Khāns, who were finally overthrown by the Chingiz Khān, and his son, Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, were his descendants."

The family of the person who afterwards rose to sovereignty with the title of the Gūr Khān ["Gorkhán," "Kawar" and "Gawer," and "Kur, a form of Gur Khan," and the like, of European authors, and some European translators, are entirely wrong] was named قومکین طایغو—ḲŪMKĪN or ḲOMKĪN TĀE-GHŪ or ṬĀYĀ-GHŪ, also written قوشتین طایقو—Ḳūshtīn or Ḳoshtīn Ṭāe-ḳū, or Ṭāya-ḳū [the Yeilu Taishi probably of D Ohsson], which names might vary a little more according to the *vowel* points, but *not the consonants*, except that ق and غ in the middle or end of a word are interchangeable, and that Turks, Tāttārs, and Mughals, change *p* and *t* into *b* and *d* occasionally. I have read the above words according to the usages of the Persian language Ḳūmḳīn Ṭāe ghū's family was one of distinction in those parts, and, long before the time of the Chingiz Khān, and antecedent to the rise of the sovereigns of the Khūrjah or Khorjah—خورجه—dynasty [Corea of Europeans is here referred to], forced, through the vicissitudes of destiny, he left his native country along with 80 persons of different tribes or families, and took up his dwelling—pitched his tents—within the borders of Ḳirḳīz or Ḳirḳiz, respecting which see the account of the Turks at page 876 This tract is generally mentioned along with Tingḳūt by most of the authors I have quoted in my note on the descent of the Turks, Tāttārs, and Mughals

Some again say that these 80 persons were his own family and kin, and that they were accompanied by their dependents and followers, who made up a considerable number, and, from their proceedings, this last statement appears the more correct of the two.

The Ḳarā-Khiṭā-ī fugitives assailed the people of those parts—Ḳirḳīz or Ḳirḳiz—and were themselves attacked in return, and hard pressed On this account the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs moved away from those tracts, and entered the territory of Ī-mil—ایمل or I-mil—امل—or the territory on the river of that name, and there founded "a city," in, and about which, the Gūr Khān being an exceedingly just and efficient ruler, some 40,000 families, Turks, and numbers of others, soon gathered around him. The remains of that city, the name of which is not given, were still to be traced at the time the Histories I take this account from were written, but, in the time of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar, the author of the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, who wrote subsequently—whose work I have partly translated, and of which more hereafter—neither traces of this place nor of the city of Bilāsā-ghūn were known.

Subsequently, the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs moved from the territory of Ī-mil, because it could not contain them, they had multiplied so greatly, and advanced towards the boundary of the Bilāsā-ghūn territory. This city—Bilāsā-ghūn—the Mughals, subsequently, but long previous to the days of Amīr Tīmūr, styled Ḳū or Ghū and Aḳū or Aghū—Bālīgh, that is to say, according to the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, and some other works, the pleasant, good, or

crossed the river Jīḥūn, and had made raids upon the fron-

beautiful city. The ruler of that tract of country was a person who claimed descent from Afrāsiyāb, but whose name is *never once mentioned*, and he possessed neither power nor grandeur; and the Turk tribes of Ḳārlūḳ or Ḳārlūgh—whose immigration thither has been recorded in the account of Arsalān Khān—and Ḳanḳulī, who were dwelling in those parts [and also the Khifchāḳ tribes, according to another writer, only Khifchāḳ or Ḳibchāḳ is not the actual name of any tribe, but a tract of country], having withdrawn their allegiance from him, used to resist his officers, harry his people and followers, carry off their flocks and herds, "and were wont to act as wolf and fox."

This Amīr of Bilāsā-ghūn, as previously shown, was a totally different person from either of the rulers mentioned in the account of the Afrāsiyābī dynasty of kings just recorded, for all the accounts given by different writers, and what has been stated respecting the IXth and Xth sovereign of that dynasty, tend to show that, besides that dynasty, there were several other Khāns, who appear to have been, in some way, subject to them; and our author, in several places, as well as other writers, confirms this, as in the following examples.

At page 51, our author mentions "the rulers of the Afrāsiyābī dynasty of kings," and one as "the Great Khān," thus showing that there were lesser Khāns. At page 84 he mentions "Ḳadr Khān," and "the Khāns of the Turks," and "the Khāḳāns of Turkistān." Saljuḳ also is said [see note ³, page 117] to have descended from Afrāsiyāb. Again, at page 118, our author says "all the Maliks of Turkistān *and* the Afrāsiyābī rulers" were afraid of the son of Saljūk; and, at page 121, "'Alī Tigīn, the late ruler of Bukhārā, who was one of the Afrāsiyābī Khāns," is referred to. At page 133, he informs us that Sulṭān Alb-Arsalān "led an army into Turkistān and Tūrān, and the Maliks of Turkistān, and the Afrāsiyābī Amīrs, submitted to his authority," and, on the next page, that he had reached the frontiers of Kāsh-ghar and Bilāsā-ghūn, in 453 or 454 H., when he had to hasten to the Khalīfah's succour. At page 137 he says Malik Shāh brought under his sway "the whole of the countries of Turkistān." At page 260 also, our author states that "the Sulṭān [Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh] set out towards Māwarā un-Nahr and Turkistān; and *the whole* of the Maliks and Sulṭāns of the Afrāsiyābī dynasty, who held territory in the countries of Māwarā-un-Nahr and Farghānah, presented themselves before him," and this was immediately before the total downfall of the Gūr Khān and his dynasty. All this, and what has been already related, certainly does not show that "the Afrasiab dynasty is a mistake," as a recent writer, merely because he has not found anything about them in the foreign translations to which he alone has access, supposes.

The Amīr of Bilāsā-ghūn, unable to coerce these Turks—the Ḳārlūghs and Ḳanḳulīs—hearing of the arrival in his vicinity of the Gūr Khān, the plenitude of his power, and the number of his dependents and followers, despatched envoys to him to state his own weakness, and inability to keep the Ḳārlūghs and Ḳanḳulīs in subjection, and to invite him to move towards his capital, that he might cede unto him his territories, and release himself from the troubles and sorrows of his present state, and his people be protected.

Before I proceed farther it may be well to say something on the geography of these parts, as described by Oriental authors, and also to refer to some

**tiers of Khurāsān, and had ravaged Upper Khurāsān lying**

statements on the subject which have recently appeared in the *Geographical Magazine*, and in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and more particularly because the geography of these parts refers as much to the notice of the Afrāsiyābī Maliks, of whom I have just given an account, as to the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs, and will tend to elucidate the history of both dynasties.

In the *Geographical Magazine* for December, 1874, page 389, is an article or letter on "*Bala Sagun and Karakorum*," referring to a "brochure of Professor V Grigoreif, on the Khāns of Turkistān, who quotes the Chronicle of "Dervish Akhmed Effendi" [probably meant for Darwesh Aḥmad Afandī,—there is no such a name as Akhmed] from a Turkish translation, in which it is said that "The capital of their dominions was at first the city of Balasagun, but afterwards Bukhara and Samarkand They began to rule over Mavrennahr in the year 383 (993 A D ), and their dynasty came to an end in 609 (1212 A.D.) Their main possessions were 1 *Bala Sagun*, which was their capital, situated at the beginning of the 7th climate in 102° of Long and 48° of Lat , not far from Kashghar, and considered from of old the old boundary city of Turkistan, 2 Kashghar, the capital of Turan, in the 6th climate in 120° of Long and 45° of Lat ; it is also called *Ardukend*, &c ; 3 *Khotan*, in the most distant part of Turkistan, Long 170°, and Lat 42°; 4 *Karakorum*, 5 *Taraz*; 6 *Farab* all three important cities "

This statement is tolerably correct, according to the Oriental geographers, with a few exceptions They could not possibly have begun to reign over Māwarā-un-Nahr in 383 H , because "the Great Khān" did not take possession permanently of Bukhārā until the 11th month of 389 H , up to which time, the Sāmanīs ruled over Māwarā-un-Nahr [See page 52 of this translation]

In no histories, however, that I have met with, and they are not a few, is such a statement made as that, "at first, the city of Bala Sagun [What has the "Effendi Akhmed" done with the *gh* in the name Bilāsā-ghūn? He is not likely to have written it with simple *g* any more than he would write Aḥmad with *kh*,] was the capital," and *afterwards* Bukhārā and Samrḳand. Bilāsā-ghūn *continued to be the capital* of a branch of the family up to 522 H , when it was given up to the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs. The Afrāsiyābī began to reign centuries before 383 H. Without referring at all to pre-Muḥammadan times, we find a Turk dynasty, the ruler of which is styled Khāḳān, as the Afrāsiyābī kings are also sometimes called, *at* Samrḳand and Bukhārā when the 'Arabs first crossed the Jīḥūn, and they are, doubtless, one and the same. The first we hear of them in Muḥammadan times is during the period of the early 'Arab governors of Māwarā-un-Nahr, previous to the time of the Ṭāhirīs and Sāmānīs, but the earliest date mentioned is about the year 53 or 54 H , when Muhallab made a raid on Bukhārā. In 77 H , the people of the Sughd of Samrḳand are mentioned, and their Malik, Ṭarkhūn by name. Inroads were made into Farghānah by the 'Arabs in 87 H., and a treaty was entered into with the Turks. In 111 H , the Turks issued from the tracts north of Bukhārā and Samrḳand, and invaded Khurāsān, but the Khāḳān of the Turks was routed by Junaid. Soon after, the Khāḳān again returned with a great army, and the 'Arab Amīr of Samrḳand had to render aid to Junaid, but nothing decisive was effected. Then followed the rise of Abū-Muslim, when the tracts east of the Jīḥūn were little thought of, the rise of the Ṭāhirīs and Sāmānīs followed, who forced the Turks back from Māwarā-un-Nahr, but, in 367 H., Shams-ud-Daulah, the

on the bank of the Jiḥūn, and the confines of Balkh,

Ī-lak Khān of the Turks, entered Māwarā-un-Nahr, as already stated in the account of them. In no history is Bilāsā-ghūn mentioned *as their capital*, but Kāshghar is constantly referred to as such Aḥmad, the first of the Sāmānīs [See page 28], who died in 261 H, held Farghānah, Shāsh, and Isfanjāb—most of the people of which were Ghuzz, and Khalj Turks, who had embraced the Musalmān faith—together with Kāshghar and Turkistān to the frontier of Chīn, and this shows where some of the Turk tribes were located at that period. In 280 H, Ismā'īl, Sāmānī, made a raid upon the country of the Turks, took their chief town, the name of which, unfortunately, is not mentioned, and carried off great booty and a vast number of captives, but it appears that, the more the Sāmānīs turned their attention to Khurāsān, the stronger grew the Turks beyond the Sīhūn On disturbances arising in the Sāmānī empire, from the time of Amīr Nūḥ, the IXth of that dynasty, the Afrāsiyābī Maliks began to meditate conquests in Māwarā-un-Nahr, and, in 383 H, the son and successor of the Ī-lak Khān—Abū-Mūsā-i-Hārūn, the Bughrā Khān—determined to attack Bukhārā, but he did not retain possession of it Three sovereigns of the Sāmānī dynasty reigned after 387 H The former date was about seven years after the widow, Ālān-Kuwā, gave birth to the "sons of light"

It is amusing to read the various theories put forth with regard to the site of Bilāsā-ghūn, and the derivation of its name

In the *Geographical Magazine* for June, 1874, we are told, in a paper by Mr Robert Michell, who quotes M Paderin, that "Bela-sagun," as he styles it, is indifferently called Kara-Korum, Kara-Kherem, Kara-Koram, and Kara-Khelin, and that, "by Muhammadan writers, it is called Urdu Balik (D'Ohsson, Hist des Mongols, t I, p 76) or Belasagun, now written [by whom?] Balgasun, which M Semenof explains is only a title"

This may be dismissed as simple nonsense. Bilāsā-ghūn and Ḳarā-Ḳuram are totally distinct places

In the same *Magazine* for July, 1874, p 167, Colonel Yule, C B, referring to the above, says "That Belasaghun was a corruption of the Mongol Balghassun, or 'city or royal residence,' as is intimated in the same passage, seems highly probable," but he thinks that it is "greatly to be questioned" whether "Belasaghun was the same as Karakoram . By the story Belasaghun should lie somewhere between these (the Caspian, Aral, and Jaxartes) and Imil," &c.

Who is the authority that "Belasaghun was a corruption of the Mongol Balghassun" is not mentioned, nor do I think any Eastern author will be found to contain such a statement for reasons I shall mention farther on

In the next month's *Geographical Magazine* Mr. Michell again informs us that the correct version of the previous quotation is taken from M Semenof's Russian edition of part of Ritter's *Asia* as follows —"Muhammadan writers call this ancient capital of the Turks [Korin, or Kholin, or Kara-Korum] Ordu-Balig [D'Ohsson, Hist des Mongols] or Belasagun [Balgassun], which, however, is only its title"

I certainly should like to know the name of any Muhammadan author who has made such an astounding assertion

Farther on Mr. Michell says "In conclusion, I would suggest that Pinjan, near Turfan, which is, too, situated near a lake [But who says the capital of the Ī-lak Khān, the Afrāsiyābī Malik, was near a lake?] may be the ancient

Tirmid, Amūd,[1] Ṭāl-ḳān, Guzarwān [also Juzarwān] and

[1] Probably Āmūī, or Āmūīah, a town on the banks of the Jīḥūn, a place frequently mentioned in history, and which gives the name of Āmū, Āmūn, or Āmūīah to the river Jīḥūn, which separates Khurāsān and Ī-rān from Tūrān and Turkistān, the signification of which words are, full, replete, running over, full to the brim.

The inroads of Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs into Khurāsān refer to the time of the Khwārazmī rulers, particularly Sulṭān Shāh. See note [7], page 245

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Balga-sun (*Balga* meaning "guarded refuge," and *Sun* being, perhaps, an objective case, and derived from *Su*, water," &c.

Such a situation for Bilāsā-ghūn is scarcely possible

In the next number of the *Geographical Magazine*, for September, 1874, Colonel Yule again writes, referring to the above, "Balghasun is a Mongol word apparently meaning city" (perhaps "walled city," but I have no access to a dictionary), and, in a foot-note, adds "It is, I presume, a derivative from *Baligh* *Asun* one sees in a common Mongol termination, but I do not know its force"

We are not informed who says "Balghasun" is a Mongol word, but considering that we only hear of it through the Musalmān writers, who give us the account of the Gūr Khān, and the battle between the Sulṭān of Khwārazm and the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs, and before the irruption of the Mughals, is it likely to be "a Mongol word"? It appears also to have been entirely overlooked with regard to these theories, that the Mughals did not dwell in cities, towns, or houses, but in felt tents

Asūn is certainly a Mughal, or Turkish name, as in Ṭā-īr Asūn who was chief of the Ūrhār Markīt tribes, and some others.

I shall have something more to say respecting Ḳarā-Ḳuram under Ūktāe Ḳā'ān's reign.

Surgeon-Major Bellew, of the late Kāshghar Mission, informs us that "Balásághun," is "the Kúbalígh of the Moghol"!

Mr Eugene Schuyler, in the *Geographical Magazine*, for December, 1874, p 389, is quite correct in supposing that Bilāsā ghūn is not a Mughal name, but it certainly does not come from Persian "*bala*," upper, as he supposes, because the second letter in that Persian word is *alif*—ا—بالا—whilst the second letter in بلاساغون—also written with ق—*k*—for غ—*gh*—which is pronounced, according to the vowel points mentioned in explanation of it—BILĀSĀ-GHŪN—is *lām*—ل—and, without doubt, this place was a long way west of Ḳarā-Ḳuram, and more to the south.

Colonel Yule, in "a note" to Mr. E Schuyler's "letter," says, Juwaine's expression as given by D'Ohsson conveys the impression that the name "*Gubalik*" was given to the city by the "Mongols" of the "*Chinghis* age," and that "*Balghasun*" alone *could not* have been the *earlier name* of the city, meaning as it does merely "city," and that "Gubalik" may be a clerical error for *Armalik*, and may indicate *Cobalek* (*or Gubalik*) *was the same as Almalig*," &c

It is very certain that the Mughals called Bilāsā-ghūn Ghū-Bālīḳ or Bāligh with the guttural *gh*, and ق and غ being interchangeable—غو بالیق or غو بالغ—and the Juwainī says so as well as many others, but neither "Gubalik," "Armalik," "Cobalik," nor "Balghasun" Bilāsā-ghūn was certainly its previous name, and by no other was it known, according to the histories avail-

Gharjistān, as far as the frontier of Ghūr. All Māwarā-un-

able, until the Mughals gave it a name among themselves, but I look upon the Mughal name as merely a by-name The city did not lose its previous name in consequence of this by-name, but it is scarcely mentioned after its sack by the army of the last Gūr Khān, and it was subsequently destroyed by the Mughals at the time of the Chingiz Khān's irruption into Islām The meaning assigned to Ghū by Oriental writers is "good," "fine," "pleasant," &c.; and Baligh signifies "city"—as Bīsh-Bāligh, Khān-Bāligh, Mau-Bāligh, and the like, but Ghū alone does not mean "good city," "fine city," nor "beautiful city."

Mr. H. H Howorth has been writing voluminous articles lately on "Ayhe Ata," the "Khara Khitais," "Balasagun," and other kindred subjects, but, to judge from them, he appears to change his opinions, as well as his proper names, with each fresh one.

In the *Geographical Magazine*, for July, 1875, p 217, he writes with reference to "Balasagun" that "Gu-Balik" is probably *the literal translation* of "*city on the Chu*," and he follows one of the writers just referred to, and says that "Balasagun" [all three writer mentioned spell the word differently, it will be observed] "*merely means city*," and that "Balasagun is a wholly indefinite term" In this last opinion I do not by any means agree with him What more definite name is required I cannot conceive it is as definite as Samiḳand or Bukhārā But in what tongue does "*Gu*-Balik" mean only "city"? This is diametrically opposed to Colonel Yule's theory

In the *Geographical Magazine*, for December, 1875, p 378, Mr Howorth makes a very "bold guess" indeed "that Kayalik is no other than *Go-balig* [*sic*] i e *Beautiful City*," and so—as he states above that "Balasagun," which is "a wholly indefinite name," and "only means city," is "Gu-Balik"—Bilāsāghūn and Ḳayālīḳ must, consequently, be one and the same place, while, on the very *same page*, Kayālīḳ, the existence of which is undoubted, long before the Ḳarā-Khitā-īs were heard of in that part, is supposed to be "a city or town of their foundation." In the map to his book, "*The Mongols Proper*," however, "Bilasaghun" and "Kabalik (Kayalik)" are some 500 miles apart!

On that same page it is also said that Kayalik is no doubt compounded of the *well known* Turkish particle baligh or town, but in the *J R As Soc.*, vol. viii., part ii, p 275, he writes "The site of Balasaghun has been much debated. It was the capital of the *ancient Turkish Khans of Turkistan*. . . . . It merely means city"

Again, in the *J R. As. Soc*, p 277, we have: "*Another* important town of the Kara Khitaes was Kayalik or Kabalik . . which name is not improbably a corruption of Kobalik or Kabalik," and, "the present Russian station of Kopal" is supposed to be its site

In the same paper, page 267, "Bish balig" is said to mean "six courts," which consisted of "*six* towns," but what authority exists for this last statement is not said. At pages 6 and 21 of his "*Mongols Proper*" we are informed that "Urumtsi" is "Bishbalig," and in the map prefixed to it we have "Bishbalig (Urumchi);" but at page 737 it is stated that "Piechipali is no doubt Bishbalig," and at page 165 it is "Bish Balig, the capital of Uiguria."

Another writer says the word signifies "*five towns*," which is correct, for *bish*, in Turkī, means *five*.

The "Afrasiab dynasty" is also believed, by Mr. Howorth, "to be a mistake," in reference to the Khāns of Turkistān [whom I have, I think,

Nahr, Farghānah, and Khwārazm, and some parts of

shown to be substantially *palpable* sovereigns], contrary to *every Muhammadan writer*, who has written on the subject, *without* exception, although, in another place [*Geog. Mag.* for July, 1875, p 217], we have "the descendant of Afrasiab, who was deprived of his title of Khan, leaving him only that of '*Ilk* Turkan!'"

In another place this very "Ilk" Khān, or "Ilk Turkan," is said to be "one of the Lion Khans—Lion Hoei or Lion Uighurs of Visdelu, whose northern capital was Almaligh, a *well known* city in the middle age history of Central Asia, which is said to mean *City* of Apples" [there is no bāligh, however, in the word], but in what tongue is not said . . . "It is fixed on the site of the modern [?] city of Old Kuldja, on the river Ili,' but who fixed it is not said In Col Walker's last Map (1875) Kuldja figures as *Ili!*

A line or two after we have, "I have no doubt, therefore, that it was its chief [the chief of Ālmālīgh], the Lion Khan of the Uighurs," &c, . the metropolitan city of the Lion Khans," &c, &c. See Nos IX and X. of that dynasty, note to page 905

Page 277, of the same paper, the writer says:—"The deposed Khan of Turkistan had his seat of empire at Samarkand," it was at "Bilasagun" before, and, just above, p 269, "Almaligh" was "the metropolitan city", and, by way of improving this, at page 272, I find that "At Khan" [Āt Khān—the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-ī, who, with Bānīko of Tarāz, fought the battle with Sulṭān Sanjar] "is probably the dispossessed Khan of Turkistan," his "Ilk Khan," and, at p. 282, that "the old royal race of the Turkish *Sultans* of Turkistan still held subordinate authority at Samrkand"!! In no History is the chief of Bilāsā-ghūn ever styled Sulṭān, which was the title of the head of the Afrāsiyābī dynasty

So the upshot of all this is that the Afrāsiyābī dynasty is "a mistake," and yet they are said to have reigned at three different capitals—Bilāsā-ghūn, Ālmālīgh, and Samrḳand, and also to have "held sway at Kashgar," to be "descendants of Afrasiab," also "Lion Uighurs" [Ī-ghūrs], and of "the old royal race of Turkish Sulṭāns," and yet also "Karluks." What a tissue of mistakes and inconsistencies have we here! See also the note on Koshluk farther on.

I have already alluded to some of these statements in my account of the Afrāsiyābī dynasty.

Mr. Howorth's latest theory [*Geog Mag.* July, 1878] is that "Kenchak," which Mr Schuyler has "identified" with Merke, "seems to mark the site of the famous capital of the Kara Khitai, *Balasaghun*, which has been the subject of much controversy!"

With respect to the situation of Ālmālīgh, I have found some scanty particulars, which fix its position tolerably clearly On the occasion of Tīmūr's moving into Mughalistān from Samrḳand, in 791 H, he crossed the Sīḥūn at Tāsh-ḳand, and reached the Issī-Kol—ایسی کول—i. e. Issigh-Kol—ایسغ کول—where he was joined by the troops which had moved from Andigān thither. Having remained there for a time to perfect his arrangements, the force set out by the '*Uḳbah* or Pass of Arjatū or Irjatū, plundering and slaughtering the enemy on both sides of its route, until, *having passed* Ālmālīgh, it crossed the river Ilīh—ایله—by swimming its horses, and reached the Ḳarā-tāl, &c, and no river Chū is at all referred to The Ḳarā-tāl river rises about twenty or twenty-five miles west of Alten-imel [the Āltān

**Khurāsān also, used to send them tribute; and, upon**

Ī-mil ?] of Col. Walker's map, in Lat. 44° 10′, Long 78° 10′, and falls into the Tin-ghiz, or Din-ghiz, or Lake Bālkash So Ālmāligh is to be looked for, or rather its site, to the *west* of the river -Ilih, and nearer Almātī than "New Khulja."

In looking for sites of such places, it appears to me that sufficient allowance is not made for the physical changes which may have taken place during six centuries In one great tract of country, in particular, as I shall presently show, a vast desert has existed for some centuries, where, previously, many flourishing cities stood, but the sites even of the cities of Bilāsā-ghūn, Ḳayālik, Bīsh-bāligh, and Ālmāligh, were entirely unknown upwards of three centuries since. Landmarks have disappeared, and hence people look elsewhere than in this desert for lost cities, in many instances I may also again mention here that our author's Ḳabālik—قبالق—at page 154 is incorrect The copyists of the different *MSS* wrote ب for ي—and such an error has occurred in other Histories than his carelessly copied The city's name is properly قيالق according to other authorities, and the place certainly lay south of the Ulugh Tāgh, or Thianshan mountains, but near them

I will now give a few particulars as to what the Muhammadan authors, and some old travellers say, respecting the geography of the parts herein referred to

In Astley's Collection Bīsh-Bāligh—بيش‌بالغ—is said to be 26° W. of Pekin, and rather more than 44° N of the equator, and about a degree N. of Turfān —طرفان—while Ḳarā-Ḳuram is said to be 10° W from Pekin, and about the same distance as Bīsh-Bāligh N of the line The Ī-ghūr country formerly seems to have included the provinces of Turfān and Khāmil, or at least the middle portion near Turfān, within eight or nine leagues of which was their capital called Ho-chew by the Chinese, but, as previously mentioned, the mountain [range] of Ḳarā Ḳuram was about the centre of it Whether Ho-chew is Bīsh-Bāligh—which was a well known place long after the Mughal invasion—or whether the last was another capital to the N of Turfān, as Gaubil mentions, is difficult to say The Ī-ghūrs were masters of a portion of the adjacent parts of Tātāry to the sources of the Īrtīsh and Mount Altai [Altān mountains], as were the Karghiz

Abū-l-Fidā says Bilāsā-ghūn is near Fārāb or Utrār—a totally different place from Fār-yāb in the territory of Balkh, but Abū-l Fidā blunders often The authors quoted in Astley say the correct name is Yalasā-ghūn, or "Good Town," not Bilāsā-ghūn, and that B and Y in the Arabic are easy to mistake This is true, but the mistake here is their own Bilāsā-ghūn is also said to be "still in existence [its ruins ?] in Little Bukharia—Kūchik Bukhārā, or the western part of the Kāshghar territory, as at present constituted—near the borders of the Greater Bukharia and the country of the Ḳālīmāḳs, and one of the principal entrances on that side into Great Bukharia." Others again say that it was near Kāshghar, as Darwesh Aḥmad, quoted by Prof Grigoreif, also says, and some, more to the N , near Utrār or Fārāb, in Turkistān

Others again seem to consider that the town which appears in some maps as "Turkistān"—a very unusual, and I think impossible name for either a town or city, but not for a country—is no other than Bilāsā-ghūn, but this cannot be right. I shall have something to say about this town of "Turkistān" farther on Some call the former place "Tūrān which gives name to the country"

That portion of the Great Desert of Kob, or Shāmo, W. of the Ḳarā Muran

**several occasions, they had made captive and carried off Musalmāns from those tracts.**

or Hohang-Ho, is said to be called Karā-Khiṭāe—because the Khiṭā-īs dwelt so long in that part, and herein the empire of the Kin, or Western Lyau of the Chinese writers, appears to have been founded. It is farther east and farther south than what appears in some recent maps as "Karakhitai."

Another writer plainly states that "Fārāb is a city of Turkistān *between* Chāch, i. e. Chāj or Tāsh-ḳand and Bilāsā-ghūn, both of which are cities of Turkistān, and that it is the name of the territory likewise in which it is situated," and, farther, that the word signifies "lands cultivated by artificial irrigation by means of rivers or *kārīzs*—subterranean canals—in distinction to lands irrigated naturally by rain." According to this, Bilāsā-ghūn must be looked for to the northward of Tāsh-ḳand

It may also be well to mention what the Oriental geographers mean by the term MĀWARĀ-UN-NAHR, the Great Bukharia of old European writers and travellers The term is neither "equivalent to Doab," nor to "Mesopotamia," but simply "that which is beyond *the* river," i e. the Jīḥūn, Āmūīah, or Oxus—*Trans*-Oxus It has the territory of Tāsh-ḳand on the N., Balkh on the S, Khwārazm on the W, Farghānah on the E, and Samrḳand is its capital.

"FARGHĀNAH, which is the name of a country [not of the city of Khoḳand as it is made to appear in Col Walker's map], is bounded on the W by Samrḳand and its district, E. by Kashghar, S by the Kohistān of Badakhshān, and, although the parts bounding it to the N, previous to the ninth century of the H, were in a flourishing condition, and contained places such as Ālmālīgh—الماليع—Alamātū or Almātū—الماتو—and Bānkī—بانكي—otherwise Ṭarāz—طراز [no Bilasa-ghun is referred to], yet now, through the passage of the Ūzbaks, it has become desolated The river Sīḥūn, also called the Āb-i-Khujand, flows through it, enters Turkistān, and becomes lost in the sands" There is no mention whatever made of the 'Aral Lake or Sea in the works I am quoting

"In the territory of Farghānah there are seven large and small cities, five to the S, and two to the N of the Sīḥūn—1 Andigān [Andījān of the 'Arabs], a very strongly fortified place, 2 Ūsh; 3 Marghanīān [*sic* مرغيان—Marghīlān of the maps], seven farsakhs W of Andigān, 4. Khujand, N of which is a mountain called Mughal-Tāgh in which much *fīrūzah* and other valuable things are found, 5 Akhshī, on the N side of the Sīḥūn [the *Aksi* of maps], which, with the exception of Andīgān, is the largest place in Farghānah, 6 Shāsh, a very old place, now [old] Tāsh-ḳand It is also called Chāch and Chāj [incorrectly Jaj], 7 [ ]z-gand." Khoḳand is not mentioned, it being a comparatively modern place.

Farghānah, Māwarā un-Nahr, and Turkistān, are all separate territories.

"TURKISTĀN is mostly in the sixth climate, including Fārāb, a small territory, the chief town of which is called Guzar—گزر, but some say it is the name of a city above Shāsh or Chāj, and near unto Bilādsā-ghūn—بلادساغون This other form of writing the name of this famous place—Bilādsā-ghūn—*might* plausibly be supposed to be from *bilād*, only it is the *plural* form of *balad*, which means city, town, country

JUND, or, correctly, JAND, was once a great city, but it has been in ruins for over 300 years.

With the exception of the Sultāns of Ghūr and Bāmiān,

The territory of KĀSHGHAR is bounded N. by the mountains of Mughalistān [the Ulugh-Tāgh of the Turks—See note on the Turks, p 875, and Thianshan of the maps], out of which several rivers flow Its W boundary is also a range of mountains which shoot out from the mountains of Mughalistān towards the S —Bilaur [also written Billaur] Tāgh—the name of which range does not require "to be abolished," since it has been known from the time of 'Abd-ullah-i-Khurdādbih down to Khushhāl, Khaṭak, Afghān, and to modern times—and from these also issue rivers which flow from W to E , and the whole of the country of Kāshghar and Khutan lies at the skirts of these two ranges of mountains The E and S boundary is a great *saḥrā* or steppe—a plain, not naturally a desert—which is wholly jungle and wilderness, and hillocks of moving sand In ancient times there were several cities in this tract, the names of three of which are Katak or Katuk—كتك—Tūr—تور—and Lob-Kaṣal—لوب كصل—probably Lob-Katal, between Turfān and Khutan, but they have been all buried in the sands There was another called Fulād-Sum—فولاد سم—but its fate is not recorded. It was a well-known place in the Chingiz Khān's time.

YĀRKAND, in former times, was a great city, but it had greatly decayed, and was becoming desolate, when Mīrzā Abū-Bikr made it his capital It soon after had 12,000 gardens in and around the city, which was surrounded by a wall thirty cubits high. The people of this part of the territory are [when the author wrote] divided into four classes, the Tumān, cultivators or peasantry, the Ḳūchīn, or soldiery, the I māḳs, or nomads, and the officials

KHUTAN was one of the most celebrated of cities and territories, "but of that rose, naught but the thorn remains at present" 'Abū-l-Fidā says it was a city of the Ī-ghūrs. In former times, before the desert just mentioned approached so near it, Chīn could be reached in fourteen days, the whole way was inhabited and cultivated, and one or two persons could pass to and fro with safety, without being obliged to join Ḳāfilahs, but now [when the author wrote], on account of the Kālīmāḳs—Europeanized "Kalmuks"—the route is closed, and that which is now followed is 100 stages Vast quantities of *yashab* or *yashm*, also called *bejādah*—jade or jasper—is found in the rivers of Kāshghar and Khutan, and in those territories also the camel of the desert, which may be tamed, and the *kūṭāsh*, *ḳaṭās*, or *ghajz-gāū* [the Bos Grunniens. See page 68, and note 4].

The territory of Kāshghar [Little Bukharia] appears the same precisely as that called MANGALĪ-SŪYAH—منكلى سويه—which signifies "towards or facing the sun—sunny-side"—آفتاب رويه—the boundaries of which are thus given. "On the N. Issīgh-Kol, S Jījān—جيجان—and Sārīgh i-Ī-ghūr—ساريغ ايغور E. Kosān—كوسان—and Tārbokor or Tārbogor—تاربوكور, and W Sām-ghar—سام غر—and Jāḳashmān or Jāḳshmān—جاقشمان. This tract contains several cities, the greatest of which are Kāshghar and Khutan, Ūz-gand, Akhsīkat or Akhsīsak, Andīgān, Āt-pāshī, Aḳ-sū, and Kosān." This may be considered the territory peculiar to the Afrāsiyābī Maliks before they again obtained possession of Samrḳand and Bukhārā on the downfall of the Sāmānīs.

An account of Kāshghar and other places on the Sīḥūn, written by me some twenty years since, will be found in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* for 1857. At that period a Chinese Jān-Jang or Governor General resided at Kourah near Ilīh

I now return to the history of the Gūr Khāns.

who used not to submit to them, all the rest of the Maliks

Some say the first of this dynasty assumed the title of Gūr Khān before Bilāsā-ghūn was given up to him by the Afrāsiyābī Khān, but, certainly, it was not conferred upon him by Musalmāns. Its assumption is said to have taken place in 522 H. [A.D. 1128], at which time Muḥammad Khān [Aḥmad of some writers], who bore the title of Arsalān Khān, ruled over Māwarā-un-Nahr. See No. XVII. of the Afrāsiyābī dynasty, who, certainly, is *not* the person referred to as surrendering his sovereignty and capital to the Gūr Khān; and, from what follows, and what I have already stated, it is proved beyond a doubt, that there were several petty dynasties of Afrāsiyābī Khāns in Turkistān, besides the rulers of Māwarā-un-Nahr.

Alfī says that, at the period when the Ḳarā-Khitā-īs fought with Sulṭān Sanjar, the territories of Turkistān, namely, Kāshghar, Bilād-sāghūn, Ṭarāz, Khutan, and other parts besides, were in the possession of great Khāns, who were Turks, who accounted themselves of the lineage of Afrāsiyāb, and descendants of Sātuk Ḳarachār, and that, at that time, all had become converts to Islām.

The Gūr Khān, having assumed the sovereignty over the Afrāsiyābī Amīr of Bilāsā-ghūn and his territory, now despatched Shaḥnahs [Intendants] into different provinces and districts, and, after a time, his dependants and followers increasing, and growing still more flourishing, and their cattle fat [*sic* in MSS.], reduced the Ḳanḳulīs to subjection, despatched an army towards "Kāshghar and Khutan of Turkistān, and subjected those territories." The Ḳārlūghs are also mentioned, but another division of that great tribe, not included in the one mentioned as being located on the eastern frontier of Arsalān Khān's dominions, appears to have moved, or to have been forced, farther south-west; for, about this period, or perhaps a short time previously, this portion of them had worsted the Ghuzz, and expelled them from their former pasture-lands, and compelled them to enter Chaghnānīān and Khatl, the plural form of which word, Khatlān, is also applied to that district or tract of country [but Khutlan is incorrect the first vowel is *fatḥ*, not *ẓammah*], and it is also called Kol-i-Āb, which is a dependency of Badakhshān, and famous for its beautiful damsels and fine horses. See note [4], page 374, and note [8], page 423

Subsequently the Gūr Khān despatched a great army towards the territory of the Ḳirḳiz to take vengeance for the treatment he had suffered there, and Bīsh-Bāligh was taken possession of. From thence the Gūr Khān's forces were despatched towards the territory of Farghānah or Andigān and Māwarā-un-Nahr.

The situation of the land or territory of Khirkhīz, or Ḳirḳīz, or Ḳirāḳīz, as it is also written, has been a puzzling subject hitherto, but its situation is apparent here, more particularly if we take the description along with what is stated in the MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK, and in IBN-ḤAUKAL. Speaking of China, the former work says:—"If one desires to proceed from the east [Chīn] towards the west, by the country of the Nāemāns, the territory of Khirkhīz, the Taghar-i-Ghuzz [see note on this subject farther on], and Kīmāk towards the sea, it is a journey of nearly four months. . . The country of Tibbat lies between the land of Khirkhīz and the kingdom of Chīn Chīn lies between the sea, the land of the Ghuzz and Tibbat," &c., &c.

The Sulṭāns of Māwarā-un-Nahr, "who *were the father and grandfather* of Sulṭān 'Usmān of the Afrāsiyābī dynasty, also laid their heads upon the line of the Gūr Khān's commands, and became his tributaries" See the dynasty of the Afrāsiyābī Maliks, Nos. XIX. and XXIII.

of the confines had become subject to that race. On two

In 534 H. [A.D. 1137, but the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, contrary to several others, says in 536 H.], his troops defeated Sulṭān Sanjar on the frontiers of Samrḳand, as already recorded at page 154; but, since that was written by me, I have elsewhere found some further particulars respecting that defeat which clear up so completely a most obscure passage in our author's account there given, that I must relate them here. The identical passage in our author referred to is as follows "After a great part of his [Sanjar's] reign had elapsed, a body of people from Ḳarā-Khiṭāe, from Ṭamghāj [see Afrāsiyābī Malik, No. XXI.], and the dependencies of Chīn, entered the confines of Ḳarā-Ḳuram of Turkistān, and solicited Sulṭān Sanjar to assign them grazing lands; and, with the Sulṭān's permission, they took up their quarters on those confines, in Bilāsā-ghūn, Ḳabāliḳ [Ḳaiālīḳ—قيالق is the correct name], and Ālmālīḳ, and made those parts their grazing grounds."

In an article by Mr. H. H. Howorth, entitled "The Northern Frontagers of China: The Kara Khitai," in the *Journal Ro. As. Soc.* for April, 1876, p. 271, the above passage from this Translation is quoted, and its writer adds, referring to our author, "The latter author is mistaken in supposing that Turkistan was then subject to Sanjar," &c Now, considering that Mr. Howorth is wholly dependent on foreign translations for his information on these matters, such a statement on his part, to say the least of it, is presumptuous. I need scarcely mention to those who can read the eastern Historians for themselves, that every author who has written on the subject in the Persian language agrees with our author, even the "great Raschid" himself, respecting Sulṭān Sanjar's suzerainty over the parts in question, as well as to his father's and grandfather's suzerainty likewise.

"When their progeny became very numerous, during the Sulṭān's reign, they rebelled against his authority, and fought a battle against him. Tānīko of Ṭarāz, at the nomination of Sunkam and Ī-mā, was at the head of the Khiṭā-īs. The Sulṭān's forces, from a long period of inaction, and enervated by protracted ease and luxury, were unable to cope with or stand before the enemy, and were overthrown; . he [the Sulṭān] concluded a peace with them, and the pasture-lands of Turkistān and Bilāsā-ghūn, along with the cities and towns included in those frontier tracts, were left in the hands of the Khiṭā-ī invaders."

The particulars I refer to, tending to throw light on the above, are, that, when Sulṭān Sanjar proceeded to Samrḳand and dethroned Muḥammad [No. XVIII. of the Afrāsiyābīs], a part of the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs had a *yūrat* or camping ground in that part—on the frontier—the tracts assigned them by the Sulṭān in former years, for our author is, by no means, mistaken, as the author of "*Mongols Proper*" imagines, in stating that Sanjar's authority extended as far as the confines of Turkistān, for his being at Samrḳand, on this occasion, proves it, and, moreover, as mentioned at page 133, the Maliks of Turkistān, and the Afrāsiyābī Amīrs submitted to the authority of Alb-Arsalān, Sanjar's grandfather. Some of the Sulṭān's Amīrs persuaded him that this was a good opportunity for seizing their flocks and herds, and driving out altogether these Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs, whom they accused of contumacy. They implored the Sulṭān's mercy, and offered, through those Amīrs, to present 5000 horses, 5000 camels, and 50,000 sheep, as a propitiatory offering to him to allow them to remain where they were This was approved of by the Sulṭān, but, in the meantime, the chiefs of the tribes of those Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs

or three occasions, the forces of the sovereigns of Ghūr, the

[Sunkam and Ī-mā apparently] fled to the *urdū* of the Gūr Khān, whose power was a drag upon the Sulṭāns of Turkistān [the Afrāsiyābī Maliks], and represented to him that the Sulṭān of Khurāsān had become enfeebled by the infirmities of age, and that the affairs of that country had fallen into the hands of slaves and boys, and urged the Gūr Khān to wrest Māwarā-un-Nahr and Khurāsān out of their hands. He accordingly put his forces in motion, and Sulṭān Sanjar and his troops, despising them, moved to encounter them without concert or precaution, or caring for immensely superior numbers, thinking to overthrow them easily. Sanjar's troops however, who were but few in comparison with the enemy, were soon completely surrounded by the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs, and Sulṭān Sanjar had to attempt to cut his way out with a body of 300 men. He succeeded, but he came out with only ten or fifteen remaining. In this affair 30,000 Musalmāns were slain, and Tāj-ud-Dīn Abū-l-Fatḥ, Malik of Sijistān and Nīmroz, who, with the centre, maintained his ground to the last [see page 188] was taken prisoner. The rest agrees with what our author has already stated under Sanjar's reign.

The Tārīkh-i-Alfī gives another account of the origin of the war between the Sulṭān and the Gūr Khān.

The Ḳārlūghīah families stationed on the frontier of Arsalān Khān's dominions had been harshly treated by him. He considered they multiplied too fast, and set overseers of his own over them to prevent them having intercourse with their wives. They endured this tyranny for a considerable time, not knowing whither to fly. At last, grown desperate, on the arrival on the frontier, which it was their duty to guard, of an immense *ḳāfilah* of traders and merchants, consisting of Turks, Khiṭā-īs, and people from all parts to the eastward, they attacked the *ḳāfilah*, and seized all the property and effects of the merchants composing it. They then made known to them that, if they desired to get their property restored to them, they must put them in the way of finding a place beyond Arsalān Khān's dominions, provided with water and forage sufficient to enable them to subsist, as they were resolved to stay no longer under his rule. The merchants told them they knew of a tract of country well provided with what they required, sufficient for the subsistence of ten times their number, and that it lay in the territory of Bilād-sāghūn in Turkistān The Ḳārlūghīah Turks, on this, restored the property of the merchants, seized their overseers, and, taking them along with them, made for the territory of Bilād-sāghūn, and there took up their quarters.

They were, however, in constant dread of Arsalān Khān, until the Gūr Khān, who had, by this time, arrived in that part, entered into hostilities with the ruler of Māwarā-un-Nahr and Turkistān, and the Ḳārlūghīah entered into combination with him. At this juncture, Arsalān Khān, as previously mentioned, died, and Ḥasan-Tigīn, who had been installed in his place by Sulṭān Sanjar, soon followed him. The sovereignty then devolved upon the Khāḳān, Maḥmūd, son of Arsalān. Shortly after, the Gūr Khān, with a vast army of Khiṭā-īs and Turks, numbering, it is said, 300,000 men, advanced into Maḥmūd's territory, and began to annex it. The Gūr Khān imposed one dīnār as a tax upon each house in every city he reached, but neither allowed his troops to enter the people's dwellings, nor their cultivated lands, and did not farther molest them. To such of the Maliks of Māwarā-un-Nahr as submitted, the Gūr Khān assigned a tablet of silver to be hung up at the entrance of their palaces. See *Journal Ro. As. Soc.*, vol. v., for 1870, p. 29.

champions of which army were the Sipah-sālār, Khar-jam

As previously mentioned, the Khāḳān, Maḥmūd, was defeated, and, at his urgent prayer, Sultān Sanjar prepared to succour him. Sanjar is said to have taken six months to complete his arrangements, and, in the month of Zī-Ḥijjah, 534 H., to have crossed the Jīḥūn with an army of 100,000 cavalry—an exaggerated number—and moved towards Samrḳand. Serving in his army were the Maliks of Sīstān, Ghaznīn, and Ghūr, and the Ḥākims of Māzandarān.

When Sanjar reached Samrḳand Maḥmūd complained bitterly of the conduct of the Ḳārlūghīah, and the Sulṭān resolved to chastize them first. On becoming aware of his intention, they sought the protection of the Gūr Khān, who sent a letter to the Sultān demanding what crime was laid to the charge of the Ḳārlūghīah. The Sulṭān's reply, as may be imagined, was sufficiently haughty. The hostile forces moved to encounter each other, and, after an obstinate battle, the details of which have been already given, victory declared in favour of the Khiṭā-īs, who were immensely superior in point of numbers; and the Sulṭān, having cut his way out with a few followers, fled to Tirmiz. The Wālī of Sīstān was taken prisoner [see page 188], and Amīr Ḳimāj, who had charge of the Sulṭān's *ḥaram*, and the whole of that establishment, were also made captive.

It is stated in the Tārīkh-i-Yāfa'ī, that nearly 30,000 Musalmāns fell in this battle, and that among the slain were 4000 women. "In some other Histories it is also stated that, after the flight of the Sulṭān, the Turks and Khiṭā-īs poured into the camp and began to plunder. On their approaching the part where the *ḥaram* was, Turkān Khātūn, the Sulṭān's chief consort, and most of the wives of the Amīrs, and the soldiery who acted as their guard, defended it against the infidels, and slew a vast number of them, and it was only after 4000 women had fallen that the rest of the *ḥaram* was captured, including Turkān Khātūn. The Gūr Khān left the females in charge of those of their own people who remained, and would not allow them to be interfered with. They were treated with honour and reverence, and, soon after, were sent back to the Sulṭān in Khurāsān."

Mr. H. H. Howorth has not quoted my translation quite correctly [*Journal R. As. Soc.* Vol. viii. p. 272]. Nowhere have I said that "Ai Khan was in alliance with the chief of Kara Khitai." In my note [4], to page 154, I say "Sanjar fought a battle with Āt Khān," which, as my authority related it, refers to one of the leaders of the Gūr Khān's forces. Most certainly Āt Khān was not "the dispossessed Khan" of Turkistān, nor was he the dispossessed chief of Bilāsā-ghūn, nor does Rashīd-ud-Dīn, in his Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, anywhere state that the ruler of Ḳarā Khiṭāe adopted the title of Gūr Khān—not "*Ghur*" Khān—"after *this* great battle in 525 H." because he says, [in the *MSS.* before me] that this battle took place in 536 H. [which began 5th August, A.D. 1141], while others make it one year, and some, two years earlier—534 H., A.D. 1139-40, and 535, A.D. 1140-41.

Amīr Tīmūr, I also beg leave to say, never adopted the title of "Emir Timur *Gur Khan*," for the very significant reason that the title of the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-ī chief consists of *two* words گور خان while the word applied to Amīr Tīmūr, which appears to have misled Mr. Howorth, is *one* and is written گورگان—Gūrgān, and in signification there is no connexion between them whatever.

To return to my story. After having gained this great success, the Gūr Khān overran great part of Turkistān and Māwarā-un-Nahr, acquired predominance over those countries, and made their rulers tributaries. He in-

[cham], and Muḥammad-i-Khar-nak—on whom be peace!

creased his forces, and his war materials accumulated; and, shortly after, he despatched an army under the command of his general, Arbaz—ارباز—[this name is also mentioned by our author: "Irmuz" is not correct] towards the Khwārazm territory, in order to sack and devastate the *rustāķs* [a word particularly applied in Khwārazm to villages or collections of huts or felt tents, in distinction from the words *dīh* and *ķaryah* used in 'Irāķ and Khurāsān]. His troops created great havoc, and Itsiz, Sulṭān of Khwārazm, despatched an envoy to the Gūr Khān to sue for peace, and agreed to pay allegiance to him for the future, and a yearly tribute of 30,000 *dīnārs*, besides cattle, flocks, and other things. On this accommodation having been entered into, Arbaz retired; and soon after, in 537 H. [A.D. 1142-3], the Gūr Khān died. He was of the Mānī [Manichean] religion himself, but his wife was a Christian.

It is stated in Alfī that he died in the month of Rajab of the following year.

He was succeeded by his wife, as no son remained to him, but some authors distinctly state that his daughter succeeded. To judge, however, from the events which followed, it is very improbable that the daughter then succeeded her father, because the name of the husband of the female sovereign who ruled so long is given, and it is scarcely probable that the Gūr Khān's wife married again, without some mention of it being recorded, nor was it the custom, I believe, for widows to re-marry.

The wife, whose name is not given, dying some time after her succession, but without any date being mentioned, was succeeded by the Gūr Khān's daughter, KONĪK or KONAYIK KHĀTŪN, but whether the late sovereign was her mother has not transpired. The word is somewhat uncertain in some works, but I put the most trustworthy reading first upon all occasions, and that used by the majority of writers. It is written کوینك which, according to whether *g* or *k* be used, may be spelt in various ways, and کویونك which may be Koyūnık, and کولون—Kolūn—but another author, in two copies of his work, has Komānık or Gomānık or Komānıg or Gomānıg—كومانك—according as to whether the Tāzī or 'Ajamī ك be meant.

In the seventh year of I-yal-Arsalān, Khwārazm Shāh's reign [557 or 558 H.], because he was not punctual in the payment of his tribute, as stipulated by his father, his dominions were assailed by the Gūr Khān's forces. The Sulṭān sent forward, in advance, Ghā-īr Beg, the Ķārlūgh, a native of Māwarā-un-Nahr, with an advance force, towards the Āmūīah, but he was defeated and taken captive before I-yal-Arsalān could come to his support, and the latter fell sick and returned to Khwārazm where he died in the month of Rajab of the same year.

On the death of I-yal-Arsalān, there were two claimants to the throne—his two sons, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Sulṭān Shāh, and 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Takish Khān, who was the eldest son, but he, not being sufficiently powerful to oust the former, who, with his mother—a strong-minded woman—was in possession of the capital, and being at that time absent in charge of the territory of Jand, which his father had taken from Kamāl-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān, son of Maḥmūd, and annexed, entered the territory of the third Gūr Khān, and sought her help to recover his patrimony. She agreed to aid him, on the stipulation that, on his being put in possession of Khwārazm, he should pay over a certain amount of treasure, and a yearly tribute afterwards.

A large army was accordingly despatched to support Sulṭān Takish, and put him in possession, under the command of her husband, Farmā or Farmāe,

**—had caused the overthrow of the forces of Khiṭā, and, in**

by name,—فرما or فرمانی— who conducted the affairs of her empire. In the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh he is styled Farmāe Āḳā. Sulṭān Shāh and his mother fled, and Takish was put in possession of the capital, in Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 568 H. [the end of December A.D. 1172].

It is evident, from this, that this female Gūr Khān must have reigned a considerable time, since she was, at this period, living, and lived for a considerable time subsequently, for, not long after, the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-ī ruler sent to demand more tribute from Sulṭān Takish than had been previously stipulated, and, her envoy having behaved in a manner it was impossible to overlook, Takish put him to death, notwithstanding he was one of the most distinguished of the Khiṭā-īs.

On this, hostilities broke out between Takish and the Gūr Khān, which the former's brother, Sulṭān Shāh, taking advantage of, left Ghūr, where he then was, and hastened to the presence of the Gūr Khān, and sought assistance from her. This was in 569 H. Our author distinctly states that the Ghūrīān Sulṭāns treated Sulṭān Shāh with honour, but plainly refused to aid him against Takish with whom they were in alliance [see page 245, and also note [8], page 239, para. 2], and our author was certainly well acquainted with Ghūrīān affairs generally. Mr Howorth [*Journal Ro. As. Soc.*], in the article before referred to, quotes Visdelu, but, if Visdelu ever styled MU'AYYID-UD-DĪN—which title signifies "The Aider of the Faith"—the Ā'ĪNAH-DĀR, or Mirror-Bearer, by the impossible and meaningless names of "*Umayyid-i Aimakdur*," the value of his authority is clearly indicated.

The assistance sought by Sulṭān Shāh was granted by her [the Gūr Khān] in 574-5 H. [A.D. 1178-9], and again Farmāe was sent with an army, but the success was only partial. The particulars will be found in note [2], page 239, and note [8], page 246. According to the authorities from which I take this account, the female Gūr Khān now began to violate the laws and ordinances of the state, and to abandon herself to sensual desires, until matters went so far that the late Gūr Khān's brother, and the chief men in the empire resolved to rid themselves of her, and they put her to death along with her paramour.

It is very evident, from this, that she must have reigned many years, for, from the date of the first Gūr Khān's death, viz. 537 H., to the year in which she rendered aid to Sulṭān Shāh, 574-5 H., is no less than thirty-eight years nearly, and therefore, had this been his wife, she must have been a very old woman, and her desires must have cooled. It appears to me, therefore—although all the Musalmān writers, *without exception*, mention *but three* persons, two males and a female, as composing this dynasty, which lasted altogether ninety-five years, and has greater credit for its mighty power than it is entitled to—that the first Gūr Khān must have been succeeded first, by his wife, and then by his daughter, Konīk or Konayik. The date of her being put to death is not given, and, I fear, not to be discovered. Having put Konīk or Konayik Khātūn to death, they [the chief personages in the empire] chose one of the two brothers of the first Gūr Khān, who were then alive, to succeed her, and the other, who was wont to embarrass and obstruct the affairs of the empire, was passed over.

Some authors state that it was the brother of the late Gūr Khān—named Ḳoman or Kūmān—who accused her of living a dissolute life and thus brought about her destruction, and that he became the Gūr Khān himself.

On his—ḲOMĀN, or ḲŪMĀN—قومان—becoming established in the sove-

[one of] those battles, the Sipah-sālār, Khar-jam, had

reignty, he sent out Shaḥnahs [Intendants] into different parts, and appointed persons, with due discrimination, according to their different capacities, to various offices.

Sulṭān Takish, Khwārazm Shāh, had, on his deathbed, enjoined his son and successor, on no account to embroil himself with the Gūr Khān if he desired to preserve the integrity and safety of his dominions, because, he said, he was a strong barrier between very powerful enemies, which should by no means be broken down. This refers to the Chingiz Khān, who, at this period, was becoming very powerful. When Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, came to the throne, he continued for some time to transmit the tribute regularly as before, and friendship continued to subsist between him and the Gūr Khān; and, when Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, Sulṭān of Ghūr, became hostile to Sulṭān Muḥammad, and invaded his dominions in 601 H., the Gūr Khān despatched 10,000 men to the Sulṭān's assistance under Bānīko of Ṭarāz [see pages 474 to 481 for our author's account of it]; and before the gate of Andkhūd [Indākhūd] the Khiṭā-īs fought an engagement with the Ghūrīs, and overthrew them. On this occasion, Sulṭān 'Usmān of Samrḳand, the last of the Afrāsiyābīs, was present, as a vassal, with the Khiṭā-ī army he had not, at that time, withdrawn his allegiance from the Gūr Khān.

Now it was that Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, being successful in all his affairs, considered it time to throw off the yoke of the Gūr Khān, to pay tribute to whom, as an infidel, he considered a blot upon his sovereignty, more especially since the insolence of the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs had reached such a pitch, that their envoy, who is styled Tonshī or Tūnshī—تونشی—and, by some, Tūshī—توشی—probably Tāīshī, was his title [See also page 732, and note at page 866], presumed to seat himself upon the throne along with the Sulṭān. He accordingly withheld the tribute for two or three years, and manifested great tardiness in paying it. At length, the Gūr Khān despatched, as his envoy, his Wazīr, Muḥammad-i-Tāe [تای—in some places written Nāe—نای], and others, to demand payment, including all arrears.

When the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-ī envoy reached Khwārazm [the site of this famous capital has for centuries been known as Ūrganj-i-Kubrī—اورگنج کبری—at which place the Russians have erected a fortress to protect their "trade routes." Khīwaḳ, anglicized *Khiva*, as it appears in Col. Walker's last map is not Khwārazm. What appears there as "Kunia Urganj," correctly, Kuhnah—old, ancient—Ūrganj, is the place], the Sulṭān had made his preparations for an expedition into Khifchāḳ [our author, at page 254, says the Sulṭān's mother was the daughter of Ḳadr Khān of Khifchāḳ—other authors style her tribe Ūrānian—but he does not refer, in the least, to this expedition; and, at page 260, calls the Gūr Khān, by mistake evidently, Ḳulīj Khān—unless Ḳulīj was another of his titles, or an error for Ḳomān—of Khiṭāe, whose general was Bānīko of Ṭarāz], and was unwilling, at the same time, to disobey his late father's last request, and, moreover, did not wish to give the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs a pretext or an opportunity for molesting his dominions during his absence in Khifchāḳ, while he felt it a disgrace even to acknowledge his liability to pay this tribute. On this account he did not open his lips on the subject, but left the affair in the hands of his mother—the celebrated Turkān Khātūn, whose subsequent misfortunes are so pitiable—and set out on his expedition into Khifchāḳ, the particulars respecting which expedition are not related by any author with whom I am acquainted.

attained martyrdom.[9] The last of their armies which

[9] Our author has not given any details respecting these events in his account of the Ghūrīs, nor has he referred to any but the last person here mentioned.

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Turkān Khātūn directed that the envoys should be received with befitting honour; and the annual tribute due was made over to them. A number of distinguished persons of the capital were likewise despatched, along with Maḥmūd-i-Tāe, to the presence of the Gūr Khān, to apologize for the delay which had occurred, and they were charged with expressions of homage and fealty as heretofore. Maḥmūd-i-Tāe, however, "had witnessed the lofty bearing and stubbornness of Sulṭān Muḥammad, knew his humour, and fathomed his thoughts, that he considered himself, in power and magnificence—he was master of some of the richest parts of Western Asia, west of the Āmūīah—the superior of the Gūr Khān, and that he considered it beneath him to show humility or flattery to any human being, being satisfied, in his own mind, that the Maliks of the world were his vassals, and that, in fact, fortune itself was his servant." Maḥmūd-i-Tāe represented these circumstances to the Gūr Khān, and assured him that, after this time, the Sulṭān would certainly never pay him tribute again, and, consequently, the Sulṭān's emissaries were not treated with the usual respect or consideration.

Sulṭān Muḥammad, having returned to the capital of his dominions, successful from his Khifchāḳ expedition, began to make preparations for his campaign for liberating Māwarā-un-Nahr from the yoke of the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs. He had been constantly receiving communications in secret, with promises of support, from Bukhārā particularly, as far back as 600 H., and from Sulṭān 'Usmān of Samrḳand, and other rulers of Māwarā-un-Nahr to whom the protracted yoke of the Gūr Khāns was affliction, and who groaned under the exactions, the rapacity, and the injustice, of the Gūr Khān's representatives, who had begun to act contrary to previous usages. The Sulṭān, accordingly, marched an army to Bukhārā then held by an upstart, named Sanjar Malik, and sent messages inviting the rulers above referred to to join him in his proposed enterprise. They were well satisfied to accept the Sulṭān's offers, and, under the determination of commencing hostilities against the Gūr Khān, in the following year, he returned from Bukhārā. This was in 606 H.

Kojlak—also called Koshlak by some writers, and "Kashlī, otherwise Koshluk" by Yāfa'ī, and Kashlū Khān-i-Sunḳar, the Tatār, by our author—son of the sovereign of the Nāemāns, after the death of his father, and dispersion of his tribes, had, some time before, sought shelter with the Gūr Khān from the power of the Chingiz Khān. He had entertained rebellious ideas towards his protector, previous to Sulṭān 'Usmān's becoming a partizan of Sulṭān Muḥammad, and now that some of the Gūr Khān's own nobles likewise, in the eastern parts of his territory, had rebelled against his authority [occasioned, no doubt, by the Chingiz Khān's proceedings], and, on the Chingiz Khān's [first] expedition against Khiṭā [*not* against the dominions of the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs], Kojlak pretended to the Gūr Khān that, if permitted to do so, he would go and collect his wandering Nāemāns, from whom he had been so long separated, and who had been too long dispersed like sheep without a shepherd, and would bring them to his assistance, that he had many of his tribes at and around Imil, at Bīsh-Bāngh, and in the limits of Ḳaiālīḳ or Ḳaiālīgh who wanted a leader, and that, since the Chingiz Khān was then occupied in the country of Khiṭā, he could carry out his plans with facility.

crossed the Jiḥūn and passed over towards Khurāsān was

The Gūr Khān took the bait, conferred great honours upon him, and gave him the title of Khān—Kojlak Khān.

Kojlak having departed, the Gūr Khān, when too late, repented of having let him go, and sent out commands to have him recalled, but without effect. Kojlak assembled around him all the scattered Nāemān tribe, and his fame became noised abroad: all, who were in any way connected with him in the Gūr Khān's forces, also joined him, and he found himself at the head of a large army. On reaching Ī-mil, and Ḳaiālīḳ, he was joined by Tūḳ-Tughān, more respecting whom will be found farther on, the Amīr or Chief of the Makrīt Mughals of the Ḳaiāt division [see note [4], page 268], who had fled on hearing of the power of the Chingiz Khān; and, in concert, they began to plunder and devastate the country; and the Tūmāts, another Mughal tribe, dwelling near the frontier of Khiṭā [on the S E ], also joined in the outbreak. The Chingiz Khān had to despatch troops against them, the details respecting which, not being connected with the fate of the Gūr Khān, I reserve for their proper place farther on.

Kojlak, having now become sufficiently powerful, showed open hostility to his benefactor, the Gūr Khān, having previously instigated Sulṭān Muḥammad to attack his dominions on the side of the Sīḥūn or river of Fanākat. Among others, to whom the Gūr Khān had despatched messengers with instructions for Kojlak's arrest, was Sulṭān 'Uṣmān of Samrḳand. He had asked the Gūr Khān to bestow upon him a daughter in marriage, and had been refused; and this had completely alienated 'Uṣmān from his cause He took no notice of the message, and forthwith entered into communication with Sulṭān Muḥammad, acknowledged his suzerainty, read the Khuṭbah for him, and began to coin the money in his name

The Gūr Khān, on becoming aware of this state of affairs, despatched a force of 30,000 men against 'Uṣmān, and again reduced Samrḳand, but did not deem it advisable to injure 'Uṣmān further, as he looked upon Samrḳand as the treasury of his empire, and, as Kojlak was acquiring great power, and making head in the other direction [i. e. in the E and S E ], and molesting his territories, the army was withdrawn from Samrḳand, and sent against Kojlak, who made an attempt to capture Bilāsā-ghūn, but he did not succeed, and, subsequently, was overthrown, details respecting which will be found farther on

There is considerable discrepancy with regard to these last events in connexion with the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs and the Khwārazmī Sulṭān, since it is stated by several authors, as already given in the notes on that dynasty, that the Gūr Khān's troops appeared before Samrḳand, and assaulted it several times without success, and were finally recalled to operate against Kojlak This, however, seems to refer to the defeat of the force sent by the Gūr Khān against Samrḳand a second time, after the victory over Bān ko, narrated farther on, while the former happened before the Gūr Khān's defeat by the Khwārazmīs, as soon as he heard of 'Uṣmān's disaffection, as the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr confirms

Immediately on the withdrawal of the Gūr Khān's army to attack Kojlak, Sulṭān Muḥammad, who had been waiting his opportunity, now marched to Samrḳand with an army 'Uṣmān came forth to meet him ceded his territory to him, and Turtīfah, a relative of the Sulṭān's mother, was located there, as the Sulṭān's lieutenant The Sulṭān and his troops, accompanied by

**that which fought an engagement with the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī,**

Sulṭān 'Uṣmān, and his available forces, probably, commenced his march to invade the Gūr Khān's dominions. Having crossed the Sīḥūn at Fanākat, which is also called the Jīḥūn—i. e. great river—of Fanākat, by a bridge of boats, the Khwārazmī army advanced until it reached the Ṣaḥrā—plain or steppe—of I-lāsh, in the territory of Tarāz, which is also called Ṭalās, and Ṭalāsh, situated beyond the frontier of Shāsh [now Tāshkand], on the side nearest to Turkistān

In Col Walker's map this place is called "TURKISTAN (HAZRET)," and this gives me a clue to the probable reason how it obtained this name Near it is the tomb of the Khwājah, Aḥmād, a Musalmān saint of Turkistān, and, as the word Ḥaẓrat is applied to saints as well as to capitals, such as "Ḥaẓrat-i-Dihlī," or "Ḥaẓrat Ḥusain"—this place which sprung up near it, as Ṭarāz declined, became known as the Mazār-i Ḥaẓrat-i-Turkistān—the Tomb of the Saint of Turkistān, but Mazār, having been, by some means, dropped, Ḥaẓrat-i-Turkistān, Europeanized into "Turkistan (Hazret)," has been the result. Ṭarāz, in its day, was a large place, but was ruined, like many others, by the Ūzbak inroads centuries since, as already stated

Having reached the plain of Ī-lāsh—also written Ī-lāmish—Bānīko, who held that territory as his appanage, and was the leader of the Gūr Khān's troops, and who was then at Ṭarāz awaiting them, issued forth to encounter the Khwārazmīs; and, on the 22nd—some say the 7th—of Rabī'-ul Awwal, 607 H [12th of Sept. A D 1210], a battle was fought in which the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs were completely overthrown, and Bānīko wounded and taken prisoner.

For the remainder of the events which followed see my notes to the Khwārazmī dynasty, page 262, note [1], note [4], page 900, on the Afrāsiyābī Maliks, and other details farther on

Surgeon-Major Bellew, who turns the Gūr Khān into "Gorkhan," after previously stating that "a Khan or Ruler of Afrásiyáb descent" applied to "Gorkhan of the Kará Khitáy," immediately after turns "Gorkhan" into an "*Ughúr*," and his army into "Uighúrs" as well, and makes Khwábrizm [where does the *b* come from in Khwārazm?] Sháh "defeat the Uighúr army," and capture "Atrar," in 620 H., *four years after* the Chingiz Khān captured Bukhārā, and more than *thirteen* years after the defeat of Bānīko of Ṭarāz and the army of Ḳarā Khiṭā-īs, which took place in the third month of 607 H.

"Gorkhan" is then "deposed by the *Shúncár* Tártár [I wonder what sort of animal a "Shúncár Tártár is] Koshluk," who "destroys the *Uighur empire*" A little further on [p 133] we have the same "Koshluk"—though probably unknown to the Doctor—made "*chief of the Náyman tribe of Christians*" who "*was a Budhist*"! Then we are told that "Gorkhan, now ninety-two years of age, at once took the field, recovered Atrar," &c, and then that "Koshluk"—the "Budhist Christian Náyman," and "Shúncar Tártár"—"captured Gorkhan, whom he consigned to an honourable captivity, in which he died two years later aged ninety-five"!

For an account of these events see page 260.

The Doctor, besides making "Uighúrs" of them, has skilfully turned *all* the Gūr Khāns into *one* "Gorkhan," and the period, during which the Ḳarā Khiṭā-ī dynasty continued, into the years of the life of his one "venerable Gorkhan, 95 years old"!

Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Sām; and, when the

A few lines further on the real Ī-ghūr sovereign, and successor of a long line of rulers, is turned into "another Budhist chief, Aydy Cút, Tártar," who "had risen to power at Bálásaghún"!

To the "History of Káshghar" above referred to, is appended a note, signed by Sir T. D. Forsyth, K.C.S I., C.B, which states that "no one has gone into the History of Eastern Turkistan from the earliest times with such deep and careful research as Dr. Bellew. He has spent many months in reading voluminous Persian and Turki manuscripts, &c., &c."

The History in question only came under my notice since this account was written, or I should have referred to many other errors. I merely do so now to correct a few of them, for history unless correct is worse than useless—nothing can be more pernicious, because it misleads.

I may also add that the Rauẓat-us-Ṣafā, which the writer refers to in his list of authorities, is quite correct in its statements, and agrees with other writers.

Before closing these remarks, I must say a few words on "the powerful dynasty of Kara Khitae," which is said to have "*revived* on a small scale when destroyed by *Gingis* Khan [I always imagined that Kojlak and Sulṭān Muḥammad destroyed it before the Chingiz Khān's advance westward, at least the Oriental writers say so, the "great Raschid" included]," and which Visdelu is said to have made such an incredibly ridiculous statement about [See Mr. H. H. Howorth's article in the *J. R As Soc*, before referred to], that the "*Kara Khitae should have traversed Khurasan and the wastes of Central Persia, and found their way into Kerman without a hint from the Persian historians. Nor can we conjecture a reason for such a march, nor why he* [the Gūr Khān is referred to] *should have returned again into Turkistan if it had been made*"! Here again is confusion worse confounded.

One of the Persian authors whose work, from a foreign translation, Mr. Howorth so often quotes, but whose name I will not at present mention, at the close of his account of this dynasty, adds: "The Gūr Khān, having been seized by Kojlak, in one or two years died, and, since the period of decay in the affairs, and the regression of the fortunes of that dynasty came about, that person, who was the captive of a prison [evidently referring to the brother of the third Gūr Khān], became the Amīr and Khān of that tribe or people, and the Gūr Khān of the grave of the house, home, and possessions of that race [a play upon the words *gūr*, also written *gor*, a grave, and *khān wa mān*, house, home, &c.], and his tribe became scattered and dispersed"

About the time in question, and subsequently, several persons of the race found their way into India, and some of the great nobles, mentioned in the preceding Section of this translation, were Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs In the reign of Ūktāe also, Jai-Tīmūr of the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-ī tribe or people held the government of Khwārazm, and, subsequently, Māzandarān was added to his government.

The Ḳarā-Khiṭā-īs therefore were not so utterly destroyed, but "the older and younger dynasty," as they are fancifully styled by Mr. Howorth, had no connexion whatever. Burāḳ the Ḥājib, a native of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāe territory, and a relative of the leader of the Gūr Khān's troops, taken prisoner in the great battle in which they were overthrown by the Khwārazmī Sulṭān, had became a convert to the Musalmān faith, entered the service of the Sulṭān, and rose to the rank and office of a chamberlain.

period of the sovereignty of that Sulṭān-i-G͟hāzī elapsed, and Sulṭān Muḥammad, K͟hwārazm S͟hāh, acquired sway over the territories of Turkistān, Bānīko of Ṭarāz fought a battle with him, was defeated, and taken prisoner, and, at the hand of Sulṭān Muḥammad, embraced the Muḥammadan faith.[1]

Trustworthy persons have related in this manner, that Bānīko of Ṭarāz came out victorious in forty-five battles over sovereigns of his own time, and no one [ever] defeated him [before]. On the third occasion,[2] Sulṭān Muhammad, K͟hwārazm S͟hāh, made a dash upon the equipage of the K͟hiṭā-is, and captured the whole of it; and Kas͟hlū K͟hān-

Fanākatī and Alfī say that Burāḳ and his brother, Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Ḥamīd-i-Būr, came into K͟hwārazm, with others, on the part of the Gūr K͟hān, in the reign of Sulṭān Takis͟h, to collect the tribute, and were treated so well, and liked their reception so much, that they remained there, and became Musalmāns, and rose in the Sulṭān's service

Some ten years afterwards, when the K͟hwārazmī empire had been overturned by the irruption of the Mug͟hals, and Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn was fighting against them, his brother, G͟hiyās-ud-Dīn, Āḳ Sulṭān, was in Kirmān, the subordinate sovereignty of which his father had conferred upon him, Burāḳ, the chamberlain, joined him with some Ḳarā-K͟hitā-īs, his own private followers, and some of the late Sulṭān's dispersed soldiery After G͟hiyās-ud-Dīn, Āḳ Sulṭān, had been defeated in an attempt upon Fārs in 620-621 H, Burāḳ, aggrieved on some account, left him, and set out for Hindūstān, accompanied by some other K͟hwārazmī leaders, to seek service with Sulṭān I-yal-timis͟h, by way of Kīc͟h and Mukrān On the way he was attacked near Jīraft by the governor of Gawās͟hīr, on the part of G͟hiyās-ud-Dīn, Āḳ Sulṭān, near the eastern frontier of Kirmān, but chanced to defeat his assailant, through a party of Turks having deserted the latter during the fight Burāḳ now resolved to take advantage of the distracted state of the empire, and set up for himself; and succeeded, by treachery and fraud, in gaining possession of Kirmān At length, in order to secure his own safety from the Mug͟hals, he sent the head of his master and benefactor's son to Ūktāe, son of the C͟hingiz K͟hān, who confirmed him in the government of Kirmān, subject, of course, to the Mug͟hals Burāḳ held it eleven years, and it passed to his descendants Farther details will be found at page 283, and note [9], and page 295.

Burāḳ was in no way related to the Gūr K͟hāns, and was a mere successful adventurer. How therefore can his rule over Kirmān be possibly construed into a "revival of the Kara Khitae dynasty on a small scale," without noticing the rest of the above grotesque statement as to the Gūr K͟hān's travels?

It may just as well be asserted that the dynasty of the Karā-K͟hiṭā-ī "revived on a small scale" in K͟hwārazm, at Dihlī, or at Mauṣil, for the Atā-Bak of Mauṣil was a Turk of Ḳarā-K͟hitāe, as well as Jai-Tīmūr, and Sulṭān I-yal-timis͟h.

[1] See note [8], page 261.

[2] See note [1] to page 262, para 8, page 264

i-Sanḳur, the Tattār, fought a battle with the Gūr Khān, took him prisoner, and the dominion of the Khiṭā-īs came to a termination, and passed away.

### ACCOUNT OF THE OUTBREAK OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN THE MUGHAL—ON WHOM BE GOD'S CURSE!

[The author begins here by mentioning the sayings of the Prophet, Muḥammad, with respect to the portents betokening the end of the world, that they would be observed about the year 610 H.; but, as the world has not yet terminated, I need merely refer to them with respect to the Ghūrī Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sam, whose assassination is considered by the author to be the first of those signs.]

The martyrdom of the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām—may he rest in peace!—happened in the year 602 H.; and he was the monarch who became the last of the just Sulṭāns, and the last of the conquering Bādshāhs His sovereignty was a barrier against the troubles of the end of the world, and the appearance of the portents of the judgment-day. According to the indication of these sayings [of the Prophet, Muḥammad], in the same year in which that victorious Bādshāh was martyred, the gates of sedition, war, and tumult, were opened, and, in this same year, the Chingiz Khān, the Mughal, rose up in the kingdoms of Chīn and Ṭamghāj,[3] and commenced to rebel; and in all books it is written that the first signs of the end of time are the outbreak of the Turks.

A number of trustworthy persons, on whose statements reliance may be placed, have related on this wise, that the name of the father of this Chingiz Khān, the accursed, was the Tattār, Tamur-chī, and that he was the Mihtar [Chief] of the Mughal tribes, and ruler over his People.[4]

[3] Ṭamghāj is the name of a territory of Turkistān, according to the old geographers, and Ṭamghāj Khān is the title or name of one of the Afrāsiyābī Maliks [see No. XXI], but Ṭamghāj Khān is the name generally applied to the "Bādshāhs of Tibbat and Yughmā," and Ṭamghāj and Yughmā are said to have been the names of cities giving names to countries also. Yughmā-oul is also said to be the name of a city or town of Turkistān, the same as the last-named place in all probability.

[4] Tamur, with short *a* and short *u*, in Turkī, signifies iron, and it is some-

On one occasion, whilst following the chase, a bird, the name of which is *Tughrul*, fell into his hands, and his surname [thereby] became Ṭughrul-Tigīn.[5] No one, at any time previous, has shown that that bird has fallen into the hands of a sovereign; and they held him in veneration, in consequence.

Among the tribes of Mughal was another Turk[6] of importance, a ruler and leader, and greatly venerated; and the whole of the tribes of Mughals were under the rule of these two persons. They, and all that people were subject to the family of the Altūn Khān of Ṭamghāj, and paid tribute to that dynasty; but among them [the Mughals] depravity, robbery, and adultery, greatly prevailed; and, both in their words and deeds, save lying, iniquity, robbery, and adultery, naught went on. All the tracts of [inhabited by ?] the Turk tribes, at the hand of their iniquity and sedition, were reduced to misery; and, for these reasons and acts, they [the Mughals] were wont to be treated

times written with ī for the first, and long ū for the last, vowel; chī is the abbreviation of *chīz*, and, when it occurs at the end of Turkish words, signifies a maker or agent, as *top-chī*, an artillery-man, *bash mak-chī*, a shoe-maker, &c.

Our author has fallen into some confusion here, however [or the text, which is alike in all the copies collated, is defective], and has evidently mistaken the Tāttār chief named Timur-chī, after whom Yassūkā named his son to commemorate his victory over him, for Yassūkā himself. Here Tamur-chī means iron-like, not that he was "a black-smith."

[5] This is the Āwang Khān of after years. Tughrul, with short *u* in the last syllable, is described as a bird used in field sports, one of the falcon tribe, a jerfalcon probably, and the above title is equivalent to the Hero [taker] of the Tughrul. Another name applied to men is written Ṭughril.

[6] Writers on "Mongols" may be astonished to find our author saying that there was among the Mughals another Turk, &c. He is literally correct, and means a Turk of the Mughal Ī-māḳ. This chief is called Barsu farther on.

Our author, like all other Oriental authors, very properly calls the Mughals and Tāttārs by the common name of Turks, according to their descent as already recorded.

It may be well to remember here, that our author is one of the *two* first Musalmān writers who wrote about the outbreak of the Mughals and the Chingiz Khān at the time it occurred, and completed his history just after Hulākū, his grandson, had captured Baghdād and entered Asia Minor. He had considerable advantages over Ibn-Athīr in many ways. He was nearer the scenes he narrates, knew many persons who were personally acquainted with the Chingiz Khān and his sons, and actors in the events he records; knew personally, and dwelt among, several Turk, Tāttār, and Khitā-ī nobles at Dihlī, and in Ghaznīn and Ghūr, who knew how they spelt their own names and others of their people, and the names of cities and countries, and had no cause whatever to praise or make out Mughals to be greater than they were.

with great contempt by the Court of the Altūn K͟hān, and much money and a great number of horses used to be demanded of them [as tribute].

When the father of the C͟hingiz K͟hān went to hell, and the chieftainship devolved on the C͟hingiz K͟hān, he began to act contumaciously and disobediently, and broke out into rebellion. An army from the forces of the Altūn K͟hān was nominated to lay waste and exterminate the Mug͟hal tribes; and the greater number of them were put to the sword, in such wise, that but a few of them remained.

The remnant of them that escaped the sword gathered together and left their own territory, and proceeded towards the north of Turkistān, and sought shelter in a situation so strong that, from any direction, it had no road leading into it with the exception of a single Pass. The whole of that tract was girt about with massive mountains, and that place and pasture-land they call Kalur-ān.[7] They also say that in the midst of those pastures there is a spring of considerable size, the name of which is Balīḳ-C͟hāḳ;[8] and, in these pastures, they took up their abode, and dwelt there for a long period.[9]

In the course of time, their offspring and progeny multiplied greatly: and among that body a great number of men reached manhood. They all assembled and took counsel together, saying: "What was the cause of our downfall and of our being plundered and ravaged, and from whence arose our being made captive and being slain?" All made admission [saying]: "These calamities and misfortunes have arisen through our great misconduct; and it is necessary that we abstain from thus acting, in order that Almighty God may grant us assistance, and that we may take our revenge upon the forces of the Altūn K͟hān.[1]

[7] Also, in two of the oldest copies, Kalūr-ān

[8] بلیق چاق—In a few copies written Jāḳ, but it is only the fault of the copyists in writing ج for چ. A few copies, including the Printed Text, have ابلیق—Abalīḳ but the ا appears redundant. In the Turkī language C͟hāḳ is said to mean rapid, fast, violent, sharp, &c., and Balīḳ or Balīg͟h and Balāḳ mean a spring.

[9] The flight of Ḳaiān and Nagūz into Irgānah Ḳūn, is here, evidently meant.

[1] It will be easily perceived, from my account of the descent of the Turks and the *i-māks* of Tāttār and Mug͟hal, that our author has lost himself here, and mixes up the overthrow and destruction of the Mug͟hal *i-māk* by the Tāttārs

Certainly, to carry out this intention, a firm ruler is neces-

and Ī-ghūr Turks, and the escape of the two fugitives into the fastnesses of Irgānah-Ḳūn, with the affairs of the Chingiz Khān at the time when he assumed sovereignty, and the title just mentioned was assigned to him. I will therefore now give a brief account of Tamur-chī from the death of his father up to this period, in order to make our author's account intelligible.

I brought my account of the Mughal *ī-māk* to a close with the death of the Bahādur Yassūkā, in 562 H [A D 1166-67], who usually resided at a place styled Dīlūn-Yildūk, at which period the different tribes composing the *-māks* of Tāttār and Mughal were ruled by no less a number than seventy-one different chiefs, independent of each other Every two or three families had separate localities, and feuds and conflicts went on continually among them.

Tamur-chī, or Tamur-chīn—the *n* being nasal—was thirteen years old at the time of his father's death, having been born on the 20th of Zī-Ḳa'dah, 549 H. [27th January, old style, A.D 1154], about which some recent writers appear to be in great doubt [neither the Persian "Raschid" nor any other of the "Persians" says he was born in 1155] and uncertainty, and his brothers were still younger. About the same time, the hereditary lieutenant or deputy, Sūghū-Jījan, whose care and counsel would have been so useful to young Tamur-chī, also died, and Sūghū-Jījan's son, the Nū-yān, Ḳarāchār—the great ancestor of Amīr Tīmūr—was young and inexperienced. This is the "tutor" appointed for him according to Des Guignes!

Of the 40,000 families of the Nairūn sept of the Mughals over whom his father ruled, and his own kinsmen and dependents, numbers now began to desert him and go over to the Tānjīūts, until not more than a third remained under his chieftainship

He endured many hardships and dangers until he reached the age of thirty, when fortune began again to smile upon him for a time, when, in 579 H [A D. 1183], the Nairūns began to return to their allegiance, and Tamur-chī succeeded in bringing some other Mughal tribes under his sway In 584 H. [A.D. 1187-88] he became a captive in the hands of Tūrḳūtāe or Tūrghūtāe Ḳarīltūḳ, the Bādshāh as he is styled, [great grandson of Hamanḳā, see note, page 895] of the Tānjīūt Mughals, who was descended, in the fifth degree, from Ḳaidū Khān, the fourth chief of the Bū-zanjar dynasty, which see, and to whom the other Nairūns attached themselves when they deserted Tamur-chī, and against a confederacy headed by whom the latter was struggling.

It was not customary in those days among the tribes of Turkish descent to put captives at once to death, and so Tamur-chī had a *do-shākhah* [a sort of portable pillory, described as a block of wood with two horns, hence the term. It may, in those days, have been formed out of two pieces of crooked wood, but what was used in after-years, and continues to be used still, consists of two flat boards with a hollow for the neck, a drawing of which may be seen in Astley's and other Collections] fastened round his neck, and thus was he detained in captivity. The Fanākatī, Abū-Sulīmān-i-Dā'ūd, who finished his History, and dedicated it to the ninth of the Mughal sovereigns of Īrān [what would he have said had he been styled a "Mongol"?], 287 years before the "saga-loving" writer who has been much quoted lately, Ssanang Setzen, was born, gives the following particulars of Tamur-chī's escape, which several other historians also relate

Finding an opportunity, Tamur-chī made his escape from the Tānjīūts, taking his *do-shākhah* along with him, and concealed himself in a lake in the

sary, and a severe Amīr is required, to restrain the trans-

neighbourhood of their camp, in such wise, that, of his person, nothing save his nose could be seen. A party of Tānjīūts was sent in search of him, and among them there chanced to be a Sūldūs [also written Suldūz], named Sūrghān or Surghān Shīrah, the tents of whose family happened to be pitched near that part, when, suddenly, his eye fell upon the fugitive's nose. He made a sign to him secretly—but how Tamur-chī managed to see, and notice this sign, with his head under water, the chronicler sayeth not—that he should conceal his head still more—but this must have been as difficult to do as to see, considering that only his nose was out of the water. He then said to the party, "Do you make search in some other directions: I will take care of this part myself," and thus he managed to disperse them. As soon as night set in, Sūrghān Shīrah took Tamur-chī out of the water, removed the *do-shākhah* from round his neck, and brought him to his tent, and concealed him in a cart, under a load of *pashm*—the fine wool or hair with which goats and several other animals are provided by nature in the cold regions of Central Asia; but, as the party had discovered some trace of Tamur-chī thereabout, and as Sūrghān Shīrah's dwelling was near by, they began to suspect that Tamur-chī must be hidden somewhere by him. They accordingly made search, and even tried the load of *pashm* by piercing it with spits in various directions, and wounded him slightly in several places, but did not discover him. After they had departed, disappointed in their search, Sūrghān Shīrah mounted Tamur-chī on his own bay mare with a black mane, supplied him with a little flesh, a roasting-spit, a bow and arrows, and everything required for a journey, but some say he did not give him any tinder-box or means of obtaining fire. The mother of Tamur-chī, and his wives, had given him up for dead, when he arrived in his *yūrat* on the bay mare with the black mane, from which time the Mughals held such an animal in great veneration. His son, Tūlī, was a child at the time, and, for some days before, had been continually saying that his father was coming mounted on a certain coloured mare. This event happened in 587 H. [A.D. 1191]. The descendants of this Sūrghān Shīrah subsequently rose to high rank in the service of the Chingiz Khān and his sons, and, from him, the famous Amīr Chaupān was descended.

Tamur-chī had fought with the Jūrī-āts, also styled Jājar-āts, a sept of the Nairūns, the tribe of Jāmūḳah, the Sājān, or the double-tongued [Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur, styles him Jajan and Jachan, which, he says, signifies possessed of sagacity], and other Mughal tribes—the Tānjīūts, Ḳunghur-āts or Ḳungḳur-āts, as it is also written, Jalāīrs, and Dūrmāns ["Durbens" and "Durbans" are out of the question], and the Bīgī, Sūjī, and the tribe of Barlās, of the progeny of Īndam-chī, were in alliance with his enemies, but Ḳarāchār, head of the Barlās, remained faithful to him.

In the year 589 H. [A.D. 1193], when in the fortieth year of his age, finding his enemies had entered into a confederacy to annihilate him, and that they were too numerous and too powerful to cope with, Tamur-chī determined on taking refuge with the Āwang Khān, Ṭughrul-Tigīn, and throwing himself on his protection, considering the friendship which had previously existed between his father, Yassūkā, and that sovereign, and Ḳarāchār accompanied him.

This is contrary to the statement contained in a recent work on the "*Mongols Proper*," the authority for which appears to be Wolff or Erdmann, and, considering what follows, on undoubted authority, must be diametrically opposed to the fact.

gressors, and the violence of the seditious, to retaliate on

The Āwang Khān was the ruler of the Karāyat tribes, a sept of the Durālgīn Mughals, and one of the most considerable of the Turkish nation, and he was a monarch [Bādshāh] of great dignity and magnificence, and was in alliance with the Āltān Khān, the sovereign of Khitāe. It was this personage who, before he was styled by the title of "the Āwang Khān," bore the name of Ṭughrul-Tigīn, from his having captured one of those rare birds called a Ṭughrul. Tamur-chī was well received by the Karāyat ruler, and his affairs began to prosper. The Khān was wont to consult him on the affairs of his state; and, at length, Tamur-chī rose so high in the monarch's esteem, that he styled him son, and assigned him a position of great dignity.

Surgeon-Major Bellew, in his Kāshghar Mission History, previously referred to, quoting some other writer, informs us that "This Aong Khan or Unc Cham [!], the Chief of the Karait of Karákoram, is the Tuli [!] of the Chinese writers, and the Toghrul of the Persian. He got the title Unc [uncle perhaps], or Aong, or Wáng, as it appears in different authors [!], and which is equivalent to Khán = "Chief," "Lord," from *Kīn* [!], *the sovereign* of North China." This is History truly!

For a period of eight years Tamur-chī remained with the Āwang Khān, during which time he did good service for him, and gained him several victories. Among these was his victory over Irkah Ḳarā, or Īrkah Ḳarā [also called Ūkah-Ḳarā], the brother of the Awang Khān, who was in rebellion, and resisted his brother's authority, and Yorkīn [it is written by Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur, Portakīn, Bortakīn, and Bortīkīn], and the Bīgī, Tūḳtā, the Peshwā, or leader of the Makrīt tribe [also written Markīt, but the first appears to be preferred] of the Ḳaiāt sept, descended from Ḳaiān; but some call them Nairūns. After these events, the tribes of Tānjīūt, Sāljīūt, Ḳunghur-āt, Dūrmān, Jājar-āt, Jalāīr, Ūir-āt, also written Īūr-āt, Yorkīn, and Ḳatghīn, or Ḳatḳīn, and Tamur-chī's former opponents, the Makrīts, and some of the Tāttār *I-māḳ*, entered into a confederacy against the Āwang Khān and Tamur-chī. They came to a compact, and took oath according to the most stringent tenets of their religion, by sacrificing a horse, a bullock, a ram, and a dog, to be faithful to each other, and, among them, there is no other engagement more solemn. This was in 596 H.

On becoming aware of this, the Āwang Khān and Tamur-chī got ready their forces, and, at a place near the Biyūr Nāwār—the Lake of Biyūr—the hostile forces came to an engagement, and the Āwang Khān and Tamur-chī completely overthrew the confederates, and brought their necks within the yoke of subjection. Ḥāfiẓ Abrū states, however, that Tamur-chī fought a battle with the Bīgī, Tūḳtā, the chief of the Makrīts, in 593 H., at a place near the Ḳarās Murān [i. e. river] before Kalūr-ān, and near the river Sālingāh; another, in concert with the Āwang Khān, in 594 H., at Tūkū Kahrah, and, again, in 596 H., after the Bīgī, Tūḳtā, had escaped from the bonds of the Āwang Khān, which is the battle near the lake Biyūr already mentioned above. Several other affairs in 597 and 598 H. are mentioned by the same author, which are too long for insertion here, but I may mention that Jāmūḳah—who had been set up as Bādshāh by several of the tribes, such as Angīrās and Ḳūrlās, Ḳunghur-āt, Dūrmān, Ḳatghīn, Sāljīūt, and some Tāttār tribes, with the title of Gūr Khān—was overthrown at Sadī-Ḳurgān in the former year, and the Ḳunghur-āts submitted to his authority.

After this, Būe-Rūḳ, brother of the Tayānak Khān, ruler of the Nāemān

our enemies, and render the wreaking of vengeance upon

tribe, in concert with the Bâdshâh of the Makrîts, the Bîgî Tûktâ, being hostile to the Âwang Khân and Tamur-chî, assembled a large army against them, and the hostile forces having met at a place named Ḳazil-Tâsh, in 595 H., but in 598 H. according to the Târîkh-i-Alfî, Bûe-Rûḳ directed a Jîjan, or Sorcerer, to have recourse to his art, which they term *yadah* and *bâe*, which he effected by means of the *sang-i-yadah*, the jade or rain-stone, mentioned in the account of the descent of the Turks, which, on being thrown into water, forthwith brought on snow, mist, and wind; but these magical acts recoiled upon his own army, which was nearly destroyed by the cold. The few followers who remained with him were overthrown, a number were slain, and the remnant sought safety in flight. A curious anecdote respecting the Turks and their magical acts in this respect is related by Amîr Ismâ'îl, son of Aḥmad, the third Sâmânî monarch, but I have not space for it here.

After Tamur-chî had passed eight years in the service of the Âwang Khân in various offices and duties, and had, through his intercourse and intimacy with him, acquired his confidence and esteem, and had been styled son by the monarch, the chiefs and kinsmen of the Âwang Khân became envious of Tamur-chî, and plotted together to bring about his downfall. Jâmûḳah, the Bâshlîgh of the Jâjar-âts, bore him great enmity of old, and he maligned Tamur-chî to Sangûn, the son of the Awang Khân, and convinced him that Tamur-chî sought to supplant him in his father's favour, and in the succession to his kingdom Guzîdah, the Ḥabîb-us-Siyar, Târîkh-i-Ḥâfiẓ Abrû, and some other works, however, state that the wrath of the Âwang Khân was raised against him through his asking of him a brother's daughter in marriage for his son Jûjî, but some say it was on account of Tamur-chî not giving his own daughter, Ḳûchîn Bîgî, to the Âwang Khân's son, Sangûn, that the negotiation broke down, and hostility arose Jûjî did subsequently marry the damsel, and Tûlî married another sister, and Tamur-chî, their father, married a third Endeavours were now made to instigate the Âwang Khân against Tamur-chî, but without effect at first. By repeated importunity on the part of the son, for even the dropping water at last wears the rock away, the conspirators succeeded in alienating the old ruler's regard for Tamur-chî and he entered into the design to seize him These events are said to have taken place in 599 H One of the Âwang Khân's chiefs, Jâdân, by name, who could keep nothing from his wife, was mentioning the design to her, in his *khargâh*, or felt tent, only the day before it was intended to carry it into execution, when two boys, named Bâtâe, or Bâdâe, and Ḳashlîḳ, came into the camp with the milk from the flocks, and, by chance, sat down near the tent, and heard the conversation. They at once made known his danger to Tamur-chî He consulted with his kinsman, the Nû-yân, Ḳarâchâr; and it was determined, as soon as night set in, to make for the skirt of the mountain (range) of Ḳalâchîn with their followers and dependents, and to leave their tents standing; and this they did, after having first despatched the women and children to a place of safety, called Bâljûnah Bulâḳ. That same night the Âwang Khân came to the tents with some of his forces, and, seeing the fires lighted as usual, ordered volleys of arrows to be poured into them, and then, finding all was silent within, entered the tents, but found them empty He then determined to set out in pursuit of Tamur-chî; but how the Âwang Khân knew whither he had fled is not stated · the Karâyats probably tracked him. The Âwang Khân succeeded in coming up with him during the next day, when halted for rest, and a picket,

the Altūn Khān attainable." As the Chingiz Khān had

posted for the purpose, gave Tamur-chī timely warning of their drawing near the mountain (range) of Mū-āwand or Mū-āwandur, at a spot called Holānī Nūḳāt, that is, the place where red canes or reeds grow. Nothwithstanding the disparity of numbers, being sheltered by the hill skirt, he resolved to make a stand; and at last succeeded in beating off his pursuers. A great number of Karāyats were slain and disabled, and Sangūn—who is styled Shangūn by some, but the three dots over the—س—seem over zeal on the part of the copyists—was wounded in the face by an arrow discharged at his father, whose person he shielded with his own.

This is the place where Mr. H H Howorth, in his "*Mongols Proper*" page 59, on the authority of some foreign translation says: "He now *collected an army and marched against* the Keraits His army was very inferior in numbers, but attacked the enemy with ardour," &c. His "flight from the Āwang Khān" is not alluded to in the least, and he must have been exceedingly clever to collect an army, but, at page 552 of the same book, the story is told from another translation in a totally different manner

Tamur-chī thought it advisable however to withdraw quietly during the night towards the source of the Bāljūnah—some say, the Lake Bāljiūnah—Bāljūnah Nāwar—and others, Bāljūnah Būlāḳ, Būlāgh, or Baliḳ, signifying a spring in Turkish, whither the women and children had been previously despatched. This lake was salt, and contained but little water, scarcely sufficient for his people to drink If we consider that Ḳarā-Ḳuram was the chief encampment or dwelling-place of the Āwang Khān, the retreat of Tamur-chī towards this lake of Bāljūnah, in which there was scarcely enough muddy water to quench the thirst of man and beast, and his subsequent movements, are sufficiently clear. The people of those parts, of his own Nairūn tribes, who had remained faithful, and had become dispersed when he took shelter with the Āwang Khān, were dwelling in the tracts adjacent to Bāljūnah Būlāgh, under his uncle Ū-tigīn, also called Ūuchkīn, and, when he reached them, on this occasion, they began to gather around him, as well as many others from the Āwang Khān's territory. At this time, at the suggestion of the Nū-yān, Ḳarāchār, Tamur-chī had a register made of the names of all those who had accompanied him in his flight from the presence of the Āwang Khān, and assigned certain ranks and offices to each of them. The two youths, Bātāe or Bādāe, and Ḳashliḳ, who had warned him of his danger, were made Tarkhāns He was not "abandoned by most of his troops," nor did he "fly to the *desert* of Baldjuna," as Mr Howorth states (p. 59), nor was he "a hopeless fugitive at Baljuna," as the same writer states in another place (p 553)

The meaning of Tarkhān is thus explained · "The person so called is secure and safe from all trouble and annoyance, in every place in which he serves, whatever booty he may take is his own, and he is not deprived of it; he can enter the place of audience of his sovereign without being summoned, and without first asking permission; and he can commit or be guilty of nine offences—nine is a number, as I have already noticed, held in great veneration by the Mughals —without being questioned, and Tamur-chī decreed that, for nine generations, the offspring of these Tarkhāns should be exempt from all burdens and imposts."

In the "General Description of Káshghar," contained in the "REPORT" of the Yarkand Mission, previously referred to, we are told [p 100], as to the "*Ancient punishments before the 10th century* (*Moghul*)," that, "Under the Moghuls, *a noble* was entitled to forgiveness nine times, but for the tenth was

become noted and famous among that fraternity for imprisoned," &c., &c. Something respecting the privileges of the Tarkhāns had apparently been mentioned to the writer, who straightway turned *all* the Mughal nobles into Tarkhāns! In another place we are informed that "the descendants of these Tarkháns were still met with in Khurásán in the *fifteenth century*," which is quite correct. They are also met with in several other centuries, and in this *nineteenth* century in many other parts besides Khurāsān.

The descendants of the two persons above referred to were the progenitors of two tribes, styled respectively Bādāe Tarkhāns, and Kashlīk Tarkhāns. The Tarkhāns of the Dasht-i-Kibchāk and Khwārazm are the descendants of Bādāe, while those of Turkistān are the descendants of Kishlīk. Several great Amīrs arose from these tribes, among whom was the Tarkhān, Hājī, who was the founder of a city on the Ātil, to which he gave his name. It was known as Hājī Tarkhān, which, in after-years, was styled Hashtar Khān, but which European writers have "twisted" into Astrakhan, and not Orientals, as the author of the "*Mongols Proper*" imagines.

In the battle with the Āwang Khān, among other booty captured, was the *khargāh* of that sovereign, which was of cloth of gold. This Tamur-chī bestowed, with other things, upon Bādāe and Kashlīk, and, in after-times, the distinguishing mark of a Tarkhān was a piece of the golden cloth tent of the Āwang Khān, which they used to wear hanging from their turbans.

Tamur-chī now marched from the head of the Bāljūnah, and pitched his tents at a pleasant place on the bank of a river named the Ūr or Aor Mūrān [Ūn Mūrān ?], at the foot of a mountain range on the frontier of Kalangāe Kadā, or Kad, which is the boundary of Khitāe on that side, and there he mustered his followers, and they amounted to 4600 men. Leaving that spot after a time, he moved onwards, and reached a place where was a piece of water— the river Kalār [کلار—Kailar of our maps] Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur, calls it the Kūlā Sūe or River Kūlā—and, there being plenty of grass thereabout, he determined to make some stay On the way thither, with his forces divided into two bodies, one with the women and followers, and moving on either bank, he fell in with an Amīr, Turk-Īlī, by name, who had a considerable following, and, on inquiry being made of him as to who he was, and his intentions and objects, he turned out to be a Angīrās, a Kunghur-āt Mughal, with a considerable body of that tribe, and he agreed to submit to Tamur-chī, and was treated with great distinction Whilst encamped at this spot, Tamur-chī was joined by other smaller bodies of his other tribes, until, at length, his force grew formidable. Having marched from thence, Tamur-chī despatched from the banks of the river Kūrkān [کورکان—some say from the Kālā Nāwar, Abū-l-Ghāzī says the Kolghā Nāwar] an emissary named Urkāe, or Ūrākāe Chūn, the Bahādur, to the Āwang Khān's presence soliciting an accommodation, and several times emissaries passed to and fro between them, but terms of peace did not result therefrom; and his brother, Jūjī Kasār, who had been taken prisoner, and carried away with his family to the Āwang Khān's presence, now joined him, having made his escape. On the last occasion, Tamur-chī despatched an agent of his own along with the Āwang Khān's envoy, to throw him off his guard, apparently, since he followed himself with all his forces, made raids upon that monarch's territory, reduced flourishing spots to desolation, slew great numbers of his people, and made others captive. After some time, wherein the Āwang Khān's people had suffered such misery, a battle ensued between Tamur-chī and his forces, and the Karāyats—who were vastly superior in numbers—towards

manhood, vigour, valour, and intrepidity, all concurred in

the close of which Ḳarāchār encountered the Āwang Khān, struck his horse with an arrow, and brought it head foremost to the ground. The Āwang Khān then succeeded in mounting another horse, and took to flight along with his son, Sangūn, leaving his wives and daughters captives in the hands of the victor; and such of the Karāyat tribe as saved their lives did so by submitting to Tamur-chī's yoke. The Āwang Khān had fled towards the territory of the Nāemān tribe to seek shelter with their ruler, Tūbukū or Taibukū, the Tayānak Khān, but, when he reached the Tayānak Khān's country, some of the latter's chiefs, without communicating with their sovereign, and on account of an old feud, put the Āwang Khān to death. Sangūn however managed to escape out of their clutches, and succeeded in reaching the territory of Ḳirḳiz and Tibbat, and from thence got to Kāshghar—another writer states that he proceeded towards Khutan and Kāshghar, thus indicating the whereabouts of Ḳirḳiz—but he was subsequently put to a cruel death, in the Kāshghar territory, by the chief of a branch of the Khalj tribe, of Ḳulīj Ḳarā, called Ḳarā Mā, who sent his family captives to Tamur-chī. The brother of the Āwang Khān, whose three daughters were wives to Tamur-chī and his sons Jūjī and Tūlī, escaped into Tingḳūt. Of this person more anon.

As the whole of the Karāyat tribe, and the forces of the Āwang Khān, had submitted to him, the mind of Tamur-chī being now at rest from anxiety, he resolved on taking some recreation after his fatigues. He accordingly passed some time pleasantly in the part, near which the battle took place, in pleasure, and in enjoying the diversion of the chase, after which he set out for his native *yūrat*, or encampment These events happened in the year 599 H. [A.D. 1202-3], when Tamur-chī was 49 years old, but some say he was 50.

After having gained this important victory, and as the greater number of other tribes of the Mughal *ī-māk* had bent the neck of subjection to him, Tamur-chī assumed the seat of Khān-ship, at the camp or station named Samān-Kaharah, which is also written Samān-Karah [Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur, has Namān Karah] which probably was near Dīlūn-Yūldūḳ, in Ramaẓān of that same year, and the sovereignty exercised by the Āwang Khān passed to Ṭamur-chī; but, as soon as the Tayānak Khān, also written Tayān, and Ṭayānak, son of Balikto Īnānaj, sovereign of the Nāemāns [a Turkish tribe, but its direct descent is not certain], became aware of his predominance, he set about organizing an army against him, and the tribes of Dūrmān, Ḳatghīn, Makrīt, and Sāljīūt, the Bādshāh of the Ūīr-āt, Alīn Tāishī, and some other Bāshlīghs of the Karāyat, the Jājar-āt of Jāmūḳah, the Sājān, and some of the Tāttār tribes, it is said, entered into a confederacy with the Tayānak Khān for the purpose of making war upon Tamur-chī

The Tayānak Khān also despatched an agent to Ūlā-Ḳūsh-Tigīn, the Bādshāh of the Ungḳūts, a Turkish tribe who had charge of the Great Wall [According to the ideas of Mr H. H. Howorth, set forth in his "*Mongols Proper*," page 21, "Tigin *seems to be a form* of the Turkish Tikin," and, at page 26, he says, "Tikin *is a title borne* by chiefs of Turkish tribes!" He fails to see that "Tikin" is only correct in the sight of those who do not know *k* from *g* in the original That it is a Turkish title there is not the least doubt, and hence it is borne by Turks and Tāttārs], asking him to join the confederacy, and aid in putting down the new claimant to sovereignty, which could be easily effected, if he joined him, as two kings in one country could not exist, nor two swords in one scabbard, and not to refuse his alliance, as he would

naming him for the chieftainship [saying]:—"For, save

remedy matters with the sword himself, even if he should reject his offers. Ūlā-Kūsh-Tigīn, also written Alākūsh, Tigīn Kūrīn, however, was a sagacious man, and an experienced one. He consequently despatched one of his Amīrs named Nūrīdāsh, but, in one work, he is styled Burāndāsh, and Kurāīdāsh, in Alfī, which is probably the most correct, to Tamur-chī, and made him acquainted with the message he had received, and assembled his Ungkūts for the purpose of joining Tamur-chī, as he was much annoyed at the Tayānak Khān's message. Tamur-chī held counsel with his sons and Amīrs, and one of the Nū-yīns, some say it was Karāchār, but others, that it was Tamur-chī's paternal uncle, Dāritāe Ūnchūkī, the Ūlkūnūt Kunghur-āt, advised that if Tamur-chī took the initiative and attacked the Nāemāns he would be successful. That advice was approved of; and, in the middle of Jamādi-uṣ-Sānī, 600 H., [in March, A.D. 1204], he commenced his march, and set out to attack the Tayānak Khān.

He moved onwards until he reached the verdant tract of Kalangāe, previously mentioned, but, on this occasion, no fight took place. Subsequently, in the same year, Tamur-chī again set out to seek the Nāemān Bādshāh, despatching a force in advance, under the Nū-yīns, Kūīldār Sājān, chief of the Mangkūt Nairūns, and Jabah. He then reached the banks of the river Altāe—التاي—[now Siba ?] in the territory of Kangaktāe—تنكقتاي—Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur, calls it Altāe Sonīng—التاي سويلك—in the neighbourhood of which was the Tayānak Khān, who had been joined by the Bīgī Tūktā, chief of the Markīts, and one of the chiefs of the late Āwang Khān, the Karāyat. At this juncture a stray horse from Tamur-chī's camp, with its saddle turned under its belly, entered the camp of the Tayānak Khān, who, when he beheld it, it being very lean, held counsel with his Amīrs, saying: "The horses of the Mughals are miserably lean while ours are fat and in fine condition It is advisable that we should fall back so that the enemy may be induced to follow us, whereby their horses will get into a worse plight still. Then we will make a stand and engage them" Most of the chiefs approved of this counsel, but the Tayānak Khān had an Amīr, Kūrī Subājū, by name, who, from childhood, had grown up with him; and he said to him on this occasion: "Thy father, Balikto Īnānaj, was not at rest a day without battle, and never showed his back nor the crupper of his horse to a foe. Thy heart is enthralled with thy Khātūn, Kūr-bāsū, and from thee the perfume of manhood emanateth not" Stung to the quick at these taunts, the Tayānak Khān, filled with rage, "grew hungry for the fight, like a roaring lion for his prey" When the two armies came near each other, and drew out their lines, Tamur-chī entrusted the centre to his son Jūjī [some say Jūjī commanded the left wing, and Tamur-chī's brother, Jūjī Kasār, the centre], and the two armies, having sounded their cows' horns and kettle-drums, engaged in battle, and Jāmūkah, the Jājar-āt, with his followers, having deserted the Tayānak Khān before the battle began, marched away to his own *yūrat* In the obstinate struggle which ensued, and which continued until evening closed in, the Tayānak Khān was wounded, and his body was so weakened from the effect of his wound as to be almost without a soul; and with a few Amīrs he retreated towards the top of a hill. His Amīrs complained of this, and urged upon him the necessity, for his own sake, of returning to the field, and renewing the conflict, but he was now too badly wounded to be affected with their taunts and entreaties. Then Kūrī Subājū said to the other chiefs: "Since the Bādshāh dies thus deplorably in

The Chingiz Khān bound the whole of the people of the

favour and kindness, but those which manifested contumacy, and refused to submit, he brought under the sword, both chiefs and tribes, so that, in this manner, he succeeded in bringing most of the Mughal tribes under his sway. Those among them who were with him in his first encounter with the Āwang Khān, whom he cherished, and to whom he had assigned certain ranks and degrees, and given certain exemptions, as previously narrated, he now directed should be formed into *Tomāns*—ten thousands—*Hazārahs* [there never was, nor is there, a "famous tribe" so named]—Thousands—*Ṣadahs*—Hundreds—and *Dahahs* or *Dahchahs*—Tens: these words it must be remembered, are not the Mughal terms, but the Persian translation of Ūn Ming, Ming, Yūz, and Ūn respectively; and these degrees have continued to be observed among them down to modern times.

In the month of Rajab [the seventh] 602 H., corresponding to the Mughal year of the Leopard—but the Mughal, Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, says, the year of the Hog—and to the month of February, 1206 A.D., when Tamur-chī was, it is said, by several historians, in the 49th year of his age, but he was really just 52 years and 7 months old, dating from the day of his birth, he commanded that a *kurīltāe*, or general assembly, of all the Mughal tribes in subjection to him should meet at a certain place, the name of which is not recorded. It was very probably Samān or Samān Kaharah, where he, three years before, assumed the Khān-ship, and this may have been the cause why so many authors confuse these two different events, and make one of them. There, accordingly, his sons, all his Nū-yīns and Āmīrs, from the parts around, of the Tomāns, Hazārahs, Ṣadahs, and Dahahs, assembled together, and a great feast was made. He then set up a white Tūḳ or Tūgh—standard—consisting of nine degrees, or tails, indicated by as many tails of the ghajz gaū, or *bos grunniens*, mentioned at page 68, and he was seated on a high throne with a diadem on his head. Some authors, including the Fanākatī and the author of the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr, with slight variation, state, that the causer of his setting up this standard was a Mughal, held in veneration by the people, clothed in the guise of a recluse, who used to pass his time in devotion, and whom, from exposure to the elements in a state of nudity, in his wanderings, neither heat nor cold affected. He pretended to the knowledge of the secrets of futurity, and asserted that he was sometimes taken up into heaven, and the simple-minded Mughals believed him. On this account he was styled by them Tab or Tub Tingrī—تب تنگری. The first word has been altered into or mistaken for *But* —بت—and translated by several European writers, but not by the original authors, "The *Image* of God." Tingrī certainly is the Turkish for God, but "*but*," signifying an idol, object of adoration, or image, is a purely Īrānī, not a Turkī word, and it would be strange indeed if purely Īrānī words, in combination with Turkī, were in common use among Turks, Tāttārs, and Mughals, at the period in question. For these reasons I think we are not at all certain of the true meaning of Tab or Tub [This, very probably, is the proper name of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, the Khiṭā-ī, the XVI. of the Dihlī Maliks, mentioned at page 757, whose name is written in precisely the same doubtful way, and without vowel points.] Tingrī, though, I should suppose, the Devotee of, or Devoted to, or Chosen of God, or something similar, is much more likely to be the correct signification.

His correct name was Kūkjū,—کوکجو—or Kūkchū [turned into "Gueukdja" and "Gukju" in the "*Mongols Proper*"] though some write it Kūkchah.

tribes by pledges and oaths to obey him in all things, and

Kūkjah, and Kūkzū, and he was the son of Minglīk Īchakah, the Ḳunakḳumār—قنقمار—also written Ḳūnaḳumār—قونقمار—who married Tamur-chī's mother. He stepped forward and said: "Last night a person of a red colour, seated on a grey horse, appeared unto me, and said: 'Go thou to the son of Yassukā and say: 'After this they shall not style thee Tamur-chī any more; for, in future, thy title shall be "the Chingiz Khān;"' and likewise say thou to the Chingiz Khān, 'Almighty God hath bestowed upon thee and thy posterity, the greater part of the universe.'" All present repeated it, and with acclamation hailed Tamur-chī by that title, because its meaning, in the Tūrī language, signifies in the Īrānī, Shāh-an-Shāh, King of Kings, or Emperor. The signification, however, is somewhat differently interpreted by authors into *the* Great King or Emperor, Khān-i-Khānān or *the* Chief of Khāns, and the like. From that time this was his title. Knowing how cunning Tamur-chī was, several writers have stated that the appearance of Kūkjū or Kūkchū upon the scene was preconcerted between him and Tamur-chī It will be noticed from the foregoing that his *proper* title is THE CHINGIZ KHĀN, as in the case of the Great King, the Great Napoleon, etc., and not simply "Chingiz." Another writer well informed as to the Turks, Tāttārs, and Mughals, says that Ching—چنگ—signifies in the Mughalī dialect, firm, confirmed, established, and the like, the plural form of which is Chingiz—چنگیز. The impostor was so puffed up with his own importance, after the success of his pretended revelation, that he began to entertain ambitious views for himself, until, one day, he entered into an angry dispute with Tamur-chī's brother, Jūjī Ḳasār, when he took him by the throat and dashed him to the ground with such violence that Kūkjū never rose again.

After this *kurīltāe*, those who were in the secret of this pretended revelation began to spread the report all over the countries round, and among the peoples who had submitted to him, so that they began to believe that the Almighty had really given the world to the Chingiz Khān, and future war and conquest were chiefly considered.

The first victim of these pretended predictions was Būe-Rūḳ, brother of the Tayānak Khān, to whom Koshlūk, the latter's son, and the Makrīt chief, the Bīgī, Tūḳtā, had fled for shelter. Būe-Rūḳ, after he had made such preparations as he was able for resistance, aided by the Makrīts, was surprised by a body of Mughals whilst engaged in the chase, in the neighbourhood of Awāj Ṯāḳ or Ṯāgh [Ḥabīb-us-Siyar has Ulūgh Ṯāgh] at a place called Sūjā—Sūjā river?—like the quarry in the net of the fowler, and carried off to the camp of the Chingiz Khān, and was forthwith put to death Some say he was killed in the *shikār-gāh*, or hunting-ground Rashīd-ud-Dīn says he was surprised "after making a slight resistance," which is rather improbable His tribe on this dispersed, and Koshlūk, and the Bīgī, Tūḳtā, after directing their followers to disperse and rejoin them, with as many others as possible, at a certain rendezvous in Ardīsh, fled also to a place on the frontier of the Nāemān country.

The ruler of Tingḳūt, Shīdarḳū, also called Shīdāsḳū, now began to manifest hostility again, upon which the Chingiz Khān, being then near to that country, determined to invade it. He entered it with a portion of his immense forces in 603 H [A D. 1206-7] The capital named Ḳāshīn—the Aḳāshīn اکاشین of Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān—which formerly, it is said, gave name

him, no one will be capable to undertake the carrying out

adversity, better let us show our fidelity, and turn our faces again against the enemy, since we have given the Tayānak Khān to be slain," and, with one accord, like lions, they descended, and rushed upon the enemy, and fought valiantly while life remained, in such wise as to gain the encomiums even of their foes. They all perished, but not before they had made great havoc among the Mughals, who lost great numbers.

The Tayānak Khān having died of his wound received in that battle, his son, Koshlūk or Koshlak, or Kojlak, as he is also styled, fled to his uncle, Būe-Rūḳ. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar however says that the Tayānak Khān, after the battle, was conveyed to a place of safety, but that he died from the effects of his wound before the end of that same year 600 H.

The females of the family of the Tayānak Khān fell into the hands of the victors, and, subsequently, his favourite Khātūn, Ḳor-bāsū, was brought to Tamur-chī, who, in accordance with the custom of the Mughals, married her. A daughter of the Tayānak Khān's son, Koshlūk, named Liḳūm Khātūn, was given in marriage to Tūlī, Tamur-chī's youngest son The Nāemān and Ungḳūt females are said to have been remarkable for their beauty, above all the other tribes of Turk descent.

After Tamur-chī had been thus successful over the Tayānak Khān, in this battle, the tribes and families in confederacy with the Nāemān sovereign, being without a head, for the most part submitted to Tamur-chī's sway, but the Nāemāns became dispersed, and the Bīgī, Tūḳtā, the Wālī or sovereign of the Makrīts, was still hostile Tamur-chī marched against him, and speedily overthrew him, and reduced the whole tribe of Makrīt to subjection, but the Bīgī, Tūḳtā, with Koshlūk, the Tayānak Khān's son, sought an asylum with Būe-Rūk, the Nāemān, elder brother of the latter, as detailed farther on.

Most of the accounts of Tamur-chī's proceedings, after the overthrow of the Tayānak Khān, are somewhat obscure and confused, but the authorities quoted in the Tārīkh-i-Alfī throw considerable light upon these events I must refer to them briefly, leaving numerous details of the life of the Chingiz Khān, both here, as well as elsewhere, in these notes, for some future day, when I hope to give them in proper order, and detail.

About this time Jāmūḳah, the Sājān, the Jājar-āt, was seized by his own people, bound hand and foot, and brought to Tamur-chī, his mortal foe. He, considering that, as the Jājar-āts had not been faithful to their own chief, they would scarcely prove faithful to him, commanded that the greater part of them should be massacred, and this, as will subsequently appear, was the treatment traitors generally received at Mughal hands. Jāmūḳah was made over to a nephew of Tamur-chī, with orders to put him to death by dividing him limb from limb, because this was the treatment he had reserved for his rival, in case he had fallen into his power, He bore it without flinching, merely observing that he would have treated Tamur-chī after the same fashion, and telling the executioners how to proceed, and thus he met his end.

Tamur-chī, after this success, returned to his own *yūrat*, and despatched agents to various tribes of the Mughals, and exhorted them to submit. Such as did so were cherished, and such as refused were reduced and punished. In the following year—601 H.—Tamur-chī moved against the Makrīt tribe, which, through their determined hostility, he sought to root out entirely The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā mentions these events as taking place a year later. The Bīgī, Tūḳtā, the Makrīt chief, having fled from the forces of Tamur-chī, took shelter with

of these matters, and this affair will not be accomplished, nor succeed at the hands of any other except him."

another division of the Makrīt tribe—the Ūrhār Makrīt—the chief of which was named Dā-īr or Ṯā-īr [the Turks, and the people of the different ī-māḳs, use *d* for *t* and *ṯ*, and *vice versa*] Asūn, who, with his division of the tribe, was then encamped on the Tāz Murān, or River Tāz, hoping to obtain support from them. When the Bīgī, Tūḳtā, and his followers arrived there, Ṯā-īr Asūn told them that he had not the power to cope with Tamur-chī, and so, taking along with him his daughter, Ḳūlān Khātūn, he sought the presence of Tamur-chī, who received him honourably. He then represented that, for want of cattle, the whole of his people were unable to come and join his camp; but Tamur-chī, being somewhat suspicious of them, would not allow him and his followers to dwell in his own *yūrat*, but placed an intendant over them, and, soon after, Tamur-chī set out for his own *yūrat*, as before stated. After his departure, the Makrīts, with Ṯā-īr Asūn, took to plundering the Mughals still remaining behind, but were resisted, and the plunder recaptured from them After this, the Makrīts went away. Tamur-chī, on becoming aware of their proceedings, resolved to uproot them He invested one sept of them, the Ūdūḳūt, who were in the stronghold of Bījand, which they call Wāeḳāl Ḳūrghān, took it, overcame several other septs of the same tribe, and then retired. The Bīgī, Tūḳtā, with his sons and a few of his people, fled to Būe-Rūḳ the Nāemān, the elder brother of the Tayānak Khān, while his own sept, with the rest of the Makrīt tribe, along with Ṯā-īr Asūn, retired to the banks of the river Sālingāh, near the fortress of Ḳūrḳah Ḳinchān, or Ḳipjān [?] and there took up their quarters. Tamur-chī on this despatched a force under two of his Nū-yīns, against them. The Makrīts were mostly destroyed, and the remainder of them were conducted to Tamur-chī's presence.

In the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir of this same year 601 H., Tamur-chī, having ordered his forces to be mustered, resolved to move into the country of Tingḳūt —تنككوت—also written Tinghūt—تنغوت—and Tingūt—تنكوت—which is described as a mountain country called Anksāe or Ankasāe, of great elevation, adjoining the country of Khiṭāe The Mughals style the country, which contained cities, fortresses, and fine buildings, Ḳāshīn [this is the country about which Mr. H. H Howorth, in his "*Mongols Proper*," quoting D'Ohsson probably, says, "Tangut, the Hia of the 'Chinese,' had been previously known as *Ho Si*," and had been "*corrupted by the Mongols* into Kaschin" ! Who is the authority that they or any one else *corrupted* it ? On the very next page of the same work we find that "Tangut" is "Kansuh," and, further on, that "Kan-su" is "dependent on the kingdom of Hia !"], and, on the way thither, Ṯā-īr Asūn, the Ūrhār Makrīt chief was seized and brought to Tamur-chī. Having reached Tingḳūt, otherwise Ḳāshīn, the chief place, which appears to have given name to the country—but an Uzbak writer says the country was called Ankasāe— the fortress of Lankai was taken by storm and levelled with the ground, and the territory of Ḳāshīn was plundered and devastated. From thence Tamur-chī advanced towards Kalangūsh—کلنکوش—or Kalankūsh, which was a vast city, and very strong. It was taken, and the greater part of the territory of Tingḳūt was also plundered and devastated. From thence Tamur-chī returned, in triumph, to his own *yūrat* again. Ḳarā-Ḳuram, I may mention, is never once named in the histories I have been quoting from, up to this period

Every tribe, however, which submitted, Tamur-chī ceased from oppressing and treating with severity, incorporated it with his people, and showed it

submit to his command; and, in conformity with the usual

to the territory, was surprised, and Shīdarḳū and his people submitted. He was left without further molestation, it is said, on agreeing to pay tribute, and permitting the Mughals to occupy his capital. Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, says he was an aged prince or ruler, and that his capital was taken by assault after a long investment, and its walls thrown down. From our author's accounts farther on, however, it will be found that Shīdarḳū had often boasted of his defeats of the Chingiz Khān, and was, at last, treacherously put to death by him. Ḳāshīn city was the point at which the great *kārwāns* of traders met from the west and south in their trade with Khiṭā or China. It was a very rich city, and the abode of learned men. It is evident that it was a city of the Buddhists, but few would recognize Ḳāshīn under the vitiated name of *Campion* given to it by the old European travellers. In the Kāshghar Mission Report the route is referred to, at p. 114, as the Chachan route, but, at page 139, of the same Report, Ḳāshīn is turned into "Cáshmín"

At the same period the Chingiz Khān, having returned from the subjugation of Tingḳūt, subdued the Ḳirḳīz territory.

In the winter of the before-mentioned year [603 H.], but some say the winter of 604 H, which appears to be most correct, the Chingiz Khān set out in order to attack the Bīgī, Tūktā, and his Makrīts, and Koshlūk and his Nāemāns, who had again acquired considerable strength on the frontier of the Ardīsh territory, which some connect with Tibbat, whilst others say that it is also the name of a stronghold on the frontiers of the territories of the Makrīts and Nāemāns, but that it was a fortress is very doubtful Ardīsh apparently extended to Tibbat or the south.

In Shaw's account of "*High Tartary*," Artush appears as the chief town of a district, watered by a river of the same name, lying north of Kāshghar city on the northern frontier of the Kāshghar state It appears under the name of Artish in Colonel Walker's last map, and, in the Kāshghar Mission Report, under the name of Artosh and Artysh It is probable that this name, correctly written Ardīsh or Artīsh [with *d* or *t*], applied to a much larger extent of country, now buried in the sands, extending S W as far as the frontier of Tibbat, as anciently constituted, but the sands of the desert have buried former landmarks in this direction.

Mr. H H. Howorth, however, straightway, transfers this tract, in his "*Mongols Proper*," to "the land watered by the Irtish," about 10° farther North than the part indicated, even according to the map of "Mongolia" in his own book! West of the Yellow River it certainly was

Although the cold was intense and the water frozen, the Chingiz Khān set out with a vast army, and on the way the Bīgī Ḳolūḳah, also written Ḳūnūḳah, of the Mughal tribe of Ūīr-āt [اویرات] with his people, unable to resist, submitted to the Chingiz Khan, and they were incorporated with his army, and conducted it into Ardīsh, where they came upon Koshlūk, and the Bīgī, Tūḳtā An engagement ensued between them, and the confederates were overwhelmed by superior numbers, and Tūḳtā was killed by an arrow in the action.

Ḳodū, the brother of Tūḳtā, and the latter's three sons with him, endeavoured to carry his body off, but, finding this impossible, they cut off the head and carried it with them. They, in company with Koshlūk, fled from the territory of Ardīsh into that of the Ī-ghūrs, the situation of which has been already

customs in force among that people, these important matters

indicated, and sent an agent of their own to the Yīddī-Ḳūt, whose capital was Bīsh Bālīgh, and asked for shelter. He slew the agent, and cast his body into the Kham [خم—in some MSS. the point has been left out altogether, and in others put under instead of over—hence it has been incorrectly styled the JAM] Murān. This river is said to rise in the hills crossing the Gobī or Shāmo desert, to run S.S.W., and to fall into the Hoang-ho—the Ḳarā Murān—on the borders of Tibbat, and I believe, from the context, that this is correct. I shall refer to it again farther on. This desert of sand has destroyed many landmarks, and overwhelmed many cities, hence writers are led to look farther north, east, and west for places, and to make rash guesses respecting them, while they lie buried under the sands of the Gobī. The explorations of the Russian Colonel, Prejevalsky, throw considerable light on the parts about Lob Nāwar, and the mountains to the south.

The Yīddī-Ḳūt, having slain the agent, turned out with his people to expel them, and the fugitives, tired and worn out from the hardships they had endured in their flight, after a slight skirmish, being unable to cope with the Ī-ghūrs, went off, and the Yīddī-Ḳūt sent the news of their repulse and flight to the Chingiz Khān. Ḳoshlūk retired, by way of Bīsh-Bālīgh, into the territory of the Gūr Khān of the Ḳarā-Khiṭā-ī, while the Makrīts retired to Ḳam-Kunchaḳ كم كنچق [written قمقچاق in the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā], which has, by the carelessness of copyists been turned into قبچاق—Ḳibchāḳ and قبچاق—Ḳibchāḳ, and, consequently, the most absurd errors have arisen, and no wonder "the country to which he went is not known." This must not be mistaken for Kam-Kamjīūt—كم كمجيوت—about which I shall have more to say farther on, but as the tract east of Lob Nāwar.

Koshlūk was well received by the Gūr Khān, who gave him his daughter in marriage, the details respecting which, and his subsequent ingratitude, have been given in a previous note, on the Ḳarā Khiṭā-ī dynasty, page 930.

After the overthrow and death of the Bīgī, Tūḳtā, the Chingiz Khān despatched two agents to the Ḳirghiz or Ḳirḳiz tribe, calling upon them to submit. The Bādshāh, as he is styled, Ūrūs Ī-nīāl, by name, finding himself unable to offer any opposition, sent back with them an agent of his own with presents, including a rare bird—the Āḳ-Shunḳār—probably a white eagle, or some bird of the same species, and made his submission. This event is said to have happened in 603 H., but, as it certainly happened after the overthrow of the Makrīt chief, which, as already mentioned, some say took place in 604 H., the submission of the Ḳirghiz may have happened in that year also, for, in consequence of the Bīgī, Tūḳtā's finding shelter in that part, the Chingiz Khān called upon them to submit to his yoke.

The next accession of strength gained by the Mughal sovereign was the homage, in 605 H., but some say in 604 H., of Bāūrchiḳ—باورچيق—a ruler of other tribes of Ī-ghūrs, which belong to the Mughal *ī-māḳ* although they are neither Ḳaiāts, Nagūz, nor Durāl-gīns. They consisted of over one hundred and twenty different septs, and were descended in a direct line from Mughal Khān, brother of Tāttār Khān, which former was grandfather of Āghūz Khān, and the Ī-ghūrs were the first to join him against Ḳarā Khān, his father, as already related. In religion, the Ī-ghūrs were Lamaists, and, in times previous to those here referred to, the Bāshlīghs, or Chiefs of the Ūn Ī-ghūrs, used to be styled Īl-Īltār, and those of the Tūḳūz Ī-ghūrs, Kol-Īrkīn, or Īl-Īrkīn,

were caused to be ratified. He said : "If you will be obe-

and, in after-times, when about a century of their sovereignty had passed, those titles fell into disuse, and the title given to their ruler was Yīddī-Ḳūt—يدّي قوت—which, as regards the first word, in some *MSS.* is written in such a manner that the two points of the first letter ي—*y*—are run into one, and made to appear as ب *b*—which alters it altogether The proper mode of writing it is evidently the above, with the *d* doubled, which I have taken from a work written by an Uzbak Mughal. In writing words of this kind beginning with ي an alif—ا—is sometimes substituted, thus Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, writes it ايدّى—Īddī. It signifies "the Lord of Sovereignty," but some writers say, "the Reigning Prince," and his territory lay in Turkistān. At the time in question, he was a tributary to the Gūr Khān [The "Aydy Cút," of "Balásághún," as Surgeon-Major Bellew styles him at p. 140 of the Kāshghar Mission History, had nothing whatever to do with Bilāsā-ghūn that was the Gūr Khān's capital The Yīddī Ḳūt's chief town was Bīsh-Bālīgh], whose Shaḥnah or Intendant, named Shāū-kam, dwelt at his court Having occasion to complain to this Intendant about his illegal and oppressive acts towards the Ī-ghūr people, and receiving naught but insolence and threats in return, the Yīddī-Ḳūt, having heard the noise of the Chingiz Khān's invincibility, and being himself, with his tribe, descended from the same *ī-māḳ*, slew the Intendant of the Gūr Khān at Ḳarā Khwājah, —a place still well known in Ī-ghūristān—and flung the body into the Kham Murān, saying, at the same time, that no one was safe who was the enemy of the Chingiz Khān, and he determined to despatch an agent to him The latter, who was, by no means, friendly inclined towards the Gūr Khān for giving shelter to Koshlūk, the Nāemān chief, on hearing what had happened, despatched an agent named Dūrbāe, with a friendly message to the Yīddī-Ḳūt, and invited him to come to him, for the Ī-ghūr ruler is said to have previously informed the Chingiz Khān that he had driven Koshlūk, and the Bīgī, Tūḳtā's brother and sons out of his territory A few writers say the Ī-ghūr was the first to negotiate Be this as it may, according to the majority of the most trustworthy historians, the Yīddī-Ḳūt, dreading the resentment of the Gūr Khān, was well pleased to seek the protection of the Mughals. He accordingly set out from the Ī-ghūr territory bearing rich presents—for he was a very wealthy prince—consisting of gold, silken garments, cattle, and horses, among which were 1000 of high breed, and slaves both male and female This was in 605 H [A D 1208-9] When these negotiations began, the Chingiz Khān was in the territory of Tingkūt, whither he had gone, in that same year, to chastise the ruler of that country, Shīdarḳū, who, with some other chiefs, had revolted, and among whom was the Khān of Ḳirḳīz whose country was utterly ruined. The Mughals then appeared before the city of Irīḳī [Polo's Egrigaia ?, but, in a work written by an Uzbak, it is Āikey], the ruler of Tinkūt, thereupon made his submission, and is said to have sent his daughter to be espoused by the Chingiz Khān These events took place in 606 H.

On his way back the Yīddī-Ḳūt reached his presence with befitting offerings He was well received by the Chingiz Khān, and a liberal appanage was assigned him He solicited that he might be considered as the Great Khān's fifth son, being himself the son of a Khān This was consented to, and one of the Chingiz Khān's daughters was given him to wife, and he became his fifth son—his son-in-law.

dient to my mandates, it behoveth that, if I should command the sons to slay the fathers, you should all obey,"[2] and they entered into a solemn promise accordingly; and the first command he gave was that they should slay the sons of the great Amīr Bāisū,[3] who had been the associate [in the chieftainship] with the Chingiz Khān's father. He [the Chingiz Khān] brought the whole of the tribes under his own sway, and set about making preparations for hostilities, and employed himself in getting ready war material and arms. As the numbers of the Mughals had largely increased and become very great, and an account of this determination of the Chingiz Khān had reached the hearing of the Altūn Khān, he nominated [a force of] 300,000 horse in order to guard the route against the

There is a different version of this matter, and, from the circumstantial manner in which it is related, it bears the impress of truth. The Yīddī-Ḳūt served under Ūktāe and Chaghatāe Khāns during the invasion of the Musalmān territories, and was at the siege of Utrār. After returning from that campaign, when he presented himself before the Chingiz Khān, on the latter's return homewards, the Ī-ghūr king solicited an alliance, and one of the Chingiz Khān's daughters was *betrothed* to him, but the nuptial knot was never tied during the Chingiz Khān's lifetime. When Ūktāe succeeded, the Yīddī-Ḳūt solicited that the marriage might be completed, but, in the meantime, the lady died. On this Ūktāe betrothed him to Ulājī Bīgī, his own daughter, but before that marriage could be carried out the Ī-ghūr ruler was removed from the world. On this, his son proceeded to the Ḳā'ān's presence, and was married to Ūktāe's daughter, but he too soon followed his father, and was succeeded by his own brother in the rulership of his people, by command of Tūrākīnah Khātūn, during the time she administered the government, after her husband's, Ūktāe's, decease.

After the Chingiz Khān had gained so many victories, and acquired such power, the chiefs of other tribes and their people now began to submit to him, and among them was Arsalān Khān, the most prominent of the chiefs of one portion of the numerous Turkish tribe of Ḳāilūgh [or Ḳārlūḳ: it is written both ways] who submitted to him, and joined him with all his people. This was in 607 H., when the Chingiz Khān was encamped at Kalūr-ān. There were several divisions of the Ḳārlūḳ or Ḳārlūgh Turks or Turk-māns, as they are likewise called by several oriental writers, as may be gathered from what I have mentioned in the account of the Afrāsiyābī Maliks, pages 907 and 925, and in note [3], page 376.

I have now briefly noticed the most prominent events in the life of the Chingiz Khān up to the time of his revolt against the Āltān Khān, where our author's account takes its proper place.

[2] In a few modern copies—"and fathers to slay their sons"—in addition to the former part of the sentence.

[3] The Printed Text has Baisū also in a note, but in the page itself the particle را, governing the oblique case, of, is so printed as to appear like part of the word, thus—بيسورا

Mug͟hals, and hold the pass [leading out of the tract then occupied by them].

The C͟hingiz K͟hān despatched a Musalmān, named Ja'far, who was among that people [the Mug͟hals], among the forces of the Altūn K͟hān under semblance of traffic;[4] and the Altūn K͟hān commanded that he should be imprisoned; and he detained him for a considerable time. The prisoner [in question], by some good contrivance that became practicable, fled from that confinement; and, by a secret route, made for the presence of the C͟hingiz K͟hān, and related the matter to him, and informed him respecting the road by which he had come. The C͟hingiz K͟hān determined upon the design of rebelling, got his forces ready, and first directed so that the whole of the Mug͟hal families assembled together at the base of a mountain. He enjoined that all the men should be separated from the women, and the children from their mothers: and, for three whole days and nights, all of them remained bare-headed; and for three days no one tasted food, and no animal was allowed to give milk to its young. The C͟hingiz K͟hān himself entered a k͟hargāh [a felt tent], and placed a tent-rope about his neck, and came not forth from it for three nights and days; and, during this period, the whole of the people [there assembled] were crying out, Tingrī! Tingrī!

After three days, at dawn, on the fourth day, the C͟hingiz K͟hān issued from the tent, and exclaimed, "Tingrī hath given me victory. Now we will get ready that we may wreak our vengeance upon the Altūn K͟hān!" For the space of another three days, in that same place likewise, a feast was held. At the end of those three days, he led forth his troops; and, following the route by which that fugitive, Ja'far, had come through the mountains, they issued forth, and assailed the country of Ṭamghāj, carried their inroads into it, and put the people to the sword. When the news of the C͟hingiz K͟hān's outbreak became spread abroad, and reached the Altūn K͟hān, he imagined that, perhaps, that army of 300,000 horse, which were holding that pass[5] and the high road, had been overthrown;

[4] In a few copies رسالت—on a mission to demand peace or war—but he was evidently sent as a spy.

[5] Pass or Defile. Thus in the text, but one of the entrances in the Great Wall

**and put to the sword ; and the heart of the Altūn Khān,**

is meant—that of Salū-ling-kīw?—سلو لنگ کیو—which, according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, "having once been passed, the country of Khiṭāe may be considered as subdued."

I must here also briefly relate what other more modern writers, who wrote however under Mughal influence, state; because our author's account contains much that no others have related, and he was contemporary with the Chingiz Khān, knew many of the actors in these events, and was not influenced by the patronage of Mughal sovereigns.

Now that the Chingiz Khān, through the submission of the Yīddī-Ḳūt of the Ī-ghūrs, had reduced, nominally, or partially, at least, all the tribes between the Gūr Khān's dominions on the west, and Khiṭā, or Northern China, on the east, and most of the Mughal tribes, and had become exceedingly prosperous, and his forces countless, he resolved to make an attempt upon the territory of the Āltān Khān of Khiṭā, Shūdai-Shū-o-shū—the "Ninkiassu" of some European writers—to whom, for many ages, his forefathers had been tributary. He wanted a plea, like the wolf in the fable, and found one as easily, and certainly more justly, than another descendant of Yāfiṣ has lately manufactured one against the 'Uṣmānlī Turks: only the Chingiz Khān acted openly, not perfidiously, or hypocritically: so, what had happened seven and four generations before respectively, he now adopted as an excuse for invading the Āltān Khān's dominions. The Āltān Khāns of by-gone times had put to death two chiefs' sons of the Nairūn Mughals, as already related in the account of the Turks, namely Hamanghā or Hamankā, and Ūkīn-Barḳāḳ.

Oriental writers differ considerably in their accounts of these events. It appears that the Chingiz Khān continually conferred with his chiefs and tributaries on the injuries and wrongs their forefathers had sustained at the hands of the Khiṭā-īs, by reason of which the Mughal people were looked upon with scorn by other nations, their neighbours. He recalled to them the prediction [the imposture of Tab Tingrī, previously referred to] that they were always to be victorious over their enemies.

On this, the Khwājah, Ja'fir—the very same as mentioned by our author—a Musalmān of sagacity, as he is called, who had long been in the Chingiz Khān's service—as being a more respectable agent, probably, than a barbarian Mughal—was despatched to the court of the Āltān Khān, to intimate to that monarch his accession to the sovereignty of the Mughal tribes, and calling upon him to render allegiance, and pay tribute to his former vassals, the Mughals, in which case he might continue as heretofore to rule over Khiṭā! The Āltān Khān treated the messenger and his demands with utter contempt, and sent him away

The author of the "*Mongols Proper*," who disdains all who wrote in Persian (while his information is derived from translations from them), with the exception, I suppose, of the "great Raschid," as mere "second-rate authorities," "muddy streams," &c., &c., turns this Musalmān, whose name plainly indicates his religion, and who was not a Mughal, into "Jafar Khodsha," and adds that he was "one of the principal *Mongols*"!!

Then occurred the tent and fast scene related by our author, but in much greater detail. More particulars respecting the impostures of the Mughal ruler will be found farther on.

After this, in the eighth month of 607 [March, 1211 A.D.] H., the Mughal troops

**and of the whole of the inhabitants of the country of Ṭamghāj, became much afflicted.**

were assembled; a portion, amounting to 10,000 horse, under Tughachār, also styled Dālān, was left behind to guard the Chingiz Khān's own camp and territory, and keep the conquered tribes of Karāyat, Nāemān, and others quiet, while, from the remainder, two armies were formed: one was despatched under the Chingiz Khān's three sons, Jūjī, Chaghatāe, and Ūktāe, and some of his Nū-yīns, into Khūrjah [Corea of Europeans], passing through the country of the Ḳāl-īmāḳ, who had already acknowledged the supremacy of the Mughals. There they committed great devastation, and sacked cities and towns without opposition, the troops of that country having gone to join the Khiṭā-ī forces.

The country of Khūrjah, or Khūrjat, is said to have been computed at seventy tomāns—700,000—that is to say, such was the number of fighting men it had to furnish—and the city of Sūkīn [سوکین] or Sunkīn [سنکین], as it is also called, and the great city of Ḳūīking [قویکناه] or Ḳūyūīking [قویویکناه], which was one of the greatest in the empire, was captured by Jabbah [our author's Yamah], the Nū-yīn, and destroyed.

Subsequently, Jūjī, and his brothers, advanced in another direction, and wrested out of the hands of the Khiṭā-īs, the cities of Tūng—[possibly قوناه—Ḳūng]—Chīw—تونله چیو—Sūḳ-Chīw—سوق چیو—Ḳū-Chīw—قوچیو—Ūn-ūī—اون اوی—and Long-Ching—لونله چیناه—[one *MS.* تونله چیناه]. I may mention that no languages are worse than the Persian, and such others as use the 'Arabic characters, for recording foreign proper names, unless the scribes are very careful to point the letters correctly, and no language is so bad, probably, for vitiating the pronunciation of foreign words as the Chinese, and, therefore, the absolute accuracy of these Chinese names cannot be vouched for. I have added the originals as I find them, but after comparing and authenticating them as well as possible I have, among other helps, used four copies of Alfī

The Chingiz Khān himself, with his army, received further reinforcements near the river Tīl, also written Tīl, of Ḳarā-Khiṭāe, and the cities, which lay on the banks of that river, such as Baisūe—بیسوی—and others, were taken.

After that, Ūlā-Ḳūsh or Alāḳūsh, Tigīn Ḳūrīn, chief of the Ungḳūt Turks, the same who betrayed the Tayānak Khān's proposals to Tamur-chī, again betrayed the trust reposed in him He and his tribe were subject to, and in the pay of, the Khiṭā-ī sovereigns, and located in the part now approached by the Mughals, for the purpose of guarding that part of the Great Wall or Barrier called Ūīn-Ḳūn—اوین قون—by the Turkish tribes, and which was built for the purpose of restraining the Karāyats, Nāemāns, and Mughals, and preventing their molesting the Khiṭāe territory He had a grievance against the Āltān Khān, and admitted the Mughals within the Great Wall, and provided the invaders with guides.

The name Ung-ḳūt or Ūīn-ḳūt is said to signify the guards of the Wall or Barrier It is also written Unkut—انکت Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, says the Turks call this Wall or Barrier Tūr-ḳūrghah [or Tūr-ḳurghah]—تورقورغه—and the Khiṭā-īs, Ūngū—اونکو

The Chingiz Khān and his hordes having been admitted within the Great Wall, and having gained a footing there, he despatched bodies of troops in various directions to ravage and subdue the Khiṭāe territory; and two hundred cities, towns, and fortresses, they destroyed or captured, including the cities of Nū-shā—نوشا—Ḳūching Chīw,—قوچیناه چیو—and Ḳūn-Chīw—قونچیو

Some writers state, with regard to these events, that all the towns and

When the news of that disaster, plunder, devastation,

cities, which submitted without resistance and furnished supplies to the invaders, were spared, but that all others were destroyed.

He then turned his face towards the Āltān Khān's capital, and metropolis of Khiṭāe, which, in the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr, Ḥabīb-us Siyar, &c., is named Chingdū [چنگدو] or Chingtū [چنگتو], where the Āltān Khān then was. This must be our author's city of Ṭamghāj, that is to say, the chief city of the country of Ṭamghāj.

When the Āltān Khān became aware of the advance of the Mughal host, he marched with his army, reinforced by the forces of Khūrjah—a numerous host—and took up a position to guard one of the strong entrances leading into his empire, detaching a considerable body of troops in advance to watch the frontiers and harass the Mughals if opportunity occurred. This could have been of little effect with the Mughals within the Great Wall, and, evidently, is the same circumstance as our author refers to; but he says, more probably, that the Āltān Khān *sent* 300,000 horse to guard the entrance into his territory. The sovereigns of Khiṭāe did not usually accompany their armies, and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū also says that he was not present. Our author also mentions the same Ja'fir; and the latter's return, by a secret route, evidently refers to the route by the Great Wall, betrayed by Alā-ḳūsh, Tigīn Ḳūrīn.

To return to the accounts of writers who wrote a century or more after our author. The force detached from the Āltān Khān's main army, commanded by the Amīrs of Khūrjah, was so far successful that, information having reached it that the Mughals, after capturing one of the cities in the vicinity, were then engaged, unsuspicious of the near approach of enemies, in dividing the spoil in their camp, the Khiṭā-ī leaders thought this an excellent opportunity, and determined to endeavour to surprise them. They came upon the Mughals when cooking their food, but the Chingiz Khān was speedily on the alert, and his troops, dropping their cookery, were soon mounted, and they speedily put the Khiṭā-īs to the rout.

The main army of the Āltān Khān, which had advanced to meet the Mughals, when within a few marches of them, was found to be so much fatigued that it was deemed advisable to halt to give it some rest. Its camp was fortified by a deep trench in front, and the waggons or carts of the army were placed on either flank. Hearing, however, that the Mughals were advancing in search of them, they foolishly left this secure position, and, despising the Mughals whom they had so often coerced in former times, sallied forth to meet them. The battle was obstinate and bloody, but ended without any decisive result; for, although the Khiṭā-īs lost nearly 30,000 men, the Mughals lost even more. The Chingiz Khān thought it advisable to retire with his spoils towards his own borders, and the Khiṭā-īs did not deem it advisable to follow, as they were much worn out with long marches and their exertions in the late battle.

Ḥāfiẓ Abrū says it was one of the Chingiz Khān's most famous battles, that the Khiṭā-īs were nearly annihilated, and that it took place towards the end of 607 H. [about the end of May, 1211 A.D.], while some writers leave it out entirely. If the Khiṭā-īs were nearly annihilated, it is strange the Mughals should have retired. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar also says the Khiṭā-īs were overthrown, and that the Āltān Khān fled in dismay to his capital. Fearing for the safety of that city, if the war continued, the Āltān Khān now summoned his minister and his two principal generals, to deliberate on the

**and slaughter, reached that [great] army which was guard-**

state of affairs. It was agreed that a temporary accommodation should be entered into, if possible, in order to get rid of the Mughals for the present, trusting to what events might happen hereafter; and to give themselves time to make preparations for the future when once rid of them. An ambassador was despatched to treat with the Chingiz Khān, and the Āltān Khān's daughter, Konjū by name, was offered him in marriage. This offer was at once accepted for some cause—probably because he had lost so heavily in the great battle, and because he found the conquest of the Āltān Khān's country, at that time, and under present circumstances, was not so easy as he had expected. For these reasons, and flattered with the condescending offer of the Khān's daughter, and such an imperial alliance, the Chingiz Khān accepted the offer of peace; and accompanied by the Khiṭā-ī princess withdrew from the Āltān Khān's dominions to his *yūrat* in the country of Ḳarā-Ḳuram.

According to the Chinese historians quoted by Gaubil, the great battle just referred to, took place in A.D. 1212 [= 609–10 H.], near the mountain [range ?] Yehu, seven or eight leagues W.N.W. of Swen-wha-fū; and, in an attack upon Tai-tong-fū, the Chingiz Khān was dangerously wounded, upon which he thought fit to return home. The Khiṭā-īs on this retook several places, among which was Kū-yang-quan.

These historians also state that, on the subsequent return of the Chingiz Khān, in A.D. 1213, a still more bloody battle took place between the Khiṭā-īs and the invaders near Whayley, four or five leagues W. of Kū-yang-quan, and that the field was strewed with dead bodies for four leagues together. This coincides exactly with what our author describes at page 965, which see.

As soon as the Mughals had withdrawn, the Āltān-Khān left his son at Ching-dū, with several distinguished nobles as his counsellors, along with a considerable army, and withdrew himself from the capital, which was situated a little to the north of the city, called, in *after-years*, Khān-Baligh by the Mughals, and is said to be the Yen-king of the Chinese, situated a little N. of the present Pekin, and, doubtless our author's city of Ṭamghāj, by which he does not mean to say that such was its name, but that it was *the* city—the capital—of the Ṭamghāj country or empire. The Āltān Khān retired to Taiming— تمينك —the Pyen-lyang of the Chinese, and called also Nan-king, and still called Pyen-lyang. Its site is just where Kai-song-fū, the capital of Honan now stands, which his father had founded, and which they likewise call Antā-e or Intā-ī [انتاي ?], which is somewhat doubtfully written. It is said to have been some forty leagues in circumference, surrounded by a triple wall, and situated on a river which they call the Chang or Ching-Khū [چنك‌خو and some the Uprā—اپرا—Murān], and "in which [on one side of which ?] its foundations were laid. The breadth of this river is so great, that, between early morning and evening, a boat passes from one side to the other, and returns with considerable exertion." On the way to this city, some of the Āltān Khān's troops deserted him, and went away and joined the Mughals; and the Chingiz Khān, on becoming advised of the Āltān Khān's retirement from Ching-dū, despatched an army under two Amīrs of Tomāns—the Bahādur Sāmūḳah—[Ḥāfiz Abrū has Sājūḳah], the Sāljīūt, and another Nū-yān, to invest Ching-dū, which they did.

The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar gives a different account of these events, which agrees more with the Chinese statements, which affairs are said to have happened in 608—10 H. [A.D. 1211—13], that the whole of the northern part of the Āltān Khān's

ing the high road, through panic, on account of the state of

dominions was in a disturbed and disaffected state, and that disloyalty and sedition prevailed, so much so that the Āltān Khān's son, through these disaffections, withdrew from Ching-dū, and went and joined his father, and that intelligence of the forsaken condition of that capital conveyed to him through the governor of Khūrjah, who tendered his allegiance to him, induced the Chingiz Khān to invade Khiṭā a second time.

Another account is that the Āltān Khān had given orders to ravage some parts of Ḳarā-Khiṭāe [i.e. north-west of, and beyond the Great Wall], on which the people sent agents to the Chingiz Khān at Ḳarā-Ḳuram, and sought his protection, and the Khān of one of the disaffected parts, having gained possession of one of the fortresses guarding one of the entrances through the Great Wall, offered to admit the Mughals thereby. This statement is confused, and refers to the *first*, not the second expedition, as I have shown. However, it is farther stated that the Chingiz Khān thought the time propitious, and determined on invading the Āltān Khān's dominions again, and that he proposed that his Ī-ghūr and Ḳārlūgh allies should take a part in the expedition; but, being unable, through sickness—caused by the wound perhaps, referred to previously—to proceed himself, the command was given to Sāmūḳah, the Sāljīūt, his oldest Nū-yān.

The Chinese authors tell us that the Chingiz Khān, having retired from Khiṭāe, after the accommodation with the Āltān Khān, and, having received his daughter in marriage, in 1211 A.D., set out, accompanied by Jūjī, to conquer Ḳibchāḳ—an error for Ḳam-Kunchaḳ previously referred to—in order to reduce several tribes which had been subject to the Wang Khān, who had nought to do with "Kipchak," that the tribes inhabiting Jatah [European Getes] submitted, and that, leaving half his forces with Jūjī, who defeated the *Komāns, Walāks, Bulghārs, and Hungarians, the Chingiz Khān retired to* Ḳarā-Ḳuram. Now this is wholly incorrect, and caused apparently through mistaking Ḳam-Kunchaḳ for Ḳibchāḳ. The Chingiz Khān never entered Ḳibchāḳ, and Jūjī was not sent into Ḳibchāḳ until several years after—he *never* went against either Walāks, Bulghārs, or Hungarians—as will be seen farther on; and it is quite certain that the Āwang Khān had nothing to do with their country.

The same writers also state that the Chingiz Khān determined to invade Khiṭāe again in consequence of certain threats of the Āltān Khān, and, at the instigation of the Gūr Khān, who had been provoked by the Āltān Khān's ravages on his territory, and who had, by help of some rebels, seized a considerable fortress which opened the way into China. Here they have terribly confused matters. The Gūr Khān dynasty had already terminated, and the Ūngḳūt Turks betrayed the passage through the great mound or Wall on the occasion of the first invasion.

The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā also states that another Mughal army was despatched into Khūrjah to prevent the forces of that territory from going to the aid of the Āltān Khān, and several places in it were taken. Meanwhile, the other army is said to have been met, on its advance, by the army of the Āltān Khān, which was pushing forward to meet it; and it is related that the advance of the Mughals was defeated, but that, the main army coming up, the Khiṭā-īs were overthrown and routed, and their troops took refuge in different cities. The capital was strongly garrisoned, and the Āltān Khān's son is said to have been there in command [this is totally contrary to the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, written

**affairs, they became dispersed, and were slain, and made captive.**

The Chingiz Khān acquired domination over the countries of Ṣaghar,[6] and Tingit, and Ṭamghāj, and he came

by the son of the author of the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā], and the Mughals are said to have been induced to endeavour to take the city by assault, but to have been repulsed, and the investment continued for a long time. The defenders being numerous and the inhabitants likewise, the besiegers determined to starve the city into surrender, and subsequently it was taken by stratagem; and, this being reported to the Khitā-ī sovereign, he was so affected that he destroyed himself by poison.

The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says an attempt was made by a body of troops, each carrying a portion of grain, as well as the followers of the army, to conduct a convoy of provisions, to relieve the capital, but that they were intercepted on the march and defeated, and the convoy was taken On this two of the Khitā-ī generals destroyed themselves by means of poison, and others escaped to Tayming, and these disasters were followed by the submission of the capital and country

The details of the capture of the city in the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, and in the work of the Turkish author, Abū-l-Khair, are somewhat similar to our author's account, the details of which he had of persons who, shortly after its capture, visited it, and therefore his account is of the utmost value. The date of its capture is 610 H [A.D 1213-14].

I have now brought up the events in the career of the Chingiz Khān, as briefly as possible, to where our author begins to give his narrative in greater detail Ḥāfiẓ Abrū gives most elaborate accounts of these events, but I must, for want of space, leave his particulars for another occasion

[6] This is the same name as occurs at page 267 and 270, and in the second para immediately under, and in the account of Tūshī [Jūjī] Khān farther on. The word varies in the different copies of the text from ثغر to ثغر—يغر—بغر—نغر and—بغر -without any points When I wrote the notes to the account of the Khwārazmī Sulṭāns, I concluded, from the mention, invariably, of Tingit and Ṭamghāj along with it, that the Ī-ghūr country must be meant, from the third form of the doubtful word as given above—يغر— Then again I thought the word must be—ثغر—ṣaghar—an 'Arabic word in common use, signifying the frontier of an infidel country, but this, too, is, I think, from what is mentioned farther on, also untenable, although Tingit and Ṭamghāj are still used in connexion with it As, in Turkish words, occurring in the histories of this period, the letters *ḳ* and *gh* are interchangeable, I was inclined to consider that the word here might be Saghar, or Ṣaḳar, or Saghir, or Saḳir, and that it referred to the place which the old travellers call, and what appears in the Jesuits' maps as, Sukkier, and Saker, and Sukquier, Sukuir, Suchur, and Sucuir, in as many copies of Polo's work, but this idea must also be abandoned, for this reason that Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, never penetrated as far east as the limits of Turkistān, in that quarter, in his pursuit of Ḳadr Khān, with respect to whose pursuit in 615 H., it is first mentioned at pages 267 and 270, and there it is stated as being in or part of "Tatār," and "Turkistān" But it is also distinctly stated, on the former page, that, in reaching this identical part—"as far as Yighur [I-ghūr]—that is supposing—يغر—was correct—the Sulṭān penetrated so far northwards—I leave out the "North Pole"—that the light of twilight never left the sky all night," and,

before the gate of the city of Ṭamghāj and seat of government of the Altūn Khān [and invested it]. He continued

from note [3] to that page, even were the time midsummer, the Sulṭān must have reached as far north as the parallel of 49° or 50° of north latitude, for such a phenomenon to occur, and, consequently, Saḳir or Saghir—the Sukkier, &c., of the old travellers, between Kāshghar and Khiṭā, is out of the question. Sibr—سبر—Siberia, likewise, will not do, as the word is written very differently.

In the notice of Tūshī [Jūjī], farther on, referring to the same place and event, it is said that, "in the year 615 H., the Sulṭān had gone to make a raid upon the tribes of Ḳadr Khān of Turkistān, who was the son of Safaḳtān the Yamak," and that "Tūshī, from the side of Ṭamghāj, had advanced with an army"—at page 269 it is said that "Tūshī had come out of Chīn in pursuit of an army of Tatārs," and that refers to Tuk-Ṭughān, the Makrīt chief, a totally different person from Ḳadr Khān, the son of Ṣafaḳtān-i-Yamak, but who, at page 267, is called Yūsuf [his correct name apparently is Yūsuf, and Ḳadr Khān his title], the Tatār, whose father's Turkish name was Safaḳtān, and his tribe the Yamak. According to our author, Ulugh Khān, afterwards Sulṭān of Dihlī, was connected with the Yamak.

In the lines of poetry with which our author closes this History, he styles his patron, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam "Khān of the Ilbarī, and Shāh of the Yamak;" and Sulṭān I-yal-timish is also said to have belonged to the Ilbarī tribe, which, at page 796, is mentioned as being obliged to fly before the Mughals, "when they acquired predominance over the countries of Turkistān and the tribes of Khifchāḳ." Yamak or Yamāk is described as the name of a ruler and of a city or town, and also of a territory of Turkistān; and some add that it is also the name applied to the sovereign of the Ī-ghūr, but that was, as already stated, Yīddī-Ḳūt. Respecting the Ilbarī tribe, which I believe to be that which ancient authors call the Abars, or a part of them, I shall have something to say before closing these notes.

In 'Abd-ullah-i-Khurdādbih's work there are some items of information which may throw a little light on this difficult matter, but, still, a deal remains to be cleared up; and the copy of his work which I have referred to, unfortunately, has been damaged by damp in the middle of each page for some thirty or forty pages, in the very portion I wanted most to be perfect. He says, with reference to the Ghuzz tribe, that "the Ghuzzān are a people, the Malik of whom they style the Taghar—تغر—Khāḳān [تمر is one of the words in some copies of our author's text, and may easily be mistaken for تغر by a copyist], and the capital of the Taghar Khāḳān is the city of Aral—ارل. There are Tarsāh [Christians—Nestorians] there as well as Buddhists, and others. The people are nomads and live in khargāhs [round felt tents] and tents [different to the khargāh], but their Maliks wear dresses of silk brocade, and silk, with wide sleeves and long skirts." He moreover says that the routes from that territory lead to Barsakhān—برسخان—which is said, by another writer, to be a place between Ī-rān and Tūrān, not a very satisfactory explanation, and from thence to—ترول—which, being without points, may be read many ways, where the routes [or where other routes] meet. From thence to Sakit [? سكيت], and then to كشمي غاصور—Kashmī-ghāṣūr—and from thence to حكت [it appears to be Ḥakat, but Jakut seems more probable, but I can only give the original word as I find it], is a day's journey. It is farther added, that this wilāyat or country—Taghar—is less in extent than Kujā—كجا—described by another author as a place within Chīn. Now all this, it appears to me, tends to

before the city for a period of four years, in such wise that every stone which was in that city they [the defenders] used to place in the catapults and discharge against the investors; and, when stones, bricks, and the like, ceased to be available, everything that was of iron, brass, lead, copper, tin, and pewter, all was expended in the catapults, and then *bālishts*[7] [ingots] of gold and silver they continued to discharge in place of stones. Trustworthy [persons] have narrated on this wise, that the Chingiz Khān, during this period, had issued a mandate that no person in the Mughal army should take any notice of that gold and silver, nor remove any of it from the place where it might have fallen.

After a period of four years when that city was taken, and the Altūn Khān had fled, and his son and his Wazīr became captives in the hands of the Chingiz Khān, he commanded that, from the records of the treasuries and the Mushrifs [auditors] of the treasuries of the Altūn Khān, a copy of the account of gold and silver should be procured. They brought it to the Chingiz Khān accordingly, showing how many *bālishts* of gold and silver had been discharged,

show that the tract indicated in the text is no other than this TAGHAR [the part indicated is described as a *wilāyat* by our author] OF THE GHUZZ, probably as far north as the Aral Nāwar, and that, from the two words having been mistaken in *MS.* for one, the puzzling, but incorrect, I believe, subject of "Taghazgaz" has arisen [طغزغز out of تغرغز], the chief of which, like several others in Turkistān, bore the title of Khāḳān

Ibn-Ḥauḳal says, speaking of Chīn, if you wish to proceed westward from the east, you come by Kharkhīz [this has no reference to the Ḳarghīz], and Ghazghuzz—غزغز [تغرغز Taghar-i-Ghuzz?], and by Kīmāk to the sea, a four months' journey. Again he says, in another place, that Ghuzz is the boundary of the land of the Turks, from Khurz and Kīmāk, and to خرجیه—Khuranjīah?—and Bulghār, and the boundary on the land of the Musalmāns from Gurgān [Jurjānīah of the 'Arabs] to Bārāb [i e Fārāb] and Isfanjāb.

I was in hopes that M. Barbier de Meynard's edition of 'Abd-ullah-i-Khurdādbih, published in the "*Journal Asiatique*," for 1865, would help me here, but the names of places are so fearfully incorrect as to render it perfectly useless for the purpose. For example: the well-known city of Nīshāpūr is written with ـ instead of ـ; Isrūshtah—اسروشنه—is written Ishrūsnah—اشروسنه; Ūsh, in the same way, although so well-known, is printed اوس—Al-Ghūr—الغور" is printed العور—Al-a'ūz, and so on.

[7] A *bālish* or *bālisht* signifies a pillow or bolster for the head, but, here, an ingot of gold or silver in the form of a pillow or bolster, which, in former days, was current among the the Turks. A *bālish* of gold is said to have weighed eight *miskāls* and two *dāngs*, and a *bālish* of silver, eight *dirams* and two *dāngs*, but the *bālish* here referred to must have been of far greater weight to have been of any effect on this occasion.

and, according to those records, he required the whole of the gold and silver : and he obtained it so that not a single bar thereof was missing.

From the Sayyid-i-Ajall [most worthy Sayyid], Bahā-ud-Dīn, the Rāzī—on whom be peace!—who was a Sayyid of noble nature, and of manifest lineage, this servant of the state, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, who is the compiler of this ṬABAḲĀT, heard, that Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh—on whom be the Almighty's mercy!—despatched him on a mission to the Chingiz Khān, and the reason for sending it was, that, when the account of the outbreak of the Chingiz Khān, and the predominance of the Mughal forces over the territories of Ṭamghāj, and countries of Ṣaghar[8] and Tingit, and the regions of Chīn, from the extreme east, was brought to the hearing of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwarāzm Shāh, he was desirous of investigating, by means of trustworthy persons of his own, the truth of this statement, and to bring certain information respecting the condition and amount of the Mughal forces and their weapons and warlike apparatus.[9] The writer [of this book] who is Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in the year 617 H., which was the first year of the Mughal forces' crossing the Jiḥūn into Khurāsān, heard, whilst within the fortress of Tūlak, from the lips of the 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Tāj-ud-Dīn, the Jāmī, the Dabīr [secretary], who was one of the ministers of state of the Khwārazm-Shāhī dynasty, that the ambition to appropriate the countries of Chīn[1] had become implanted in the heart of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and he was constantly making inquiry respecting those states, and used to ask comers from the territories of Chīn, and the extreme limits of Turkistān, about them. "We [his] servants" [continued

[8] This name varies just as before in the different copies of the text. According to our author's statements at pages 268 and 270, and in his notice of Tūshī [Jūjī], between the seizure of the Chingiz Khān's merchants and envoys and the Sulṭān's return from 'Irāḳ, that is to say, in 615 H., the Sulṭān had penetrated into this part in pursuit of Ḳadr Khān, the Tatār, son of Safaḳtān, the Yamak, referred to at page 961, but his accounts are somewhat confused, wanting detail, and other writers do not refer to this particular affair.

[9] The idiom varies considerably in different copies here, as in other places previously mentioned.

[1] A few copies have "Hind and Chīn."

Tāj-ud-Dīn] "used to make representation in order to lead him from entertaining that resolution, but in no manner was that thought to be removed from his mind until he despatched the Sayyid-i-Ajall, Bahā-ud-Dīn, the Rāzī, for that important affair." [2]

[2] Ḥamd-ullah, the Mustawfī, in his Tārīkh, says [see also note [4], page 265] that, before this catastrophe, the Chingiz Khān sent an envoy into Ī-rān, and entered into a treaty with the Sulṭān of Khwārazm, that compacts were entered into, and letters passed between them, and that the treaty was ratified Merchants are said to have proceeded to the *urdū* of the Mughal ruler, without hesitation, on this understanding between the two rulers; and it is stated that the Chingiz Khān sent envoys and merchants of his own, *a second time*, along with them. This cannot be correct from the statement of the Sayyid, Bahā-ud-Dīn, who went thither, as our author relates, and the one despatch of envoys and merchants on this single occasion has evidently been made into two. It is also asserted that, as early as 614 H., after his return from Ghaznīn, the Sulṭān began to show less respect towards the Mughals, but the Sulṭān came to Ghaznīn two years before that date, and in 615 H. invaded the northern parts of Asia. [See preceding note [6].] In the year 614 H., the Khalīfah, Un-Nāṣir, is said to have instigated the Mughal to attack the Sulṭān, as previously related in the note first referred to, to which the Chingiz Khān is said to have replied that the restless nature of the Sulṭān would soon afford a plea for attacking him

Rashīd-ud-Dīn and Mīr Khāwind state, that one cause of ill feeling on the part of the Mughal ruler towards the Musalmān Sulṭān was, that the latter had despatched bodies of troops occasionally into parts under allegiance to the Mughals, and ill-treated the people, as though war had actually commenced, and, at last, overran a territory belonging to Koshlūk, the Nāemān sovereign, which the Chingiz Khān considered his by right of conquest Notwithstanding all this, it is said, the Mughal ruler was still inclined to keep on good terms with the Sulṭān This statement is not correct, however, as may be seen from note [4], page 268, and in the account of Tūshī [Jūjī] farther on The invasion of the territory in question—Ardīsh [turned into "*Arwish*" in the Kashghar Mission History]— they say, was when the Sulṭān fell in with a Mughal army under Jūjī, and compelled it to fight, but, on that occasion, the Sulṭān's intention was to protect his own territories from invasion by fugitives flying from the Mughals, not to attack them.

Petis de la Croix in his "*Genghizcan*," pages 158 to 164, causes Abū-l-Khair and Rashīd to make a terrible blunder respecting the battle which took place between the Mughals under Jūjī, after the defeat of the Makrīts, and the Sulṭān, which he has previously correctly mentioned as having taken place in A.D. 1216 [H. 613], and makes out that a great battle was fought between the Sulṭān and the Chingiz Khān in person, in A.D. 1218 [H. 615], while *they never once met*. He says the Sulṭān made secret levies of troops, and all those available from "Corassan, Balc, the Borders of India, and other parts of Iran," were directed to assemble at "Feraber," a town of "Bocara," that the Sulṭān's army amounted to 300,000 or 400,000 men, but yet was far inferior to the Mughal host The Sulṭān is then said to have found the enemy at "Carcou," and an indecisive battle was the result The details, however, are simply those of the battle which took place between the Gūr Khān and the

The Sayyid, Bahā-ud-Dīn, related[3] after this manner :—

"When we arrived within the boundaries of Ṯamghāj, and near to the seat of government of the Altūn Khān, from a considerable distance a high white mound appeared in sight, so distant, that between us and that high place was a distance of two or three stages, or more than that. We, who were the persons sent by the Khwārazm Shāhī government, supposed that that white eminence was perhaps a hill of snow, and we made inquiries of the guides and the people of that part [respecting it], and they replied: "The whole of it is the bones of men slain." When we had proceeded onwards another stage, the ground had become so greasy and dark from human fat, that it was necessary for us to advance another three stages on that same road, until we came to dry ground again.[4] Through the infections [arising] from that ground, some [of the party] became ill, and some perished. On reaching the gate of the city of Ṯamghāj, we perceived, in a place under a bastion of the citadel, an immense quantity of human bones collected. Inquiry was made, and people replied, that, on the day the city was captured, 60,000 .young girls, virgins, threw themselves from this bastion of the fortress and destroyed themselves, in order that they might not fall captives into the hands of the Mughal forces, and that all these were their bones.

When we saw the Chingiz Khān,[5] they brought in bound,

Sultān referred to in note [1], page 262, and note [1], page 980, which see, and thus a sad confusion of events is the result.

[3] This worthy official is, I find, a totally different person from Badr-ud-Dīn, referred to in note [7], page 270. I think therefore that such testimony is to be preferred to statements written about a century after by writers in the employ of Mughal sovereigns.

[4] It is said that the number of killed in the great battle referred to in para. eighteen, of note [6], page 954, was so great that the beasts of the field and fowls of the air enjoyed their obscene feasts for more than a year, on that battle-field.

[5] Other, but much more modern writers, state that the Chingiz Khān, after his successes in Khiṯā, whither he did not proceed in person on the second invasion of that country, as already noticed, returned to his *yūrat*, and sent officers in command of numerous troops to guard his conquests. From our author's statement above, contrary to all others, and derived from the Sayyid, Bahā-ud-Dīn, an eye-witness, the Chingiz Khān was himself at Ṯamghāj when the Sultān's agents had this interview with him

Surgeon-Major Bellew tells us that "Changiz," leaving strong garrisons in "Tughúr" [!] and its frontiers, returned to his Yurt or "country seat" [*sic*] at

where we were, the son of the Altūn Khān, and the Wazīr of his father; and, at the time of our return, the Chingiz Khān sent a great number of rareties and offerings with us for presentation to Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and said: 'Say ye unto Khwārazm Shāh, "I am the sovereign of the sun-rise, and thou the sovereign of the sun-set. Let there be between us a firm treaty of friendship, amity, and peace, and let traders and *kārwāns* on both sides come and go, and let the precious products and ordinary commodities which may be in my territory be conveyed by them into thine, and those of thine, in the same manner, let them bring into mine."'[6] Among the rareties and presents that the Chingiz Khān sent to Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, was a nugget of pure[7] gold as big as a camel's neck, which they had brought to him [the Chingiz Khān] from the mountain [range] of Ṭamghāj, so that it was necessary to convey that piece of gold upon a cart. With us also he despatched five hundred camels laden with gold, silver, silks, *khazz*[8]*-i-Khitāe* [a coarse kind of woven silk of Khiṭā], *targhū* [a silken fabric red in colour], *kundūz* [beaver],[9] *samūr* [sable], and raw silk, and elegant and ingenious things of Chīn and Ṭamghāj, along with merchants of his own; and the majority of those camels were laden with gold and silver. When Utrār was reached, Kadr Khān[1] of Utrār acted in a per-

Shamán Gará = "The Shaman's home" I wonder what a barbarian Mughal's "country seat" may have been. The Shaman's home—in what language "Gara" may mean "home" is not stated—refers probably to the place called Samān-Kaharah, where he was chosen Khān. See previous note, paragraph twenty-five, page 937

[6] Abū-l-Fidā says the envoys and merchants came from Mughūlistān through Ḳarā-Khiṭāe, and Turkistān. No doubt, they took the ordinary caravan-route by Ṭurfān.

[7] In some copies of the text, "a piece of beaten gold:" in others, as rendered above, which is doubtless the correct version.

[8] This word also means any description of fur made up into garments, but here the meaning is as above. Khiṭā-ī, in itself, is, I believe, the name of a fabric, also called nankeen by Europeans.

[9] According to some writers who explain the word, the animal is something like a fox, and some say, like an otter. It may mean the fur of the black fox or of the beaver

[1] Our author has made this same mistake before. His title was Ghā-ir Khān, not Ḳadr Khān, and his name was Anīāl Jūḳ. See note [7], page 271.

In the *Geographical Magazine* for June, 1877, Mr. H. H. Howorth, who

fidious manner, and sought permission from Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and, out of covetousness of that large amount of gold and silver, had the whole of the traders and travellers, and the emissaries [from the Chingiz Khān], slaughtered, so that not one among them escaped with the exception of a camel man who was at a bath, who, during that occurrence, managed to get out by way of the fireplace of the hot-bath, adopted a contrivance for his own safety, and, by way of the desert, returned to the territories of Chīn and Ṭamghāj.

When he acquainted the Chingiz Khān with the particulars of that perfidy, and as Almighty God had so willed that this treachery should be the means of the ruin of the empire of Islām, it became evident that "the command of God is an inevitable decree,"[2] and the instruments of the predetermined will of fate became available—From Thy wrath preserve us, O God!"

This servant of the victorious government, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, heard from the son of Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn of Khaesār of Ghūr, who heard [the particulars] from Shāh 'Uṣmān of Sīstān,[3] who was one among the Princes of Nīmroz, and a favourite of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and the Shāh [Uṣmān] swore that, for every treasury in which was

makes rash guesses and assertions on Turks, "Mongols," etc., says, referring to this person, that he was named *Inaljuk* and entitled *Ghair Khan*, "which is probably a corruption either of the Gur Khan or, as the author of the Tabakat-i-Nasiri makes it, of Kadr Khan." In his "*Mongols Proper*," on the other hand, we are told in one place, that he was named "Inaljek," and, that Sulṭān "*Muhammed ordered that he was no longer to be styled Inaljek* but *Ghair Khan* (? a form of *Gur Khan*); in a second place, that he was called *Inalјug;* and, in a third, that he was named *Inalluk*, and "had been granted the title of *Gur Khān by the former chief of Kara Khitai*!!" Now "Ghā-īr Khān" is no more a form of Gur Khān than this Ḳanḳulī Turk was a "*Ghos*," or an "original Ghuse." Ghā-īr is a purely 'Arabic word, derived from the same root as *ghairat*, and signifies the Khān jealous in point of honour or love, the high-minded Khān: it was his Musalmān title. The "*Tabakat-i-Nasiri*" quoted, if my translation is referred to, certainly does not make Ghā-īr Khān a form of Ḳadr Khān, for Ḳadr has a totally different meaning, and is in no way connected with Ghā-īr.

[2] ḲUR'ĀN: Chap. xxxiii. verse 38.

[3] Shāh 'Uṣmān, grandson of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Uṣmān-i-Ḥarab, ruler of Sijistān and Nīmroz, also styled Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, 'Uṣmān, by our author at pages 193 and 196, which see, also pages 200—201 He was related, on the mother's side, to Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, of Khaesār of Ghūr.

a bit[4] of that gold or silver belonging to the traders of the Chingiz Khān, the whole of such treasury, sovereignty and country fell into the hands of the Chingiz Khān and the Mughal forces.

May Almighty God preserve the kingdom of our Sulṭān of Sulṭāns from calamity such as that!

## HISTORY OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED IN ISLĀM.

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that, when that fugitive [camel-driver] stated to the Chingiz Khān, the accursed, what had befallen his traders and emissaries, the Chingiz Khān issued commands so that the forces of Turkistān, Chīn, and Ṭamghāj, assembled. Six hundred[5] banners were brought out, and under each banner were one thousand horsemen, and six hundred thousand horses were assigned to the Bahādurs:[6] they call a warrior, Bahādur. To every ten horsemen three head of *tūḳ-lī* sheep[7] were given, with orders to dry them; and they took, along with them, an iron cauldron, and a skin of water; and the host proceeded on its way.

From the place where the Mughals then were, on the frontier of the Chingiz Khān's territory, to Utrār,[8] was a three months' march, entirely through wild and uncultivated tracts; and it was commanded that it was necessary to perform that march of three months, and subsist upon this

[4] In some copies a dāng—a bit, &c., and in others a *diramak*, the diminutive form of *diram*.

[5] The number given at page 273 is 700,000. The Calcutta Printed Text has 800,000, a few modern copies 300,000, but the above number is confirmed by other authors.

[6] Surgeon-Major Bellew, in his Kāshghar Mission History [page 141], does not quote the "*Tabcāti Nasarī*," as he styles it, correctly. There is nothing in our author's work, as may be here seen, about "horses for the baggage of the army, its carts, and families, &c.," not even in the Calcutta Text, nor does our author make any such statement as that, "just at the time he ['Changíz'] was preparing to set out against Khwáhrizm Shah, he received envoys in 615 from the Khálif [*sic*] Násir of Baghdad urging him to do so." The Doctor must have been thinking of some other work.

[7] تقلي—*tuk-lī*—or تغلي—*tugh-lī*—a sheep of six months old—a half-grown sheep. At page 273, our author says Mughalī sheep, which is, doubtless, an error on the part of the copyists for *tuḳ-lī*.

[8] The Calcutta Text is always incorrect with respect to the name of this well-known city, which was situated on the Sīḥūn. Its ruins are still to be seen on the east bank.

quantity of provision, and to eke it out with *kumīz* and the milk of their mares;* and, placing herds of horses in front of them, so numerous that their numbers cannot be computed, they turned their faces towards the land of Islām.

Towards the end of the year 616 H., they emerged on the frontier of Utrār,[1] at which place the violence had been hatched; and, although they were jaded from their journey and destitute, yet such was the energy, constancy, and intrepidity, which Almighty God had implanted in the nature of the Chingiz Khān and the Mughal army, that,

* Here again, the Printed Text has *shrāb*—شراب—for *shīr-i-asp*— شیر اسب

[1] Petis de la Croix makes the astounding statement [page 158] on the authority, it would appear, of "Abulfaraje," and "Bin Abdallatif," as he styles them, that "Historians do not precisely mention the places by which the *Moguls* entered into the King of *Carisme's* Dominions," and yet, immediately after, says, "They only assure us that he marched by *Caracatay* and *Turquestan* . . and that his troops entered into the Province of *Farab*, of which the City of *Atrar* was the Capital," &c. What more specific mention could he want?

The route taken by the Chingiz Khān in marching from his *yūrat* in the direction of Ḳarā-Ḳuram, and from which he is said to have set out in the eleventh month of 615 H. [about the middle of February, 1219 A D ], was by way of the river of Ardīsh [اردیش] with the object of making those parts his *ī-lāḳ* or summer quarters. When he reached the boundary of the territory of Ḳaiālīḳ or Ḳaiālīgh [which, in Ravenstein's map in the "*Mongols Proper*," is inserted about two degrees south of Lake Bālkash, but is too far N of Khūljah by several degrees Sairām, too, which lies S. of the Ulugh-Tāgh and E. of Āḳsū, is not near the Bālkash, as there shown. From the route mentioned by Goez, and the context of the account of the march of the Mughals, which I shall now refer to, Ḳaiālīḳ was S of the Ulugh Tāgh and between Ṭurfān and Āḳsū], Arsalān Khān, the Ḳārlūgh, the *principal* [مقدم] of the Amīrs thereof—thus showing that there were several—came to do him homage, got an appanage assigned him, and joined the Mughal army with his followers. The Yīddī-Ḳūt of the Ī-ghūrs also came from Bīsh-Bālīgh, and, likewise, Tūkīā-Tigīn [farther on, the name of the chief of Āmālīgh is said to be Saghnāḳ Tigīn] and his followers or tribe [ایل] from Almālīgh [near about Khūljah, but on the left or S. bank of the river Ī-lih]. Jūjī had also been detached, before his father set out, it is said, by some, and, by the way, by others, against the forces [لشکر] of the Ḳirḳīz, who had manifested contumacy, and shown delay and unwillingness [in furnishing a contingent probably], with directions to punish that tribe and seize their territory. Another version is that it was not the Ḳirḳīz who were to blame, but a tribe dwelling along with them, and that the former did not commit themselves Jūjī set out; and, as the river of Ḳirḳīz [the Kam-Kamjīūt, on the opposite side of which they dwelt] chanced, at the time, to be frozen over, he crossed it with his army on the ice, and came upon them unawares in the wild country [بیشه—a wild uncultivated tract, overgrown with reeds and the like] in which they dwelt. A good

in a short time, they took Utrār[8] and put both small and

number were slain by the Mughals, and Ūrāsūt [اوراسوت], their chief—Ūrūs Inīāl—bent his neck to the yoke. After this Jūjī returned and joined his father.

[8] It seems strange to me that the route taken by the Chingiz Khān and his host on the way to Utrār, after what has just been stated respecting Bīsh-Bālīgh and Ḳaiālīḳ, as related in the histories of the Mughals, is not clearly understood. It was much the same line of route—and, doubtless, that in general use by travellers, and *kārwāns* of merchants—as shown in Col. Walker's map, to Ḳarā-Kol or Almatū, skirting the northern slopes of the Ulugh or Ur-Tāgh range, that he was pursuing, after detaching Jūjī to the southward in pursuit of Tūḳ-Tughān, the Makrīt, on which occasion, he [Jūjī], when returning to re-join his father, was fallen in with by the Khwārazm Shāh, near the rivers Ḳamaj and Ḳabal, and compelled to fight against his will It must be sufficiently plain, to any one who will consult the map in question, that the great river Irtīsh is not referred to Ardīsh, under the name of "Artush," the "Artush Pass," and "Artush, which was the principal town of that region," at "the foot of the Kakshâl mountains," is mentioned by SHAW in his work, "*High Tartary*," and refers to the same tract of country, which, in former times, extended much farther every way, as I have here pointed out. The Ardīsh Pass is about seven or eight days' journey, according to the author just quoted, from "the *plains* of Issik-kul" [Issīgh-Kol], only the "plains" there are mostly hills.

After this, the Chingiz Khān continued his westerly course from the vicinity of the Issīgh-Kol, by the present Almatū, in all probability—and, undoubtedly, it was an ancient route—through the territory of Tarāz or Bānkī, as it is also called, along the skirts of what is at present known as the Ḳarā-Tāgh; and, from the route he subsequently took to Bukhārā, when he detached his two sons to invest Utrār, he must have passed the Sirr or Sīḥūn, a considerable distance W. of Utrār, at the Jūlik, or Āḳ-Masjid ferry possibly Strange to say, however, not a single author mentions his passage of that river Having crossed, he took the direct route to Bukhārā He had, by the way, previously detached—by the Sairām or Ardīsh route southwards, in all probability—an army, which was marching southwards against Tāshkand and Khujand, while Jūjī was marching through Farghānah to join him before Bukhārā or Samrḳand With "Yengigent," Jūjī had no more to do than I had, unless he flew along with his troops to it Where are Saḳnāḳ, Ūzḳand and Ardīsh in Kāshghar? where Yangī-kant "on the Jaxartes, at two days' journey from its outlet into the sea of Aral"? ["*Mongols Proper*," pp 76 7] Why only about nine degrees of Long, and four of Lat. distant from each other!

The Chingiz Khān reached the frontier of the Utrār territory, not the city and fortress of that name, for he was never at Utrār himself, towards the end of autumn, 616 H. [in September, 1219, A D] Finding that the Sulṭān of Khwārazm had dispersed his forces, and sent them to guard the great cities and fortresses, instead of concentrating them, and that there was no army left in the field to oppose him, he detached his sons Chaghatāe and Uktāe, the Yīddī-Ḳūt of the Ī-ghūrs, and other vassals, with several *tomāns* of troops, to invest Utrār, and, with his son Tūlī, and the main army, moved towards Bukhārā Utrār, the chief place, and seat of government, which contained 50,000 troops—Alfī has 15,000, a more likely number, but some copies have 5000 only—was defended with great gallantry for five months, until the

**great—young and old—to the sword, and left not a soul alive: they martyred the whole of them.**

defenders were reduced to great straits, at which time the Khâş Ḥâjib, Ḳarâ-chah, who had been sent thither with 10,000 more troops to support the Ghâ-îr Khân, was for capitulating to the enemy, but the Ghâ-îr Khân, who was well aware that he could expect no mercy from the Mughals, scouted the very idea of surrender, and being guilty of such base ingratitude to his sovereign. Ḳarâchah, however, entered into secret understanding with the Mughals [how history has repeated itself within the past year or two ! ], and, one night, left the place with his contingent, by the Şûfî-Khânah gate, and submitted to the enemy, who, without delay, rushed in by that same gate, and captured the city. As soon as morning arrived, Ḳarâchah, and his followers, after being reproached and reviled for their ingratitude to their sovereign, were all put to the sword, and the inhabitants of the place were removed outside into the plain and butchered—"the lives of the inhabitants were *spared*," says Mr. H. H. Howorth in his "*Mongols Proper*." The Ghâ-îr Khân threw himself into the citadel, with 20,000 men—some say 8000, and some, 6000—all resolved to fight to the last, and held out for another month, during which they made several sallies, and slew a vast number of the Mughal army. At last, the Ghâ-îr Khân was left with but two of his followers ; and no shelter remained to them but the flat roof of his dwelling. These two soldiers fell at his side, and then the Ghâ-îr Khân, whom the Mughals were expressly commanded to capture alive if possible, was made prisoner, and on the neck of Anîâl Juḳ they placed a yoke—a play on the word Juḳ, which signifies a yoke for oxen, a collar. The citadel of Utrâr was levelled with the dust, and of the few people of the place, and master artificers, who had escaped the massacre, some were imprisoned, and some were driven along with the army to exercise their trades in the Mughal camp, together with the Ghâ-îr Khân in chains. As the Chingiz Khân was then before Samrḳand, his sons set out to join him there, and to the Ghâ-îr Khân the cup of death was administered at Kiwak Sarâe [كوك سراي], a sarâe near Samrḳand. This place is the *Gheucserai* of Petis de la Croix.

I must now endeavour to give a short account of the different operations of the Mughal hordes, in order to bring up events to the siege of Samrḳand.

I have already mentioned in my previous notes, [4] page 268, and [2] page 964, how Jûjî fell in with the Khwârazmî army in the northern part of the present Kâshghar territory, and, after a severe handling, his marching away, leaving his camp fires burning, so as to avoid pursuit. He subsequently, by command of his father, marched towards Jand, and, when he arrived near Saḳnâḳ on the way thither, he despatched the Ḥâjî, Ḥasan, who was a native of that place, and then with his army, as an envoy, to endeavour to induce the inhabitants to submit. The populace, however, put him to death for advising them to submit to infidels and Mughals, and Jûjî, filled with rage at the treatment of his emissary, attacked the place, and, in two days, captured it. The inhabitants were massacred and the place ruined [this is a mode of treating them "with tenderness," certainly, after the Muskov fashion. "*Mongols Proper*," page 76], and a son of the Ḥâjî, Ḥasan, who was dwelling there, was made its governor—the governor of a desolated place ! Jûjî then advanced to Ûzkand, also written Ûzḳand, and, to quote the expressive words of the History in verse which I have elsewhere referred to : "In one night he took it, and in one day demolished it." After that he marched to Ashnâs [I think this is an error, although contained in so many works, for the 'Arab Ush-Shâsh—the

## An astonishing relation [is here given] which was hear by the author from one of the merchants whom they wer

ancient name of Tāshkand, but, if not, it is now unknown and its site als Jūjī was sent against it, and no mention is made of it after. Abū-l-Ghā Bahādur calls it Astāsh], "a city full of vagabonds and rascals," and, they showed hostility, they were speedily annihilated. No particulars a given.

When the news reached Ḳutluḳ—also written Ḳutlugh—Khān, the Ḥāki of Jand, he became fearful, evacuated the city, and fled by way of the stepp in order to reach Khwārazm. Jūjī on this despatched thither, as his agen Jai-Tīmūr—but who he was is not mentioned [see note page 933], save that h had been long in the Chingiz Khān's service—to advise the inhabitants t submit. There was no leader or authority with sufficient power there, and th populace raised a tumult and sought to take the agent's life, but he managed t escape by stratagem. On being made aware of the state of affairs, Jūjī pushe on, and came in sight of Jand; and the people had merely time to close th gates and mount the walls, but they showed no other opposition. Th Mughals placed scaling ladders, mounted the walls, and the city was their As no active opposition had been shown, the people, with the exception of few evil doers, who had spoken fiercely to Jai-Tīmūr, escaped from th Mughal talons; but they were all thrust out into the open country, and the dwellings were abandoned to be sacked for a period of two weeks, and th walls and defences were levelled with the dust. The Khwājah, 'Alī, who wa one of the great men of Bukhārā, was located there in charge of the city. Mughal Amīr likewise having been detached with one *tomān* [10,000 men the city or town of Mārjīn [ماریں] was taken possession of, and an intenda was left there. After this Jūjī set out to join the camp of his father.

The Nū-yīns, Ālāḳ also written Alāḳ, Saktūr, and Būḳāe, according to the orders proceeded towards Khujand and Fanākat, or Banākat—afterwards know as Shāh-Rūkhiyah—and, on reaching the latter place, the governor there, I-ya takū or I-yal-tagū by name, shut himself up in the citadel with a body of Ḳa ḳulīs, and defended it vigorously for three days. On the fourth they called f quarter, and came out of the city, and "were overwhelmed in the wave blood." Destruction befell the people of Fanākát. Whether stranger friend, not one remained, and but few escaped with their lives, with th exception of the young men of Tājzīk race who were incorporated with th enemy's forces, and compelled to serve against their own people Ālāḳ the turned his face towards Khujand, the governor of which was Tīmūr Malik, " whom Rustam, were he alive, would have acted as groom, and Sām, were h living in his day, would, on his own body, have inscribed his name." Th Tīmūr Malik had constructed a lofty fortress at the point, near the city, whe the river separates into two branches [at the junction, probably, of the tributa of the Sīḥūn which joins that river from the South just below the city], an with 1000 men, took post therein, determined to hold out as long as he h the power and means of doing so. The Mughal forces enclosed the city an fortress as in a ring, but, as the missiles from their catapults took no effect upo the fortress, the young men of the city [which, from this remark, must ha fallen, although no further mention is made of it] were collected in crowd and assistance was also brought from other places, near by, which had be subdued, until 50,000 men were assembled together to help the investing for consisting of 20,000 Mughals. The former were divided into gangs of te

wont to style Khwājah Aḥmad, the Wakhshī, a man of veracity, who related after this manner: "It is narrated by

and hundreds, and one Mughal was placed over every ten Tājīks, and, from the hills three *farsangs distant, they were compelled to convey stones on foot* to the river side [in order to construct a causeway apparently, although this is not specified], and the Mughal horsemen cast them into the river. Tīmūr Malik, who was fertile in expedients, had caused twelve vessels to be constructed, which were covered with felts plastered over with a mixture of fresh clay and vinegar, in such wise that arrows and fire [such things as "stink-pots" in the accounts of this affair are purely ideal: a composition of naptha is here referred to] took no effect upon them, but windows [lit. but loop or port-holes are meant] were left, so that arrows and other missiles could be discharged from them against the Mughals. Every day, at daylight, Tīmūr Malik used to despatch six of these vessels on either side, and keep up a desperate defence; but, when matters became serious, and he found his efforts unavailing, seventy boats which had been got ready to provide means of escape he, one night, loaded with his effects, placed his family therein, embarked with his warriors, and like lightning launched into the river. The Mughal forces, becoming aware of it, set out along both banks to oppose his progress; and, in every place where they could offer most opposition, he would draw near with his own vessel, and with his arrows, which like the arrow of destiny never missed their mark, would drive the Mughals off, and would push on again with his vessel. On reaching Fanākat, he found the Mughals had drawn a chain across the river, thinking to stop the little fleet, but, with one blow of an axe, Tīmūr Malik made the chain two, and pushed on again. I find no mention, in any author, of a "bridge of boats built at Jend," because Tīmūr Malik did not proceed to Jand at all, but, some distance below Fanākat, where the mountains approach the river, he landed on the western bank, entered the steppe, and made for the city of Khwārazm, because Jūjī Khān, on being informed of his heroic conduct, had made preparations to bar his progress farther down the river, which he would have been enabled to do from his position in the vicinity of Tāshkand or Ush-Shāsh. The Mughals however followed in his track, and when they drew near he would face about and withstand them until his family and effects made some progress in advance, and then he would follow. After some days, when most of Tīmūr Malik's men had fallen, the baggage was captured, and, with a few men remaining, he pushed on with rapidity, giving the Mughals no opportunity of taking him, and keeping them at bay. At last his few remaining followers were killed, and Tīmūr Malik was left alone—some say his family at this time had attained a distance which placed them out of danger—and with no means of defence left but three arrows, one of which was broken and its head gone. Three Mughals were still in pursuit of him, so he drew the broken and headless arrow—for he did not wish to have to use the others—and sent it through the eye of the foremost pursuer, and blinded him. He then said to the other two. "Two arrows still remain according to your number, and so it is advisable that ye return from whence ye came." They did retire; and the Iron Malik—Tīmūr signifies iron—proceeded on his way without further molestation to Khwārazm. There he again prepared for war, and with a small force surprised and captured the town of Kāt [ كات ] on the Jīḥūn, in the district of Hazār-asp, and from thence he proceeded to join Sulṭān Muḥammad, not considering it advisable to remain in Khwārazm. He pushed on until he came up with him, and told

reliable persons that the Chingiz Khān, after that he had possessed himself of Ṭamghāj, and had brought it under his sway, and, for a period of four years, had caused great sedition and shedding of blood, saw one night, in a dream, that he was binding a turban of immense length about his head, so much so, that, from the vast length of the turban, and the labour of binding it, he began to grow fatigued after, in his interminable task, he had become like unto a great corn stack. When he awoke from his sleep, he was relating his dream to every one of his confidants, and the men of wisdom who were about him, but not one among them could interpret it in a manner to satisfy his mind, until one of his confidants said: 'The turban is part of the costume of the merchants who are in the habit of coming into this part from different directions of the west, and a party of them has arrived from 'Arabia. It is necessary to summon them in order that the interpretation may be obtained from these persons.' In accordance with that advice, they were called in order to interpret it.

"Among the merchants they found a few persons from the west, 'Arabian Musalmāns, turban-wearers, and

him all he had experienced at the hands of the Mughals, and that they were like unto a flood This made the Sulṭān still more apprehensive and perplexed, and, though he was himself young his fortune was grown old—a play upon words in the original which is lost in translation.

The Nū-yān Ālāḳ, after having obtained possession of Khujand, the next day, set out to rejoin the great army, and reached the camp of the Chingiz Khān after the capture of Samrḳand.

A few words more may not be out of place respecting Tīmūr Malik. He subsequently retired—disguised as a Darwesh, some say—into 'Irāḳ-i-'Ajam, proceeded to Shīrāz and Jīraft, and, finally, into Shām, until the Mughal troubles had somewhat subsided. He remained there some years; and in the time of Bātū Khān, son of Jūjī Khān, he, impelled by a desire of revisiting his native land once more, and by that monarch's leave, reached Khujand, where he found that his only remaining son had gained favour with the Mughal ruler, and had been put in possesion of some of his father's property He was recognized by an old slave, and proposed to proceed to the court of Ūktāe Khān, whose name was celebrated for magnanimity, but, on the way, he fell in with one of the Mughal royal family, Ḳadḳā-ān Ughlān, who put him in chains, for the old Turk Malik's haughty bearing displeased him. Soon after, the very Mughal, into whose eye he had lodged the headless arrow, happened to come in, and began to question him as to his battles, in an insolent tone which provoked Tīmūr Malik to answer him in such a manner as awakened the wrath of the Mughal savage against his former adversary, and he discharged an arrow, in return for his arrow, as he exclaimed, right through the body of Tīmūr Malik, who fell dead on the spot.

they were sent for; and to the person who was the chief, and the most intelligent among the party, the Chingiz Khān related his dream. The *Tāzī* ['Arabic]-speaking merchant said: 'The turban is the crown and diadem of the 'Arab, for head dresses[3] of that description are the tiaras of the 'Arab; and the Prophet of the Musalmāns—Muḥammad, the chosen one—the blessing of God be upon him!—was a turban-wearer, and the Khalīfahs of Islām are turban-wearers. The interpretation is this, that the kingdoms of Islām will come into thy possession, and the countries in which the Muḥammadan faith prevails thou wilt reduce under thy sway.'[4] This signification chimed in with the opinion of the Chingiz Khān; and, for this reason, his design of appropriating the territory of Islām was resolved upon."

We return to the subject of [this] history.

After capturing Utrār[5] and martyring its inhabitants,

[3] The word used is عمايم the plural of عمامه which more particularly refers to the large turbans of Muḥammadan ecclesiastics.

I have several times mentioned the variation of idiom in different copies of the text, and here it varies considerably: in fact, there is greater difference, in this respect, in this Section than in any of the preceding ones.

[4] I doubt very much an 'Arab's saying so, even if he thought it; and, if the merchant told the Mughal this, and it made him determine upon invading Islām, the Musalmāns had not very great reason to be grateful to the 'Arab interpreter.

[5] This is a great mistake. The Chingiz Khān, as shown in the previous notes [5], page 273, and [2], page 970, para. four, had nothing to do with Utrār personally. He reached the frontier of that territory towards the close of autumn 616 H [September, 1219 A.D]. He left his two sons, Uktāe and Chaghatāe, with a great army to invest Utrār, as already stated, and, detaching another and smaller force, under the Nū-yīns, Ālāķ, Saktūr, and Būķāe, to Fanākat and Khujand, with the bulk of his mighty host, and accompanied by his son Tūlī, marched towards Bukhārā

The name of this celebrated city is said to signify, "in the language of the Mughān—Fire-worshippers—an assembling place, or rendezvous of science, and this word, in the dialect of the idol-worshipping Ī-ghūrs and Khitā-īs, is nearly similar, for their places of worship, which are places of idols, they term Bukhār."

On the way thither, the Mughuls reached Zarnūk [there is no doubt respecting its name], and the inhabitants, having issued forth to receive them with due ceremony, were granted security for life and goods. The Chingiz Khān changed the name of the place to Ķutlūgh Bāligh, that is, the Auspicious or Fortunate City, but he took away all the young men of the place to incorporate with his army But Tāshķand did not receive the name of "Kutluk balig," as in the recently published work so often referred to The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says that the people first shut the gates, but, afterwards, were

they [the Mughals] marched, from thence, towards Bukh ārā; and, on the first of the month of Ẕī-Ḥijjah, 616 H.,

induced to open them and submit, while another statement is, that the city was surprised. However this may be, its walls were razed to the ground, to make it "the Fortunate City" perhaps. The Bahādur, Ṭā-īr, whose name will frequently appear in the text, farther on, was sent, in advance, to summon Nūr [see page 118]. The place submitted, it and its dependencies were bestowed as an appanage upon the Bahādur, Sahūdah or Swīdāe, as he is also called, the inhabitants paid a year's tribute in advance, and received security for life and property, and were not further molested.

At the end of the year 616 H. [February, 1220 A D —not the 19th of June, 1219 A.D, as we are told in "*Mongols Proper*," for the year, 617 H, began on the 7th March, 1220], the Mughal hosts appeared before Bukhārā, and the felt tent of the Chingiz Khān was pitched facing the citadel. There was no "several days' siege" whatever. When night set in, the Amīrs commanding the troops there, Kiwak Khān, son of Ḥamīd-i-Būr [an elder brother of the Ḥājib, Burāḳ, the Ḳarā-Khitā-ī, who subsequently usurped the sovereignty of Kirmān, subordinate to the Mughals, after that ingrate had compassed the murder of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, the Sulṭān's son, and ruler of that territory See note ⁹, page 283], Kiwak Khān, Sūnj Khān, Bughrāe Khān, and Ḳashlū [by some Kashlī, which is merely another form of the title] Khān, with 20,000 —but some writers of Mughal proclivities make the number 30,000, in the same manner as they always exaggerate the numbers of the Musalmāns —came out, by one of the gates, in order to make a night attack upon the invaders, but, the enemy having got word of it, they were encountered and defeated by the Mughal advance. The great men of Bukhārā, consisting of ecclesiastics, doctors of the law, and distinguished persons, issued forth from the city next day [the 10th of Ẕī-Ḥijjah], at dawn, and strove, by the manifestation of submission and eloquent appeals, to make terms whereby the inhabitants might be saved from the violent blast of the invader's wrath. The Chingiz Khān entered the city in order to view it; and, when he reached the Masjid-i-Jāmi', or Friday's Masjid, beheld a great and lofty building, towards which he urged forward his horse, and rode into it, with his son, even up to the most sacred place within it—the Ṣaffah-i-Maḳṣūrah. the place where the Imām stands when officiating—and inquired: "Is this the Sulṭān's palace?" They replied: "This is the house of God." He then dismounted from his horse, certainly not out of respect, mounted two or three steps of the pulpit, and sat down [Alfī says, Tūlī ascended to the pulpit] and [according to Sharaf-ud-Dīn, 'Alī,] commanded his troops, saying. "There is no forage in the plain by means of which they [the people] may satiate the horses, [see ye to it]" The Fanākatī, Fasiḥ-i, Alfī, and others, however, relate more circumstantially, that he said to those present "The plain [or open country outside] is destitute of grass: it behoveth that ye fill the bellies of my horses," and, on this, they opened the granaries [of the city], and brought forth grain. The Mughals then drew their horses into the Masjid, and made the chests, in which the sections of the Ḳur'ān—which is generally in thirty sections of sixteen pages each—and other religious books were kept, troughs for their horses to feed out of, while the books were trodden under foot, and they handed the head-stalls of their horses to the 'Ulamā to hold, while they themselves betook themselves to the cup [neither the wine, nor the "loving cup," but the fermented mares' milk cup—*kumiz*] and began to sing their Mughalī songs

pitched their camp before the gate of that city. Kashlū Khān, the Amīr-i-Ākhur of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwā-

Most European authors who relate this anecdote take it from Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Alī's work, but neither that work, nor any other that I have met with, will bear translating "*The hay is cut, give your horses fodder*," as quoted by Mr. H. H. Howorth from VAMBÉRY's "Bokharah," page 28, and which he or his authority mistakes for "a cynical invitation to plunder." The original words in Sharaf-ud-Dīn, are "*dar ṣaḥrā 'alaf nīst ḳih aspān rā ser sāzand;*" [Erdmann's rendering of the same sentence is perfectly correct] and "the floor strewn with wine skins" and "the singing *women* [the word is مغنیان] introduced" are likewise not to be found in his work: the words are: "*ba ayāgh dāshtan mashghūl shudand, ba āhang-i-Mughūlī bar kashīdand;*" there is not a word about women.

From the Jāmi' Masjid mounting again, the Chingiz Khān rode to the Muṣallā-e-'Īd—the place of Prayer, where the prayers appointed for Festivals are said—and, mounting the pulpit, having first caused the people to be assembled, harangued them about the killing of his envoys, and, telling them that he had been sent against them as the instrument of the Divine wrath, on account of their sovereign's and their own misdeeds—he too was a "divine figure" also "from the north," and, after holding forth in a similar blasphemous strain, which address was interpreted from the Mughal language into Persian by an interpreter who stood by his side, he continued: "Such property as is visible in this city need not be referred to—he had an eye to plunder notwithstanding his divine mission—but all that is concealed it behoveth ye to give up." Much wealth was given up in consequence. As commands had been already issued that the adherents of the Khwārazmī Sulṭān should be expelled the city, and none should be sheltered or concealed therein, on finding that several of them had been sheltered by the people of Bukhārā, he—merely desiring an excuse—gave orders for a general massacre of the inhabitants, and to set fire to the city, which was mostly built of wood; and, in the space of one day, the whole, with the exception of the great *Masjid*, and a few brick buildings, was consumed, in such wise that the city became the haunt of wild beasts. The suburbs were then given to the flames, and the ditch of the citadel was filled up with whatever could be obtained—dead bodies of men and beasts, stones, timber, rubbish, and the like—and, in a few days, the Mughals captured it. Its governor, Kiwak Khān, with all found within the place, were put to the sword—more than 30,000 in all—including grandees and great men, the servants of the Sulṭān, who were treated in the most contemptuous manner, and their females and children were carried away into slavery, but babes were not spitted on lances as in these days of civilization and Christianity. After this the citadel was levelled with the ground, and not a vestige of gate, wall, or rampart, of either city or citadel remained. *Kiwak Mazār*, or the Tomb of Kiwak, lies a few miles to the N. E. of the present city.

The young men of Bukhārā, who had been spared for another purpose, were driven off with the troops towards Samrḳand and Dabūsah [also called Dabūs and Dabūsī. It was a fortified town about midway between Bukhārā and Samrḳand], and from Bukhārā the Chingiz Khān turned his face towards Samrḳand.

Having heard accounts of the great strength of Samrḳand, which had lately been added to, the Chingiz Khān had been led to despatch bodies of troops under Jūjī and the Nū-yān, Ālāḳ, to subdue other places in Turkistān

razm S͟hāh, was there, on the part of that monarch, with a force of 12,000 horse; and the Mug͟hals invested the city. On the day of the festival of the *ḳurbān* [10th of Ẓī-Ḥijjah—15th February, 1220] of that same year, they took the city and fortress of Buk͟hārā, and expelled the whole of the inhabitants—gentle and simple, the learned and the noble, both male and female—and martyred them, and burnt and destroyed the whole of the city, and all the libraries of books; and a few persons [only] were made captive. They then turned their faces towards Samrkand. The leader of the van of the C͟hingiz K͟hān's army, which issued from the wilds, and captured Utrār, and advanced to the

before he advanced into Māwarā-un-Nahr, in order to clear his rear of enemies, and to have the whole of his forces at his disposal before he attacked Samrḳand. The resistance at Utrār however disappointed him with regard to the troops investing that place, and the movements of the others have been already narrated. Having made a vast levy of the country people, as stated above, to aid his troops, he left small detachments behind to invest Sar-i-Pūl and Dabūsah, while he hastened forward with his great host, which, numerous as ants or locusts, suddenly appeared before Samrḳand, at the end of Ẓi-Ḥijjah, 616 H. [the latter part of February, 1220, A.D.], and the tent of the C͟hingiz K͟hān was pitched in sight of the place, at Kiwak-Sarāe The next day—some say the third day—he reconnoitred the ramparts, bastions, ditch, gateways, and other defences; and, on the second day, as soon as morning dawned, I-yal-Tāz K͟hān—the S͟hams K͟hān of Alfī—Sarsīg͟h K͟hān, Ṭag͟hāe K͟hān, Ūlāḳ K͟hān, and several other leaders, with the troops within the citadel and city, with great intrepidity and boldness poured out of the place, and attacked the Mug͟hals in their quarters. The number, in all, is said to have been 110,000, namely 60,000 Turks, and 50,000 Tājziks of the country, and twenty elephants On that day, the K͟hwārazmīs displayed immense valour, and a great number were killed on either side, but chiefly, on the part of the Mug͟hals, who also lost a great number of prisoners who were carried off triumphantly into the city This statement does not agree with what our author states above as to the ambuscade, and the number of the troops has been just doubled.

Next day the C͟hingiz K͟hān mounted, and, in person, directed the operations, completely invested the place, prevented the troops within from making a sally, had the catapults placed in position, and began to batter the walls, and pour in volleys of stones and arrows. The walls were however defended with vigour until the day closed, but the defenders were disheartened, and, to make matters worse, there was treason within One party of the inhabitants—the selfish part—"the peace at any price party"—were for going out and seeking quarter from the Mug͟hal, while the other party was for defending the place to the utmost This very division of opinion—without reckoning the traitors—caused great mischief the leaders of the troops were discouraged, and at a loss what to do, and did not fight as they otherwise would have done, for the place was strong enough to have held out a considerable time. On the fifth day—but from our author's statement above it must have been the ninth—early in the morning, while fighting was going on, the Ḳāẓī of the city, the S͟haik͟h-ul-Islām,

gate of Bukhārā and took it likewise, was a Turk whose name was Tamur-chī, the Jazbī, a man of great energy; and, in the Mughal dialect, *jasbī* signifies a Ḥājib [Chamberlain].

On first reaching the gate of Samrḳand, the Mughal forces laid an ambuscade; and the troops in Samrḳand, and the people, moved out to give battle. On the ambuscade being drawn, defeat befell the troops of Islām and the people of Samrḳand, and nearly 50,000 Musalmāns became martyrs. Subsequently to that, for a period of ten days or a little over, the Mughals took up a position round about Samrḳand. Within the walls of that city, on the part of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, was a force of 60,000

and a body of other ecclesiastics [old officials of 'Uṣmān, the Afrāsiyābī, and, doubtless, true to the hostile Khalīfah, who incited the infidels], unexpectedly went out, and presented themselves before the Chingiz Khān, who received them with much encouragement and favour. Without any security, and with the mere promise of safety for themselves and dependents—these barbarians rarely, if ever, kept their word—they were allowed to return; and, at the time of prayer, when the rest of the people were off their guard, these traitors opened the gate known as the Gate [some say Gates] of the Namāz-gāh—Alfī says—the 'Id-gāh—and admitted the Mughals within the walls! During that day and night the infidels completely destroyed the walls and defences of the city, and drove out into the open plain the inhabitants, both males and females, with the exception of the dependents of the Ḳāẓī, the Shaikh-ul-Islām, and other traitors, who are said to have amouted to 50,000 [5000 probably] persons, and then, as was their wont, proceeded to sack the place, and all whom they found within, with the exception of those mentioned, they slew. The Mughals continued within the city until the night of the next day, when they were withdrawn.

The garrison in the citadel was now completely hemmed in, and had no means of escape, but one resolute leader, Ḳarā Alb, the Arsalān Khān, with 1000 men, charged through the Mughal force, cut his way out, and succeeded in joining the Sulṭān, to whom he conveyed the dismal news. Next day the Mughals attacked the citadel, and, having destroyed the defences, during the time of the two prayers, which are wont to be said every Friday about mid-day, succeeded in gaining possession of one of the gateways, and poured in. The Ḳanghulī or Ḳanḳulī Turks, the chief of whom was Bar-Sipās [in one *MS.* Bar-Samās, and, in Alfī, Shams] Khān, Taghāe Khān, Sarlīgh [Sarsīgh ?] Khān, Ū-lāḳ Khān, the Ū-lāgh Khān of the Jahān-Kushāe, together with about twenty other Amīrs and Sardārs of Sulṭān Muḥammad, with the whole of his troops that were therein, were butchered, to the number of 30,000 men, which is a small number in comparison with the 110,000 men said to have been the number stationed at Samrḳand. Of the remaining people of the city, 33,000 artificers, mechanics, and the like, were selected and divided among the sons and kinsmen of the Chingiz Khān, and the residue of the unharmed inhabitants were ransomed and spared for the sum of 200,000 *dīnārs*. These events took place in the beginning of the summer of 617 H. [April 4, A.D. 1220]. A Mughal Shaḥnah was left at Samrḳand, and a native of the place, a Musalmān official, was placed in charge of the city under him

horse, consisting of Turks, Ghūrīs, Tājzīks, Khalj, and Ḳarlughs, and all the Maliks of Ghūr, such as Khar-zor Malikī [Malik ?], and Zangī-i-Khar-Jam [Cham ?].[6] and other Maliks of Ghūr, were there. On the day of 'Ashūrā, the 10th of the month of Muḥarram, 617 H., the Mughals took Samrḳand, and burnt that city and destroyed it, and made captives of some [of the inhabitants, and put the rest to the sword]. Bodies of troops were nominated to various parts of Māwarā-un-Nahr, Farghānah, and Bilāsā-ghūn, and destroyed all the cities,[7] and martyred all their inhabitants. Mughal armies were also despatched to take possession of different parts of the dominions [of the Khwārazmī Sulṭān], and forces were sent from Upper Turkistān to pursue Kashlū[8] Khān, the Tatār, who was a king, and the son of a king, of the Tatār tribes, who had seized and brought [away] the Gūr Khān of Ḳarā-Khitā; and they captured him [Kashlū Khān] on the boundaries of Jāb and Kīkrab[9] which is Ghuzzistān, and the hill tracts of Samrḳand; and they slew him.[1]

[6] The leader referred to at page 926—probably Khar-Chām—Ass-energy—This, as well as Khar-Zor—Ass-power or force—is doubtless a nick-name. As I have noticed elsewhere, several of the Ghūrī Maliks have such like names, in which Khar, Ass, occurs, such as Khar-post—Ass-skinned, Khar-naḳ[nag ?]—Ass-palate or lipped, and the like. Malikī is contained in all the copies of the text, but Malik must be the more correct.

[7] The most modern copies of the text collated have, "as far as the gate of Bilāsā-ghūn."

It is not to be wondered at that this celebrated city is not mentioned subsequently, considering it was destroyed. The name Ghū-Baligh must have been applied to it by the Mughals in times prior to this period.

[8] Troops had been despatched against Koshlūk before entering the dominions of the Sulṭān of Khwārazm; and most of the strong places, in Māwarā-un-Nahr and Western Turkistān, had been captured or taken possession of before the investment of Samrḳand was undertaken.

[9] In some few copies the first word is حباب apparently—ḥubāb or ḥabāb, but جاب—Jāb—seems to be the correct name. These names are not to be found on modern maps. The following note further indicates their position. See also note [5], page 374.

[1] I have already, in my previous notes to the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, given some details respecting Kojlak, Koshluk, Koshlūk, Kashlū, or Kashlī, as he is variously styled by different authors, the last four forms of writing being mere variations of the same name, his intrigues with the Sulṭān, and his seizure of his father-in-law and benefactor, the Gūr Khān, but, to make this account clear and connective, I must go back a little to refer to the chief of the Makrīts and his proceedings.

The Chingiz Khān having returned, in 611 H., from the campaign against the Āltān Khān, and gone to his yūrat or encamping ground on the river Kalūr-ān

When the news of the taking of Samrḳand, and of the

or Lukah, soon after found that the Makrīts were again preparing for war. There is considerable discrepancy with regard to these events, and some oriental writers have, through the carelessness of copyists, apparently, turned two events into one, with respect to Ḳodū [قودو] and the sons of the late Bigī Tūḳtā, and his nephews, and Tūḳ-Tughān, the Makrīt.

At the period in question, Ḳodū and his nephews were residing in the Nāemān country, and were regaining strength, which they were using in support of Koshlūk, the Nāemān sovereign, who, at this time, had seized the last of the Gūr Khāns, and his dominions. The Makrīts had likewise incited other tribes of Mughals, who were quite ready to do so, to throw off the yoke of the Chingiz Khān, under which they had fallen. Among the tribes instigated to war by them were the Tūm-āt or Tūm-ād Mughals [turned into "Comát," in the Kāshghar Mission History, a different tribe from the Burghūts or Burḳūts], who were dwelling in the tracts towards the south-east from Kāshghar—now part of the great sandy desert—towards the frontier of Khiṭā, about the Kok Nāwar, incorrectly written Kokonor in our maps.

In the year 612 H., therefore, the Chingiz Khān despatched the Nū-yīn, Sahūdah, or Swīdāe, the Ūrīāngḳūt Ḳūngḳur-āt, with a considerable army against the Makrīts, and he was provided with carts or waggons, specially made and strengthened with iron, so that they might not easily break down, as the Makrīts had taken shelter in a very mountainous tract of country. This tract was called Ḳum-Ḳunjak—[قم قنجاق] which, through the careless copying of some scribe, or an imperfect *MS.*, has been mistaken for Ḳibchāḳ [قبچاق] by many oriental authors with ridiculous results, and European writers generally have followed them.

Sahūdah set out in the beginning of 612 H. [it commenced on the 1st May, 1215 A.D.], and was joined, on the way, by the Bahādur, Ṯaghachār, with another force [this leader, probably, is Gūzīdah's Tutmār-i-Chūbīn, but Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, calls him Ṯoshājār]. The two leaders, after great exertions, reached the whereabouts of the Makrīts, brought them to action near the banks of the river Jam—the Jam Murān [جم موران] but, in some Histories, the letter ج has a dot over it instead of under, which makes it Kham, while in others again it is not pointed, and therefore stands for ح—*ḥ*—with which no Turkish word begins [Chinese, and Europeans, however, vitiate *kh*, and turn it into 'Arabic *ḥ* as in *Ḥānum* for Khānum, *Topḥānah*, for Top-khānah, *Hatti-Humayun* for Khatt-i-Humāyūn, *Ḥodjah* for Khwājah, *Halji* for Khaljī, *Hān* for Khān, *Hāmil* for Khāmil, and the like]. Bentinck says the Jam Murān rises in the mountains crossing the Gobī—the Āltān, not Altyn mountains—of which but little had been previously known, if the existence of such a range has not been altogether ignored until the recent discoveries by the Russians, and that the river runs S S W, and falls into the Ḳarā-Murān or Hoang-ho, on the borders of Tibbat. See the map to Col. Prejevalsky's explorations in the *Geographical Magazine* for May, 1878, which confirm the existence of this range, which has been distinctly mentioned by Oriental writers and old travellers, and which is clearly laid down, although not quite exactly, in the maps of the Jesuits. A Chinese envoy told Gerbillon that he had crossed a river of Kok Nāwar, "called in the Mongol [Turkī?] tongue Āltān Kol, or Golden River," which falls into the Lakes of Tsing-fū-hay, and has abundance of gold mixed with its sands.

The Makrīts stood their ground against the Mughals, and the consequence was they were defeated with immense loss. Some say the tribe was almost

massacre and captivity of its inhabitants, and of the troop

destroyed, together with Ḳodū and all his nephews but one, a mere child, wh was taken to the presence of the Chingiz Khān, who ordered him "to be se to join his brothers and uncle," notwithstanding Jūjī Khān would have take charge of him, and have brought him up.

It has been asserted that the Makrīts were entirely annihilated on this occa sion, but such is not correct, as I shall presently show, and Ḳodū, brother the late Bīgī, Tūḳtā, and Tūḳ-Tughān, who is also called the brother of th same chief, have been mistaken for one and the same person, of which the is no probability, for Tūḳ-Tughān, and the remnant of the Makrīt tribe we encountered by Jūjī Khān, in the northern part of the present territory Kāshghar in 615 H., after the death of Koshlūk, and when the Ching Khān was on his way westward to invade the territory of Sulṭān Muḥamma Khwārazm Shāh, and when Jūjī, against his will, sustained the attack the Sulṭān's army in which his own was roughly handled. To demonstra this clearly, it is necessary to go back a little, and refer to what is said abo it elsewhere

When Koshlūk, the Nāemān, left the presence of the Gūr Khān, his fathe in law, to call around him his dispersed Nāemāns, and proceeded toward Ḳaiālīḳ, when he reached its confines and that of Ī-mīl, Tūḳ-Tughān, th Amīr of the Makrīts, who had fled—from whence is not mentioned—o hearing the rumour of the Chingiz Khān's fury, joined him, together wit many of the Gūr Khān's chiefs. During the time that Koshlūk exercise dominion over the state of the Gūr Khān, however, after the latter's seizur by him, Tūḳ-Tughān, with the remainder of the tribe of Makrīt, ha separated from Koshlūk, and returned to Ḳum-Ḳunjaḳ again.

The next information we obtain is, that the Chingiz Khān, having dete mined to invade the dominions of the Khwārazmī Sulṭān, when making hi preparations for the march, considered it advisable, before setting out, to leav no enemies in his rear, and, as Koshlūk, the Nāemān, and Tūḳ-Tughān the Makrīt, still remained, and their whereabouts was in the vicinity of hi route towards the west, he deemed it necessary to reduce them first, and the Nū-yīn, Jabah [Yamah], was sent with a large army against Koshlū and Jūjī Ughlān, the Chingiz Khān's son, at the head of another army against the Makrīts under Tūḳ-Tughān.

It would seem, therefore, that Tūḳ-Tughān, hearing of the movements o the two Mughal armies, and finding Jūjī was coming upon him, moved fron Ḳum-Ḳunjaḳ, with the remains of the Makrīt tribe, and endeavoured to reacl Ḳarā-Ḳum [which, in some imperfectly or carelessly copied *MSS.*, has bee turned into Ḳarā Ḳuram], which was the dasht or steppe inhabited by th Ḳanḳulī Turks, and which tribe had been assigned, by the Sulṭān o Khwārazm, to his mother, Turkān Khātūn, as part of her appanage

At page 267, it is stated that, in 615 H., the Sulṭān had moved from Samr ḳand to Jand because a body of those remaining of the supporters of Ḳādi Khān [Ḳādir Khān of others], respecting whom more will be found in the account of Jūjī Khān farther on, had broken out into revolt on the confine of Jand, for the purpose of suppressing it, and, that, after he had annihilate that faction, he returned towards Samrḳand again Some other writers, however [See note ¹, page 262], say that this took place earlier, before the total downfall of the last Gūr Khān, and that, after quelling this revolt, the Sulṭān heard that an army of the Gūr Khān had appeared before Samrkand,

of Islām which were there stationed, reached Sulṭān

and was preparing to march to its relief, when the Ḳarā-Khiṭāe army was withdrawn to operate against Koshlūk, but our author twice distinctly states that this revolt, or its suppression, happened in 615 H., and immediately after says that "the calamity of the infidels of Chīn—i. e. the Mughals—arose."

The Sulṭān being at Samrḳand, whither he had returned from Jand, hearing of the movements of Tūḳ-Tughān and the Mughals in the direction of Ḳarā-Ḳum, moved towards Jand to guard his own territory, and to seize or stop Tūḳ-Tughān, if practicable, and marched beyond it as far as the frontier of the Turks. In the meantime Tūḳ-Tughān and his people, marching westward towards the Ḳanḳulī steppe, had been intercepted by Jūjī Khān near the great mountain range forming the northern boundary of the present Kāshghar state, as previously related.

I think I have here shown that Ḳodū, brother of the Bīgī, Tūḳtā, the Makrīt, and Tūḳ-Tughān, the Makrīt, are different persons, and that the Makrīts were not wholly destroyed when defeated by Sahūdah.

The author of the "*Mongols Proper*," on the authority of M. Wolff, states at page 73, that the destruction of the "Merkits" took place "near Lake Kossagol, between the Selinga and the Upper Jennessei" [*sic*], but I notice that he had some doubts about it, and, at page 712, he places "the Merkits," as "living probably in the valley of the Chu, and perhaps at Balasaghun," after stating that, according to Erdmann, the "Merkit chiefs" were "met and defeated on the banks of the river Jem (not the Kem or Yenissei [*sic*], as Wolff seems to read it)," but without perceiving that, at page 73, he had given, from the same writer, apparently, a much more correct version of the affair, and had even named some of the places tolerably correctly, but under vitiated orthography!

I must, as briefly as possible, give some account of Koshlūk's subsequent acts, after his seizure of the Gūr Khān, his father-in-law, and benefactor, and his own fate, which immediately preceded the irruption of the Mughal barbarians into the countries of Islām.

After the seizure of the last Ḳarā-Khiṭā-ī ruler, his dominions east of the Sīḥūn devolved upon Koshlūk, but he did not thereby "*become himself* Gur Khan," as we are informed in the "*Mongols Proper*." Had Koshlūk known how to have managed the Gūr Khān, after he became his son-in-law, he might have got up a formidable, and, perhaps, successful, combination against the Mughal ruler, to whom also he was related on the mother's side. Koshlūk was an idol-worshipper—*but-parast*—a Buddhist, and his wife [or one of his wives?] was a follower of 'Ī sā—Jesus Christ; hence they were both intolerant to the Musalmāns, continually exhorting them to turn idolators—the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā says, to embrace Christianity—and those who would not were massacred. The Tārīkh-i-Alfī, however, says that Koshlūk, "for the sake of an idol-worshipping damsel, became himself an idol-worshipper too," but without mentioning what faith he previously followed, which we must presume was the Christian.

Koshlūk, for a period of four years, from 610 to 614 H. [May, 1213, to April, 1217, A.D.], continued to send forces against Kāshghar, and they used to commit great ravages, and burn the crops, in such wise, that famine began to show itself in that tract of country. The inhabitants could do no other than give up the city of Kāshghar and its defences to him, and the fort surrendered. Koshlūk's troops took up their quarters in the peoples' houses,

Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, who was then [encamped

leaving them to shift for themselves, and violence, wickedness, and sedition, reigned supreme.

Petis de la Croix, who quotes "Mirconde," that is to say, Mīr Khāwind, the author of the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, makes the astonishing statement in his "*Genghizcan the Great*," that the Gūr Khān used to reside at Kāshghar, which was the capital of their Turkistān possessions, and sometimes called Urdū-ḳand. That the Musalmān religion prevailed there is, undoubtedly, correct—and had prevailed for centuries, it may be added—and the Nestorians had churches there, but that, "at this time the capital is *Hyarcan*, which is the same place as *Caschgar* was," shows that De la Croix's geography was a *little* at fault. Yārḳand is just 100 miles S.E. of Kāshghar. He moreover states, quoting, apparently, the same work, that the people of *Caschgar* refused to acknowledge any other sovereign than the Gūr Khān's son, and that "the *siege* lasted long," and "the city was at last taken."

In the last para. of the account of the Gūr Khāns, I have noticed what has been said respecting the survivors of that family, but, although it is very probable that the last Gūr Khān, and the former ones too, may have had descendants, they are not specified, nor is a son mentioned in any author that I am aware of. The statement as to "Gushluk" having killed "the sovereign" of "Kashgar," contained in the "*Mongols Proper*," is without any real authority, I fancy, and would be difficult to verify.

After obtaining possession of Kāshghar, Koshlūk moved towards Khutan, which 'Abū-l-Fidā and some others say was of the Ī-ghūrs, or "Ī-ghūrīā," lying in the 42° of Lat., while Kāshghar is said to be in the 44°, but correctly, according to the most recent observations, 39° 24′ 26″, and 37° 6′ 58″, respectively, which shows the correct direction of the Ī-ghūr country at the period in question, and which extended much farther to the S. W. than shown in the map in "*Mongols Proper*," and as the events mentioned clearly show. Koshlūk took possession of Khutan, and acted towards its people in the same tyrannical manner, as at Kāshghar, to compel Musalmāns to recant. He commanded that all the learned men of the place should come out and hold a disputation with him on the subject, and more than 3000 'Ulamā and men of learning appeared. One of them was the Shaikh 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Khutanī, and he got the best of the argument, by the Musalmān account, upon which Koshlūk began to mock him, and the Shaikh, losing all patience, cried out, "Dust on thy mouth, O Koshlūk! thou accursed enemy of the faith!" For this the Shaikh was seized and nailed up before the gate of the college he had founded. He lingered for several days, during which he continued to exhort the people to be staunch in the faith, and, at length, he was put to death, and thus attained the felicity of martyrdom. After this, Musalmāns were forbidden to exercise their religion, and the call to prayer and public worship were prohibited.

At that period, there was a person dwelling on the confines of Ālmālīgh, of great valour and intrepidity, and a champion—a *pahlawān*, but not "a herald with red arrows" [see "*Mongols Proper*," page 130], and his name was Ūzār [اوزار], and he also belonged to the Ḳanḳulī or Ḳanghulī tribe. He was a freebooter, and did nothing better than steal horses from all parts, and carry on other wickedness, until vagabonds and bold spirits like himself gathered round him, and he began to acquire strength, and to ravage the parts around Ālmālīgh, until, at last, he obtained possession of that place and parts around.

before] Balkh,[8] as has been already related, he became

[8] He was not "investing" *his own city*, as some writers, who probably did not know that Balkh belonged to him, have made out.

Who held possession immediately before is not stated, but, probably, a governor on the part of the late Gūr Khān did.

This upstart is Mr. H. H. Howorth's "Prince of Almaligh;" and he says [page 20] that Erdmann says "he was known as *Merdi Shudsha* (i. e. lion heart, or lion man), and adds, "This latter statement is probably well founded, for the Khans of Almaligh are doubtless to be identified with the *Lion Khans of Kashgar* mentioned by Visdelou," and yet, only on the *preceding page*, on the authority of Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, he at once identifies this adventurer, who had only just obtained possession, as one and the same as "Arslan Khan of the *Karluks*, who was also Prince of Kayalik or Kabalik." What a jumble of errors have we here! Now, what Erdmann, in his innocence, supposes to be a title is merely the simple Persian words vitiated, namely, *mard-i-shujā*—a bold or intrepid man; and it is utterly impossible that he could be a Kankulī and a Ḳārlūgh—two totally different tribes—at the same time, or, that he was ruler or prince of Kayāliḳ, previously referred to in another note, who had submitted to the Mughals years before, and had again presented himself and joined them, on their way to Utrār. Mr. Howorth appears to have also forgotten that, at page 66 of his book, he states that, in 1209 [A.D. = 606-7 H.], when "Jingis" returned to his "yurt," he found there "the Idikut of the Uighurs, Arslan Khan, chief of the Karliks (i e. Turks of Kayalik), *and* Ozar, Prince of Almalıgh, who had come to do him homage."

Arsalān Khān will appear on the scene in several places of our author's narrative, but that he and this upstart were totally different persons is beyond a doubt, as may be seen farther on.

I have already noticed that, because some of the Afrāsiyābī rulers of Kāshghar were styled Arsalān, it did not follow that they were all styled "the Lion Khāns." Such an impossible statement will not be found in any of the historians of the Mughals, not even in the work of that *Persian*—"the great Raschid."

Now it is very evident that, if Ālmālīgh had belonged to Arsalān Khān, the *Ḳārlūgh*, and the *Kankulī*, Ūzār, had taken it from him, they would not have both appeared together in the *yūrat* of the Chingız Khān.

The Chinese historians state, with respect to these very events, that Ko-pau-yu, a Chinese general in the Mughal army, on recovering from a dangerous wound received in a previous battle, was sent to invest Bīsh-Bālīgh, N. of Ṭurfān, the capital of the Yīddī-Ḳūt of the Īghūrs of the Muhammadan writers [why this should be, seeing that the Yīddī-Ḳūt was a vassal of the Mughals at this time, is not said] but, on the other hand, the Chinese say Ho-chew, E. of Ṭurfān, was the capital of the Ī-ghūrs; and that, at this time, *Gou-chor*, chief of the tribe of *Yong-ku*, in W. Tartary, subdued the city and country of Ālmālīgh—O-li-ma-lu. Further, that Kosmeli, one of the great chiefs of the last of the Kitan dynasty, on becoming aware that the Mughals were come to make war on Koshlūk, persuaded the chief of the city of *Asūn* (supposed to be near to Kāshghar) to submit to Jabah, that Koshlūk had raised up all the country N.W. of Ṭurfān, on the E. and W., as far as the Sīḥūn, leagued with the prince of Kichah, or Kinchah, and the Kanglīs N.E. of Sāmrḳand, and, after slaying Koshlūḳ, the Nāemāns, and Kangli [Ḳanghulīs, or Ḳankulīs], acknowledged the Chingiz Khān's supremacy.

To return to the upstart, Ūzār After he had obtained possession of Ālmā-

filled with despondency, and retired precipitately towards

ligh—the "Turkish Prince" of which is said, by Abū-l-Fidā, to have been absent at this time, and which city is said by him to lie in the same degree of Lat. as Kāshghar—he set out for Fulād-Sum [فولاد سم], which was one of the greater cities in that part [afterwards buried in the sands, like several other cities], and gained possession of it likewise. Koshlūk used continually to lead troops against him, defeat him, and ravage and lay waste his recently acquired territory. When Ūzār's position became dangerous, he despatched an agent to the Chingiz Khān, and complained of Koshlūk's tyranny! The Chingiz Khān sent him a friendly answer—his being hostile to Koshlūk was enough to ensure that—and Ūzār proceeded to his presence and was well received, a dress of honour and other favours were bestowed upon him, and Jūjī sought his daughter in marriage. The Chingiz Khān advised him to abstain from hunting excursions [the mode of hunting of the Mughals and other peoples of Asia, often referred to in our author's, as in other histories, is very different from our ideas of hunting, but I have not space to describe it here], lest he might fall a prey into the hands of a hunter foe, referring to Koshlūk, and presented him with a thousand sheep in order that he might not have occasion to go forth in search of game. However, when Ūzār returned to Āmālīgh, he again went out, when suddenly and unexpectedly the forces of Koshlūk came upon him in a hunting-ground, captured him, and brought him before the gate of Āmālīgh. The inhabitants, however, shut the gates of the city, and resolved to defend it. Fighting commenced, when, at this crisis, news arrived of the coming of the hosts of the Chingiz Khān, for he began to grow alarmed at Koshlūk's continued success. On this Koshlūk's troops retired from before Āmālīgh, and, on the way back to their own territory, put Ūzār, the Ḳanḳulī, to death. The Chingiz Khān showed favour to his son, Saghnāḳ-Tigīn [In the account of those who presented themselves to the Chingiz Khān on his way to Utrār, which occurred very shortly after, the chief of Āmālīgh is styled Tūḳtā-Tigīn. See note [1], page 969] gave him one of Jūjī's daughters to wife, and sent him back to Āmālīgh [from this it would seem that he had been kept in the Mughal camp as security for his father's behaviour], where he took up his residence; and Arsalan Khān, the Ḳārlūgh, who, at this period, was a vassal of the Mughal ruler, who had betrothed one of his daughters to him, was, by him, permitted to go back to Ḳnālīgh or Ḳaiālīḳ.

In the meantime the Chingiz Khān's envoys and the merchants had been put to death and plundered through the perfidy of Anīāl-Juḳ, the Ḳanḳulī, whose title was Ghā-īr Khān, and whose title, in the *MSS* of our author's work, by mistake, is written Ḳadr Khān. The Chingiz Khān, before undertaking the war against the Sulṭān of Khwārazm to avenge that outrage, determined not to leave behind him any one likely to contemplate sedition in his territories during his absence, and, as his chief enemies, Koshlūk, the Nāemān, and Tūḳ-Ṭughān, the Makrīt, were committing disturbances and sedition in the vicinity of his line of route, he determined to finish Koshlūk first, and, accordingly, the Nū-yīn, Jabah, was sent "*to the westward*" against him, with a large army of several *tomāns*, from the frontier of Ḳarā-Khiṭāe, as already stated.

Koshlūk, having committed violence and tyranny beyond measure in Khutan and Kāshghar, and endeavoured to extinguish Islām therein, had nothing to expect but hostility from its people, and therefore, on hearing of the approach of a Mughāl army to that frontier, he fled from Kāshghar, and Jabah was allowed to take possession of it. He at once issued a proclamation that every one might follow his own faith unmolested. Every Nāemān that

Nīshāpūr. On the Chingiz Khān receiving information of the Sulṭān's departure from the environs of Balkh, and of the sedition in, and dispersion of, the army which was along with him, he ordered 60,000 Mughal horse, from his own camp, to cross the Jīḥūn, and despatched this army, under the standard of two notable Mughals, one of whom was the Bahādur, Sahūdah by name, and the other the Nū-īn, Yamah,[1] in pursuit of the Sulṭān.

fell into his hands was slaughtered, and he sent out bodies of troops in all directions in pursuit of Koshlūk He, out of fear for his life, expecting no mercy from his relentless foes, threw himself into the mountain fastnesses of Badakhshān, and, in the agitated and perturbed state of mind he was in, entered a *darah* [a valley between hills, with a river running through it, also a pass] which had no way out of it. Some call it the Darah of the Sarīgh-Kol—the Sarīgh Lake, or Lake of the Sarīgh—سریغ کول—or Sarīk-kul—سریق کل Here we can easily find our ground. The word Sarīgh occurs in Sarīgh-i-Īghūr, and in Sarīgh Pāmir, which appears in Col Walker's map under the incorrect form of "*Sariz* Pamir" A party of hunters, natives of Badakhshān, were pursuing game in those hills when the Mughals suddenly pounced upon them They told the Badakhshīs that they would spare their lives if they would seize and make over to them some fugitives who had lately fled from them. So some of the hunters, who had noticed some strangers, surrounded Koshlūk and his few dependents, captured them, and delivered them over to the Mughals, who slew the whole of them, and Koshlūk's head was forthwith cut off and taken away along with them. In that affair much booty, and precious jewels, fell into the hands of the Badakhshī hunters. Through the death of Koshlūk, sovereign of the Nāemāns, the countries of Khutan and Kāshghar, to the Āb-i-Fanākat, which is also called the Sīḥūn, were added to the empire of the Chingiz Khān

[1] This name is written in several ways Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur, in the Kazān ed of his History, makes it جنه Chanah, which is, apparently, a misprint for جبه Our author, and Faṣīḥ-ī, and some others, write it Yamah—یمه but it is for the most part written Jabah—جبه—in other works Faṣīḥ-ī too has Suntāe for Swīdāe

I must give a few details here, in addition to my notes at page 276 to 278, respecting the movements of these three Nū-yāns, which may be considered generally correct, and they are chiefly taken from the Tārīkh-i-Alfī, Jahān Kushāe, Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr, Rauẓat-us-Ṣafā, and Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, but it must be borne in mind that the authors of the four last, particularly, wrote under Mughal rule and Mughal patronage, and from one to three centuries *after* our author, who was contemporary with the Chingiz Khān, his sons, and grandsons, and knew persons who had taken part in the actions he relates, and therefore—although his accounts are meagre—he is entitled to full credit here The authors who wrote under Mughal influence appear inclined to lessen the number of the Mughal forces on most occasions, while our author, who was very hostile to them, perhaps inclines to exaggerate a little on the other side However, that a force of 30,000 horse only was engaged in this expedition of over three years, through half of Asia, containing great and strong fortresses, mighty cities, difficult passes, and tortuous defilés, is not worthy of credit, for, had

That host, in the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 617 H.,

such a small number been sent they would have been liable to be cut off when separated, in a country too where there were men who only wanted leaders to make them fight. Even a force of 60,000, as our author states, allowing for those killed, disabled, or carried off by disease, was small enough; but, it is certain, that the Mughals, as was their custom, compelled men of the places they captured or passed through to join them, and incorporated them in their armies; and, by this means, they managed to save their own men at the cost of their recruits We must also remember that they had to depend on the parts they overran for supplies That they could be resisted in far greater numbers than 30,000 or even 60,000 by resolute men, the defence of Utrār, Khujand, Tirmid, Sīstān, and Khwārazm, abundantly shows, as well as the determined resistance of other places mentioned by our author farther on, but which *no other writers* have even named, much less described.

When the Chingiz Khān had reached Samrḳand, in Zī-Ḥijjah, 616 H, [end of February, A D 1220], and had completely invested that place, news, it is said, reached him that the Sulṭān had crossed the Jīḥun by the Tirmid ferry [See note [8], page 275. Perhaps his informant was Badr-ud-Dīn], that the greater part of his troops were stationed in different fortresses, and the remainder dispersed [see the note previously referred to] in various parts The Chingiz Khān consequently held counsel with his Nū-yāns, saying, that, as but very few troops remained with the Sulṭān, and his son, Jalāl-ud-Dīn's advice to concentrate his forces was not complied with, it was now possible to complete his downfall before his nobles and great men, and the armies of the different parts of his empire, should have time to rally round him It was therefore determined that three Mughal Amīrs of *tomāns*, who were among the greatest of the Mughal leaders, namely, the Nū-yān, Jabah, of the tribe of Baīsut, the Yamah of our author [يمه and جبه might be mistaken one for the other in *MSS* Our author is distinct in his statement in several places], Yāfa-ī, Faṣiḥ-ī, and some others, with one *tomān* [10,000 horse] as the van division, and the Bahā ur, Swīdāe—the Sahūdah of our author and others—of the Mughal tribe of Ḳungḳur-āt, and the Nū-yān [the Bahādur?], Tūḳchār, also written Tūḳachār and Taghachār, with their respective *tomāns*, should be directed to follow Jabah [Yamah] in succession in pursuit of the Sulṭān They were to pursue him throughout his empire, and not to rest until they had captured him. If they came up with, and found themselves not strong enough to cope with him, they were to make it known to him, the Chingiz Khān, and not to turn aside, to spare those who submitted, and leave Shaḥnahs or Intendants with them, but to annihilate all that showed hostility. They were likewise to understand that three years were sufficient to accomplish this task, and turn the Sulṭān's empire upside down, that he himself did not intend to remain in the countries west of the Sīḥūn more than three years, and that they were to rejoin him, at his native *yūrat*, or encamping ground, in Mughalistān, by way of the Dasht or Steppe of Ḳibchāḳ [along the north side of the Caspian] They were further instructed to acquaint him in case of their being in danger, that his son, Tūlī, would be at once sent after them, at the head of an army, into Khurāsān, and another army against Khwārazm, under his other sons

These three leaders at once set out, and Jabah [Yamah], with his *tomān*, formed the van, while the others were directed to follow him in succession [at an interval of some few days probably] They crossed the Āmūīah, or Jīḥun, by the Panj-āb ford, at the end of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir—some say in the previous

crossed the river Jīḥūn; and, in conformity with the

month—617 H. [about the latter part of June, A.D. 1220], and pushed on to Balkh, where they arrived together. They were waited on by a deputation of the chief men, received supplies, left an Intendant there, and then, according to their instructions, proceeded towards Hirāt.

On the arrival of Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] at Hirāt, they did not molest it because, when they entered that territory, the Malik of Hirāt [Amīn Malik, according to the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, whose title was Yamīn-ul-Mulk] sent an emissary to meet them, and to signify his submission and obedience, he, from their unexpected arrival, being in no condition to resist them; but such proceedings, on that Malik's part, are contrary to the statements of our author and the tenour of that Malik's life See the account of Sulṭān Jalāl ud-Dīn's coming to Ghaznīn farther on. They were allowed to receive supplies, but were not admitted within the walls. The two leaders continued to follow each other towards Zāwah; and, when Tūkachār reached Hirāt, he must needs refuse to believe the statement of the Malik's submission to Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah], and commence hostilities. The Malik therefore, of necessity, had to defend himself [See note [3], page 1014], and, in a conflict which ensued between the Mughals and Hirātīs, Tūkājār was killed, along with a great many of his force This is a totally different person from the son-in-law of the Chingiz Khān killed before Nīshābūr.

In the meantime, the Malik of Hirāt having sent messengers to the two Nū-yāns in advance, complaining of Tūkachār's conduct, agents from them to the Malik arrived merely in time to conduct his defeated troops to join the other two leaders. From this, it will be perceived, that it was only want of spirit, or rather want of union and concerted action, that prevented the Musalmāns from exterminating *this Mughal force entirely.*

From what has been already narrated by our author above, it will have been seen that he knew more of the actual facts of this affair than the pro-Mughal writers I have taken this from. Tūkachār was killed near Fushanj, a dependency of Hirāt, and not at or before Hirāt itself.

These forces under these three leaders were not the only troops despatched from the Chingiz Khān's camp into Khurāsān in 617 H. Arsalān Khān of Ḳaiālīḳ, and the Juzbī, Tūlān, the Talangūt [?] [see note [8], page 1061], were despatched across the Jīḥūn, about the same time, to invest Walkh of Ṭukhāristān, which was bravely defended, and defied all the efforts of the invaders for eight months. See pages *1004—1006.*

When Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] reached Zāwah, they were in want of supplies [according to Rashīd-ud-Dīn], and all their solicitations and threats did not induce the people to open their gates or give them any, so, being in want, they stormed it vigorously Others, however, state, that, the gates being shut upon them, and as the Sulṭān was their object, they would have left Zāwah unmolested, but those within began to beat their drums, and sound their clarions, and from the walls greeted their departure with shouts, jeers, and obscene language, which so exasperated the Mughals that they turned back, and attacked the place In the space of three days they carried it by storm, massacred all the inhabitants, young and old, and levelled Zāwah with the dust, after which feat they turned their faces towards Nīshābūr, without delay, pushing on day and night, "like the autumn blast or clouds of spring, slaughtering all who came across them, and destroying and burning all they possibly could."

Chingiz Khān's commands, they did not inflict any injury on any of the cities and towns of Khurāsān, and had

The Sulṭān had reached Nīshābūr in the month of Ṣafar, 617 H [See note [2], page 275], and left it precipitately in the following Rabī-ul-Ākhir, and this shows that the Mughals could not have crossed the Jīḥūn in the latter month, but must have done so in the preceding one, as mentioned in the note referred to The Sulṭān who had lost all heart—indeed some fatality seems to have overcome him—probably, the prophecy of the astrologers, already mentioned, may have influenced his superstition—could not be induced to make any stand, and seemed only to seek a place of safety The females of his family he sent to the strong fortress of Ḳāran-duj̤, to the care of Tāj-ud-Dīn, Tughān The Fakhr-ul-Mulk, Niẓām-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Ma'ālī, the Kātib, a native of Jām, the Ẓiyā-ul-Mulk, the 'Āriẓ, the Zawzanī, and the Majīr [by some, Majd]-ul-Mulk, 'Umr-i-Rajī, the Kāfī, who were of the Ṣadrs of Khurāsān and Wazīrs of the Sulṭān, were left to administer the affairs of Nīshābūr and its dependencies, and the Sulṭān left it, taking the route of Isfarā'in and Rai, which he passed without making any stay, and made for Ḳazwīn, at the foot of the citadel of which his son, Rukn-ud-Dīn, the ruler of 'Irāḳ, was encamped with 30,000 'Irāḳīs Others again say, that the Sulṭān did stay at Rai, and that he there h ard of a Mughal army having entered Khurāsān On the way to Ḳazwīn, the veteran, Nusrat-ud-Dīn, Hazār-Asp, also styled Hazār-Ṣaf, one of the greatest of the ancient Maliks, and father-in law of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Pīr Shāh, the Sulṭān's son, joined him from Lār, and the Sulṭān went along with him to inspect Shirān-Koh, with the object of staying there.

When Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] reached Nīshābūr, they tortured every one they could meet with in order to extort information respecting the Sulṭān's movements, and sent, and called upon the Fakhr-ul-Mulk, and his colleagues, to submit to the Chingiz Khān's authority They supplied the wants of the Mughals, and sent out three agents, with offerings, to express their submission, and to state that he, the Fakhr-ul-Mulk, was an old man of the class of people of the pen, that they were in search of the Sulṭān, and, in case they should overcome him in battle, the country would naturally be theirs—not, "Speed after him," etc, as a late writer, using some imperfect translation, says—" and that he and his colleagues would be their slaves "

Jabah [Yamah] gave them encouragement, and conciliated them, and, taking into consideration what had happened at Hirāt, left a Shaḥnah, or Intendant, with them for their security, and issued a proclamation, in the name of the Chingiz Khān, written in the Ī-ghūrī character, in the following words, or words to the same effect "Be it known to every one, far and near, high and low, great and small, of Ī-rān and Tūr [i e. Tūrān], that the Pure God [How history repeats itself ! Here also the Pure God—the God of Peace—is invoked, but not under the veil of Christianity] hath given unto me the sovereignty of the east and of the west Whoso shows hostility to me shall see no more safety in this world. his kinsmen and connexions shall perish, together with his women and children; but they, who place their heads upon the line of obedience unto me, shall, instead of the cap, place a diadem on their heads." He also advised them to submit when the Mughal army, which was following, should arrive, and not to trust to the strength of their walls.

The Mughal leaders made no stay at Nīshābūr, but pushed onwards. Jabah [Yamah] made towards Māzandarān by way of Juwain, and, on

nothing to do with them, except in the territory of Hirāt, at a place which they call the To-ī[4] of Būshanj [Fūshanj]

arriving therein, committed great outrages, more particularly at Astarābād, and at Āmul, where he ordered a general massacre. Swīdāe [Sahūdah] moved to Jām and Ṭūs. The latter place refused to submit, on which he massacred the inhabitants, and then proceeded by way of Rādakān [a well known place in history and geography, but it appears in Major St. John's new map of Persia, published by the India Office, under the impossible name of "Rádián"], Isfarāīn, or Isfarāyīn, as it is also spelt, and Khabūshān, to Dāmghān The people took refuge in the strong and famous fortress of Gird-Koh, W. of the city, and refused to submit, but a good many, who could not reach it, were massacred. He then moved upon Simnān, where many people were put to the sword, but places which submitted were spared

Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Hazār-Asp or Hazār-Ṣaf, the Atā-Bak of Lār, who, as already stated, had reached the Sulṭān's presence, advised him to take shelter in Tang-Talū—also written Tangah-Takū—تکو تنکه—between Luristān and Fārs, as related in note [5], page 277, but, hearing of the fall of Rai, and the near arrival of the Mughals, the Sulṭān and his sons retired towards Ḳārun-dujz, and Nusrat-ud Dīn is said to have retired to Lār, and other grandees and chiefs likewise sought places of safety.

On his way towards Ḳārun-dujz, the Sulṭān narrowly escaped a party of the enemy, as related previously, at page 277, and he stayed there only two days to get fresh horses, and then turned his face, it is said, towards Baghdād [بغداد]—the place of all others, save the camp of the Chingiz Khān, which he would be likely to avoid], but some *MSS* have, to Fulād [بفلاد—*ba-Fulād*]; but, hearing that the Mughals had already reached Ḳārun-dujz, he changed his route for the fortress of Surkhāhān—سرخاهان—and from thence entered Gīlān

Jabah [Yamah] left a force to invest Ḳāran-dujz, and again set out towards Rai in pursuit of the unfortunate Sulṭān Now, considering that, at the outset, if only 30,000 men were detached, what with fighting at Hirāt and other places, besides the losses the Mughals must have sustained after such marches, to leave a force behind to invest this stronghold must have so weakened their numbers as to have rendered their destruction easy, I cannot, therefore, for a moment, credit the statement that only 30,000 horse were detached Considering that the Pro-Mughal writers generally lessen the numbers of their own forces, to flatter their patrons' vanity, our author's statement, that 60,000 was the number despatched, is much more reliable, and much more probable.

When Sulṭān Muḥammad reached Gīlān, Ṣa'lūk, one of the chiefs of the Gīl, received him, and advised him to take up his residence in Gīlān He remained seven days there, when he again set out towards Rustamdār for Astadārah [استداره], or Astarah [استره—the Asdār—اسدار—of others, and Astawā or Istawā of the Jami'-ut-Tawārīkh], where all his treasures that remained with him were lost From thence he set out in the direction of Dā-nū-ī—دانوی [in some *MSS* داوئی and even داوی], a dependency of Āmul, and, from that place, embarked on the Ḳulzum [the sea—the Caspian or Sea of Khurz], on the advice of the Chief of Māzandarān, as related at page 278.

[4] توی—*to-ī*—but, in a few copies, بوی—*bo ī* In Pushto, *to'ī* in the masculine, and *toe'a'h*—also written *to'e-a*—in the feminine, signifying—split, rent, scattered, dispersed, etc, is the past part. of the intrans. verb *to-vedal*, but it does not follow that the above is a Pushto word. The printed text is hopelessly defective here

where one of the chief men of the Mug͟hal army, in a foray therein, went to hell. Būs͟hanj was but a small fortification; and they took it by storm, and martyred all the Musalmāns in the place. From thence they pushed on towards Nis͟hāpūr, and arrived there, and appeared before the gate of that city. A battle having taken place there [with the troops therein quartered], the son-in-law of the C͟hingiz K͟hān was killed.[5] Without occupying themselves in avenging his death, they proceeded onwards towards Ṭabaristān and Māzandarān in search of Sultān Muḥammad, K͟hwārazm S͟hāh. The Sultān was encamped within the *darah* [valley and pass] of Timmis͟hiah,[6] on the road to Māzandarān, when, suddenly, the Mug͟hal troops came up with him.

Sultān Muhammad left Utsuz, the Ḥājib, under the canopy of state in the centre of his troops,[7] with orders to move them to Dāmg͟hān and 'Irāk, whilst he, himself, entered into the mountains of Māzandarān, and embarked on the sea [the Caspian], as has been previously related. The Mug͟hal forces now separated into two armies; the one, which was greatest, pushed on towards 'Irāk in pursuit of Sulṭān Muhammad's troops, whilst the smaller one proceeded down the *darah* of Timmis͟hiah.

Respecting the movements of both these armies, no further information, such as might be considered certain, reached K͟hurāsān. Some said that, not finding Sultān Muḥammad, K͟hwārazm S͟hāh, in Māzandarān and 'Irāḳ, they fell upon the son of that Sulṭān, whom they were wont to style Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, G͟hūrī S͟hānastī, and martyred him and the forces of 'Irāk, and, by way of Āzarbāijān, came out in the direction of the Das͟ht-i-K͟hifc͟hāk, but God knows best.[8]

[5] This is incorrect: it was on the second occasion that a son-in-law of the C͟hingiz K͟hān—of whom he had several—was killed. Our author has confused this event. See page 1028, and note [9] page 1034.

[6] Not marked in modern maps. It is also written Timmes͟hah and Timmis͟hah.

[7] He had but a small number with him.

[8] As our author, up to the time he wrote his work, was in doubt respecting the subsequent movements of these two Mug͟hal commanders, he having, in the year 624 H., left his native place and country about the time of their return, and retired into Hind, in order to connect what I have before briefly narrated, I will give a short account of their farther proceedings in this Mug͟hal raid.

The Mughals first possessed themselves of Ḳâran-duj [which was never called "Karendar," nor was it situated "between Nessa and Nishapoor," nor was it situated "in the Kurdish mountains, between Kermanshah and Baghdad," at a place called "Ardahan," nor was it "in Khorassan." See "*Mongols Proper*" pp. 81 and 714], so called after Ḳâran, an ancient Dîâlamah king and champion, of the Gîl race, and situated in the Ḳazwîn Darah—قارن دژ—that is to say, Ḳâran's Castle. Without the points on the last letter, ژ might be mistaken for ز but any one acquainted with the Persian language would naturally, whether there were points or not, read دژ affixed to the name of a fortress, as *duj*, as a matter of course. It was plundered and levelled with the dust, after which the Mughals moved against Î-lal—ایلال [called Lâl by our author, at page 280, which was not called "Ilak" *then*, and I think there is no proof adducible that it is called "Al Ask" *now*. It is precisely the same word, in the original, as PETIS DE LA CROIX's "Ylale".] where was the Sulṭân's mother, and other ladies of his family, and the younger children, and invested it.

Abû-l-Ghâzî, Bahâdur's history has Î-lân, but in the Târîkh-i-Alfî this place is, invariably, styled the fortress of Lâr-jân—لارجان—and it is also stated that it was on a mountain in Ṭabaristân, which, in after times, was noted for a spring, the drops of water from which petrified The same authority states that Yamah [as in our author, and the Jabah of others] detached a Mughal leader named Suntâe with a force to invest it.

No one could call to recollection the time when that stronghold ever wanted for water, for cisterns had been constructed previously, capable of containing such a quantity of water that if no rain fell for years, when they were once filled, there would have been no want of it. It seemed, however, as though Providence was against the Khwârazmîs and Musalmâns in general, for, in fifteen days after the investment began, there was scarcely any water remaining, and no rain fell—an unusual event in that district—from the time the Mughals invested it. Consequently, the Sulṭân's mother, Turkân Khâtûn, and the Wazîr, Nâṣir-ud-Dîn, who was there also, were compelled to come down, and surrender. Almost at the moment of their reaching the foot of the walls the rain began to fall, and continued to pour, in such wise, that the water flowed out under the portals of the fortress!

The place was sacked, and all the vast treasures of gems, gold, and other precious things, fell into the hands of the barbarian Mughals, to such an amount that, besides precious stones and the like, ten thousand thousand—10,000,000—miṣḳâls [about 1½ drachms each] of red gold, and 1000 kharwârs—a load sufficient for an ass—of silken fabrics, clothes, etc., were among the spoils. This booty was sent, along with the unfortunate Turkân Khâtûn, her children, grandchildren, and connexions, and Nâṣir-ud-Dîn, the Wazîr, towards Samrḳand, to the camp of the Chingiz Khân; but, on their way thither, they found that his camp was then in the neighbourhood of Tâl-ḳân [Naṣr-koh of Ṭâl-ḳân of Khurâsân, as our author states farther on]. When the captives were brought before him, the Wazîr, Nâṣir-ud-Dîn, was forthwith put to death, together with all the male children of the Sulṭân's family, however young What befel the females may be imagined. I shall have something more to say respecting them and their cruel fate farther on After that, when Sulṭân Jalâl-ud-Dîn was defeated on the banks of the Sind, and his *haram* too fell into the power of the Mughals, the females were sent to join Turkân Khâtûn, and were all kept together in one place

When Sulṭân Muḥammad, who was then seeking safety on one of the

**islands in the Caspian [Āb-i-Sugūn, referred to in note [5], page 278, is contained in the map of the Caspian and countries around it, in the MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK, and is placed on the south shore, about midway between Āmul and Astarābād],** as previously related at page 279, heard of the capture of this stronghold, and the fate of his family, he died, within a few days, of a broken heart [but, according to our author, and contrary to all those who wrote after him, and improbable too—whilst being conveyed back towards Khwārazm. See page 279], in Shawwāl, the tenth month of 617 H [end of Nov, or early in Decr, old style, 1220 A D]. Considering that the first day of 618 H. commenced on the 24th of February, 1221 A D, it is very evident that the Sulṭān could not have died on the 10th of January of that year, as stated in "*Mongols Proper*," on the authority of M Wolff

After the capture of Ḳāran-duẕ and Ī-lal, and the death of the Sulṭān, had become known to the Mughal Nū-yīns, Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah], they despatched an agent to the camp of the Chingiz Khān to inform him thereof, and to intimate that the late Sultān's son, Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, was coming in his direction, that they themselves were thus relieved of any responsibility respecting them, and would now proceed to carry out the rest of his instructions by pushing on into 'Irāḳ and Māzandarān, and would rejoin him, within the prescribed time, by way of the Dar-band of Shirwān, and the Dasht-i-Khifchāḳ

Where the Mughals wintered—for it was mid winter when they heard of the Sulṭān's death—if they went into winter-quarters, is not precisely stated, but it must have been in the north-western part of Khurāsān, and as soon as the season opened in the following year - 618 H —Jabah [Yamah] set out towards Rai by way of Khowāf Having reached it, expecting he should be unable to take it alone, he summoned Swīdāe [Sahūdah] to join him There were, however, unknown to them, allies within the walls The inhabitants of Rai were divided into two religious factions, the Hanīfīs and the Shā'fīs The former had, not long before, burnt a *masjid* belonging to their rivals, upon which when it became known that the Mughals were coming, the Ḳāẓī of the Shā'fīs, and a number of his party, hastened forth to welcome them. They then offered to betray the city into their hands, the price being, for betraying their country and faith, and playing into the hands of barbarians, the destruction of the rival sect. The Mughal leaders accepted the terms, and they, having been admitted within the walls by the traitors, proceeded to butcher the Ḥanīfīs, but, having had clear proof of the disinterested friendship of the Shāf'īs, and their trustworthiness, the Mughals massacred them also, and completely destroyed the city. Thus was Rai—one of the most flourishing, populous, and finest cities of Asia—desolated, plundered, and depopulated; and it never after recovered This took place early in 618 H. After this feat, Jabah [Yamah] advanced towards Hamadān, and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] to Ḳazwīn

When Jabah reached Ḳum, to use the expressive simile of one of my authorities, "by the Mughals, the people of Ḳum became *gum*"—the Persian for lost, destroyed, annihilated, etc At Ḳum, too, were two religious factions—the Shī'ahs and the Sunnīs The former sent a deputation to wait on Jabah [Yamah], and incited him to destroy the latter, and, as usual with the Mughals, after slaughtering the followers of the rival sect, they sent the followers of 'Alī after them, carried off such as escaped the sword into captivity, and left not a living soul at Ḳum, in fact, they "destroyed" them completely, in "the true Circassian style"

When Jabah [Yamah] arrived near Hamadān, the venerable Sayyid, 'Alā-ud-Daulah, the Hamadānī—some, including the Rauẓat-uṣ Ṣafā, say Majd-ud-Daulah, his son—of the race of 'Alī, who was dwelling there—not "commanding," save in a spiritual point of view—sent him offerings, and tendered submission, in order to save the place and people, and agreed to receive a Mughal Shaḥnah.

In the meantime, the Mughals obtained information that a body of the late Sulṭān's forces, under two leaders, Beg-Tigīn, Salāḥī, and Kūj-Būḳā Khān, had assembled at Najās [or Nakhās? *MSS* نخاس], upon which they marched against them, overthrew, pursued, and dispersed them. Jabah [Yamah] attacked Gūzrūd, Khurramābād, and Nih-āwand, which were plundered and burnt, after the people were put to the sword. The Mughals continued to carry their depredations into every part of 'Irāḳ, with the exception of Iṣfahān, which remained safe in the hands of the Khwārazmīs, and did not fall under the yoke of the Mughals until many years after, and then treachery caused its fall, as our author relates farther on. After the slaughter of a vast number of people, Ḳazwīn was the next point assailed. The people defended it desperately, for the Ḳazwīnīs adopted their usual custom of street-fighting, which the disposition and nature of the streets of their city enabled them successfully to do. They fought hand to hand with the Mughals, and some 50,000 men were killed altogether on both sides. The city was captured at last, and those who still remained alive were massacred, and the place was sacked. It stands to reason that, if only 30,000 Mughals crossed the Oxus originally, as said by the pro-Mughal historians, they must have been somewhat reduced even were this the only fighting they engaged in, and therefore, as I have before mentioned, the 60,000 of our author must be much nearer the truth; and even in this case the Mughals must have greatly increased their troops by forced recruiting by the way. In more than one place, farther on, the despatch of fresh troops by the Chingiz Khān to reinforce these two Nū-yīns is expressly mentioned.

Having plundered, destroyed, and massacred to such degree in 'Irāḳ, the winter season [618-19 H.] having now arrived, Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] took up their winter-quarters in some of the dependencies of Rai. When the spring came round the Mughals turned their faces towards Āẕarbāījān, reached Zinjān, took it, and massacred the people. They then advanced to Arbīl, which they treated in the same fashion, and burnt it, after which they marched by way of Sar-i-Āb towards Tabrīz. At that time, the ruler of Āẕarbāījān was the Atā-Bak, Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn, Yūz-Bak [see page 171], the son of the Jahān Pahlawān, and the last of that dynasty [see page 172, note [3]], who, on the appearance of the enemy near Tabrīz, concealed himself, and despatched an agent to Jabah [Yamah], together with valuable offerings, soliciting an accommodation. This was agreed to, and, it having been arranged, the Mughals passed on without farther molesting Tabrīz.

According to the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, however, "the Atā-Bak, Jahān Pahlawān, resisted the Mughals at first, but, having been defeated and routed, sent his son, Yūz-Bak, tendering submission, and despatched valuable presents, and thus saved his territory from further hostility"! The Jahān Pahlawān, however, died thirty-seven years before this, in 582 H.

The greater part of 'Irāḳ and Āẕarbāījān having been trodden by the hoofs of the Mughals, and winter coming on, Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] took up their winter [619-620 H.] quarters in the plain of Mughān, but, according to Alfī, at Sūfā سوفا.

I am unaware whether the accounts taken from Wolff, Erdmann, and other "Professors," quoted by the author of the "*Mongols Proper*," [p. 82], are verbatim, but, whether or not, these events have been made a terrible hash of in that book, and some, especially respecting the return of the Mughals homeward, have been mixed up with events which happened when Jūjī entered Khifchāḳ some years subsequently "Chepé Noyan, and Subutae Behadur," as they are styled therein, are made to capture, *after* some other places, "*Kum*, Hamadan, and Rudbar," and, afterwards, are marched upon "*Kazvin*," and the Sulṭān, who is, by the same account, still *living*, is followed to the south shore of the Caspian. This was in 1220 A D Then we hear that "Chepé" and "Subutae," after taking Ilak [p 93], marched against Rai, where the rival sects bring destruction upon each other. Then "*Kum*" is taken *a second* time, and "Chepé" makes a raid upon "the towns of Irak, Dinawar," etc., attacks "Nehawend, the far-famed Ecbatana," while "Subutae" captures Kazvin *over again* [p 93], although it had been already taken, previous to the Sulṭān's death, and 50,000 people slaughtered [p 82] After this, "Chepé" advances through "Dilem upon Azerbaidjan, which, together with Arran, were then ruled by the Atabeg Uzbeg," etc, etc., and, in the spring of the following year, after wintering in "the rich plains of Mogan," the "Mongols advance into Georgia." These events are said to have taken place *before* the Sulṭān's death, in 1221 A D, at p 82, and, at p. 93, towards the end of 1222 A D [= 618 H]. At p 97, we are again informed that, "in 1224 A D. [= 621 H], a small body of 3000 [the original 30,000?] Mongols" was able to once more "destroy Rayi, to do the same to *Kum*, and Kashan," etc., etc., so "Rai" or "Rayi," as it is indiscriminately styled, and also "Kum," were, according to this account, destroyed no less than *two* and *three* times respectively, in about as many years How speedily these cities must have recovered again from total ruin and destruction! All these different statements, however, refer really to one and the same events, for, on the first occasion of their inroad beyond the Oxus, with the exception, probably, of Marw and Khwārazm, no Mughal troops were left to hold any position in Khurāsān or 'Irāḳ-i-'Ajam, and, consequently, in Uktāe's time fresh armies had to be sent See page 1007

⁴ During this winter [619-620 H —the winter of 1222-23 A D], 2000—some say 10,000—Gūrjī [Georgian] cavalry, all picked men, attacked the Mughals—where is not said, but in one of their advanced positions probably, and, as might have been expected from such a small force, they were overthrown The Gūrjīs now made preparations for attacking the Mughals in the coming spring, and sought help from Asia Minor, from the Diār-i-Bakr, and Diār-i-Rabī'. The Mughals, at the same time, were meditating an invasion of Gūrjistān as soon as the season should open At this time, a Turk slave in the service of the Atā-Bak, Yūz-Bak, named Aghrūsh, also called Aghūsh, collected together a considerable force, consisting of Khalj Turks, Kurds, and other adventurers, and entered the service of the Mughals This is a specimen of one of the ways in which they received reinforcements As soon as the season opened, Aghrūsh, and his force of "free companions," supported by the Mughals, entered Gūrjistān, carrying slaughter and devastation as far as the gates of Taflīs They were soon encountered by the valiant Gūrjīs, and the latter, having inflicted great slaughter upon Aghrūsh's force, were about to overpower it, when the main Mughal army arrived on the spot, just in time to save it Unable to withstand the combined forces, the Gūrjīs had to beat a retreat

In Ṣafar, 620 H. [March, 1223, A.D.], Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] advanced to Marāghah, which territory, at that time, was ruled by a female sovereign—I have no space for much detail—who held her court in a fortress named Rū-īn-duj, three farsakhs or leagues from Marāghah. Although she was unprovided with the means of efficient resistance, and almost destitute of troops, the people defended Marāghah for a week, when it was captured, and the people massacred, and all their property destroyed or burnt.

After the capture of Marāghah, the Mughals moved towards Ardabīl [Ardibil of the maps], but, as the fame of its ruler, Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn, Gargarī, for valour was sufficiently known, the Mughals gave up the idea of assailing it, and they thought it advisable to retire. On the way back, intimation reached Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] of resistance in another quarter.

In the spring of this same year, 620 H., another attempt, but a feeble one, was made to make a stand against the invaders. It must be remembered, however, that Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn had been overthrown on the banks of the Sind some time—about a year or more—before this, that he was now in the tracts east of that river—the present Panjāb, and Sindh—and that there was no supreme head to direct an efficient resistance: there was no combination. Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Abīah, one of the confidential officers of the late Sulṭān, and who held the Intendancy of 'Irāḳ during his reign, assembled a number of followers, whom the pro-Mughal historians, of course, style "rogues and vagabonds," to oppose the enemy; and the people of Hamadān also rose, slew the Mughal Shaḥnah, or Intendant—not a "governor"—located there, and openly threw off the Mughal yoke. They then seized the Sayyid, 'Alā-ud-Daulah, before referred to, for submitting to those infidels in the first place, and shut him up in the fortress of Kurbat—کربت—or Gurbat. On this Jabah [Yamah] re-entered 'Irāḳ, and moved towards Hamadān again, against Jamāl-ud-Dīn; and all offers of submission [if made], on his part, were rejected, and Jamāl-ud-Dīn was attacked, defeated, and slain. Hamadān, nevertheless, refused to open its gates, and resisted bravely for three days, when the Faḳīh [the Muḥammadan Law-officer, a theologian], who was the Peshwā, or spiritual guide of the Hamadānīs, and the prime mover in all this resistance, was killed; and the Mughals succeeded in gaining an entrance into the place by means of a secret passage, which this very Faḳīh had had excavated from his own house to the hills adjoining the city. The usual scene of slaughter, plunder, and devastation ensued.

After the capture of Hamadān, the Mughals set out towards Tabrīz, at which place, at that time, one of the chief 'Ulamā, Shams-ud-Dīn, 'Uṣmān, the Ṭughrāe, a man of great learning and wisdom, was residing—the Atā-Bak, Yūz-Bak, the ruler, having retired to Khūe—who, in counsel with the chief men, sent presents and supplies to the Mughals, and tendered submission, and, among other things, a vessel filled with mercurial ointment, which, he thought, "might be very valuable and useful to the Mughals in freeing their persons from certain troublesome parasites, as they had come from a long distance." This so struck the Mughals, who met his agents with the presents at Maḥmūdābād, and at once proceeded to examine and count them, as a proof of his good wishes and intentions for their welfare, that they then and there turned back, and contented themselves with sending an Intendant to Tabrīz, along with the bearer of the presents, as Shams-ud-Dīn had requested.

The Mughals now marched to Khūe, and Salmās, plundering, devastating, and slaughtering, and then proceeded to Nakhjūān, Barda', and Bailḳān. This last mentioned place was summoned to submit, and its people were

desirous of so doing, but, in a tumult which arose, the Mug͟hal emissary was killed, upon which the Mug͟hals stormed the place, violated all the women, and then made a general massacre of the inhabitants After this feat of brutality, they advanced to Ganjah, which submitted

At Ganjah intimation reached the Mug͟hal Nū-yīns that an army of Gūrjīs were on the way to attack them, and they moved from thence to meet them. With 5000 men—probably double the number—Jabah [Yamah] placed himself in ambush, while Swīdāe [Sahūdah], with the main army, was sent forward to oppose the Gūrjīs, but they treated him so roughly that he had to beat a retreat in considerable disorder, pursued by the Gūrjīs The latter, however, took to plundering the effects of the Mug͟hals, and, while thus occupied, and their ranks broken, Jabah [Yamah] fell upon them unawares from the ambuscade with his fresh troops, and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] soon after succeeded in rallying his army, and also attacked the Gūrjīs. They, in their turn, had to retire with the loss, it is said, in Alfī and Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, of 30,000 men, but 3000 may be nearer the truth The defeated Gūrjīs effected a junction at Taflīs with Malik Dā-ūd, their ruler, who had there assembled an army to resist the invaders The Mug͟hals, however, had sufficient experience of Gūrjī prowess, for the difficult nature of their country was made the plea for not further molesting them, and the Mug͟hal leaders turned aside towards the territory of S͟hirwān On reaching S͟hamāk͟hī, they proceeded at once to fill the ditch with everything they could get hold of, dead bodies of horses, asses, bullocks, cows, and even sheep included, captured it, violated the females, massacred its inhabitants, and destroyed the place, and S͟hirwān was reduced to the same state of desolation as other countries they had passed through.

Having carried slaughter, devastation, and ruin—this is "an *afflatus* of architecture" possibly—from the frontier of Māwarā-un-Nahr to the Kaukasas, the Mug͟hal leaders now prepared to carry out the plan of returning by the Dasht-i-K͟hifchāḳ into Mug͟halistān, and rejoining the C͟hingiz K͟hān, by taking the route of the Dar band or Barrier—the Bāb-ul-Abwāb, or Gate of Gates, of the 'Arabs, known to the classical writers as the Caspian Gates—but, as they were totally unacquainted with the route, the Mug͟hals had recourse to treacherous stratagem, at which they were such adepts They despatched an agent to the S͟hirwān S͟hāh, as the ruler of that territory was styled, who had shut himself up in his strongest fortress, saying "We do not intend to molest your territory any more, send unto us here some persons that we may enter into a compact together for the future, and then we will depart towards another direction" The S͟hirwān S͟hāh was so delighted at the idea of getting rid of these sanguinary barbarians that he was thrown off his guard completely, and despatched ten persons of note to their camp Arrived there, the Mug͟hals at once struck off the head of one of them in order to terrify the others, and told them that, if they guided them to the Dar-band, and conducted them through and beyond it safely, they should be set free, and, if not, that they should be sent to join their comrade These helpless creatures could do no other so they guided them, and the Mug͟hals, having passed beyond the Barrier, entered the territory of the Ālān, a feat which no army had been able to accomplish, without guides, since the time of Alexander

The Ālānīāns assembled in great numbers to resist the invaders, and combined with the tribes of K͟hifchāḳ [respecting the name K͟hifchāḳ see note at page 877, para five] for that purpose, and occupied the route in the front of the Mug͟hals, prepared to resist their passage The Mug͟hals perceived they were in great danger, and again had recourse to a treacherous

stratagem devised by Swîdâe [Sahūdah]. They sent secretly to the Khif-chāķ tribes, saying: "You and we are both Turks [here is farther proof respecting what I have said in my note on the descent of the Turks of the î-mâks of Tättär and Mughal. See last para. of that note, page 900] of one and the same stock, and all kinsmen together [and as they were Nagūz, *vul* "Nogays," this was really true, certain ethnological philosophers notwithstanding. See note to page 888, para. two], while the Ālānīān are aliens and foreigners. Let us enter into a covenant that we will be the friends of each others' friends and foes of each others' foes, and, whatever you may desire to have in the shape of money or goods, we will furnish you with, provided you give no aid to the Ālānīān, and leave us to deal with them." Jabah [Yamah] and Swîdâe [Sahūdah] accordingly sent many things from among the plunder the Mughals had brought with them, and money likewise. This induced the Khifchāķ tribes to withdraw, and they went away, upon which the Mughals fell upon the Ālānîān, slaughtered great numbers of them, ravaged their country, and got out of their difficulties. Then, according to their usual custom, breaking the pledges they had given the Khifchāķs, they made a forced march, fell upon them unawares in their own territory, slew, and dispersed them The Khifchāķs fled to the territory of the Rūs [Russians], while the Mughals halted in the ķishlāķ or winter quarters of the Khifchāķs, which they appropriated, and therein they passed the winter of 620-21 H. [A D 1223-24]

After being thus treated, the remainder of the Khifchāķ tribes sought aid from the Rūs—in the Rauẓat-us-Ṣafā, and some other Histories, they are always styled Urus—اروس—and, between them, they raised a great army, and set out to encounter the Mughals, who also advanced to meet them The Mughal leaders, finding the confederates too numerous for them to cope with, again had recourse to stratagem, in order to separate them. When the Rūs and Khifchāķs drew near, the Mughals, as though terrified of them, took to flight; and the Rūs, taking heart, followed in pursuit of them for ten or twelve successive days, when, finding the number of their pursuers gradually diminished, and that the horses of the remainder were quite knocked up, one morning, at dawn, the Mughals mounted quietly, and fell upon the Rūs, and, such was the havoc they made among them, that "the ground was made wet with their blood"

It is stated in Alfî, that, in the beginning of the year 611 of the Riḥlat = 621 H [it certainly is not correct that the two Nū-yīns rejoined the Chingiz Khān early in 620 H, as will be proved farther on], the Mughals moved from the country of the Khifchāķs, and penetrated as far as the city of Sūādaķ [سوادق] —by some Sūdāķ [سوداق]—on the shore of the same sea adjoining, and near to [the territory of ?] Ķusṭānṭiah [Constantinople ?], and gained possession of Sūādaķ city, after which they entered the country of the Rūs, as above stated

PETIS DE LA CROIX gives another account, however—but does not quote his authority—in which it is stated that the Ālāns were Tättārs of Dāghistān, but, in the account above, the Mughals, who doubtless knew best, styled them "*aliens* and *strangers*," and did not by descent consider them, in any way, connected with themselves, who were "Turks" "They devastated their country," he says, "so that the Mughals might not obtain anything, and this enraged them so, that they surprised and ruined their chief city, Tarkū, and took Terki [Mosdok of the present day], the chief city of the *Cherkassians*, who were in alliance with them, and also with the Kalmak Tartars" !

According to that account, it was to these last—the Khifchāḳs of my authorities—that the Mughals sent envoys claiming them as kinsmen, and that, by favour of the Kāi Īmāḳs, they crossed the Ātil or Wolga, and entered Khifchāḳ. P de la Croix has here brought in events which happened when Jūjī Khān subsequently went into Khifchāḳ, mentioned farther on, from a totally opposite direction, as the country of the Kāl-Īmāḳs sufficiently indicates.

The pro-Mughal writers narrate that, after the defeat of the Rūs, as I have narrated above, Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] set out to rejoin the Chingiz Khān, and, having done so, laid their spoils before him, and that they completed their expedition within the prescribed period of three years, in which case they must have rejoined him before the fourth month of 620 H. [= June 1223 A D] But what are the facts? Having passed the Ātil, with the consent of the Khifchāḳ tribes, the season being far advanced, the Mughals had to winter in the Dasht-i-Khifchāḳ They appropriated the lands and pastures of the Khifchāḳ tribes, in consequence of which hostilities arose between them and the Mughals, but the latter, being unable to cope with the former, had to act on the defensive, and send for aid to Jūjī Khān, who, since the disagreement with his brothers before Ūrganj of Khwārazm, had retired into the Dasht-i-Khifchāḳ, which had previously been assigned to him as his fief The Chingiz Khān did not move homewards from the Indus until the spring of 620 H, and passed the summer at Buḳlān or Bughlān; and they only joined him in the summer of 621 H, when he was encamped near the Sīḥūn, while others say they re-joined him only at Kalūr-ān. Jūjī sent them aid, the Khifchāḳ tribes were now forced to submit; and Jūjī, at this juncture, was summoned to join his father, who was on his return homewards, and he therefore kept Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] in Khifchāḳ during his absence They, by his command, reduced the Nagūz [vul Nogays], crossed the river in their route, easily on the ice, reached what was afterwards known as Ḥājī-Tarkhān, the capital of the Nagūz, situated on an island in the Ātil or Wolga, reduced it, and compelled the Nagūz to submit, after a war of six months, to the Mughal yoke Jūjī was directed to return to the Dasht-i-Khifchāḳ in the autumn of 621 H [A D 1224], after the great *kurīltāe*, subsequent to which Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] set out for the *urdū* of the Chingiz Khān, and, in due course, joined him during the summer of 621 H, as stated farther on

Now considering that the two Nū-yīns and their force wintered in the kishlāḳ of the Khifchāḳ tribes, during the winter of 620-21 H [= A D. 1223—24], and are supposed to have rejoined the *urdū* of the Chingiz Khān "early in that year," the idea of those, originally 30,000 horse, after nearly three years campaigning, during which they *must have* lost a good many of their number from sickness and fatigue, without allowing for the killed and wounded [P. de la Croix, quoting "Fadlallah," as he styles the "great Raschid," says that "Hubbe and Suida" had lost 10,000 men, and the Mughal ruler had sent off a reinforcement of 20,000 to join them in Māzandarān, when Tūlī was sent against Nīshāpūr in 618 H], "dividing into two sections" after reaching the Dasht-i-Khifchāḳ, and partially destroying "Hadshi Tarkan"—"twisted" into Astrakhan by Europeans—and one body going back from thence into the "Krimea," and plundering the Genoese city of "Sudak," then "rejoining their brethren on the Don," and returning by way of "Precop," as stated in "*Mongols Proper*" on the authority, apparently, of Karamzin and Wolff, respecting this Russian campaign [pp. 94 and 95] is, as regards the expedition under Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah], at this

## ACCOUNT OF THE CROSSING OF THE RIVER JĪḤŪN BY THE TROOPS OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN TOWARDS KHURĀSĀN.*

After the Nū-īn, Yamah, and the Bahādur Sahūdah, with 60,000 horse, passed through Khurāsān, and proceeded towards 'Irāḳ, disturbance and tumult arose in Khurāsān, and sedition manifested itself. Each one of the Maliks, in accordance with the commands of Sulṭān Muḥammad, was in some part or other, and they put the for-

period, as probable as that famous march which the "Gurkhan" made "round the Caspian," and which must have occurred at the same time, and much in the same manner, as when the Ḳarā Khiṭāe "traversed Khurasan and the wastes of Central Asia, and found their way into Kerman without a hint from the Persian historians" What Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] did was subsequent, while Jūjī was absent at the *kurīltāe* just referred to

The author of "*Mongols Proper*" appears to have greatly confused events, or his foreign translations have led him astray, for at p. 94, referring to the raid of "Chepé," and "Subutae," we are told that Georgia was then governed by *Ruṣudan*, daughter of the celebrated "Queen Thamar," and was overrun by the Mughals, and, at p. 132, under "Ogotai," that, in 1235 [= 633-34 H.], the "Mongols" entered "*Erbil*," and in the following year "quitted the plain of *Mughan*"—it was "the rich plain of *Mogan*," at p 93—on the Caspian, and sacked most of the towns of *Albania*, *Georgia*, and *Great Armenia*, the Queen *Roussudan* [This is the *Ruzudan* of p 94, and *Rusutan* of p. 167. Rū-īn-duz was the name of the fortress in which the female ruler of Marāghah held her court, mentioned in para 1, p. 997, of note.], taking refuge in the fortress of "Ousaneth" of p. 132, but "Usaneth" of p. 167, etc. These events all refer to one and the same period of time.

One must be credulous indeed to believe that a force, which at the outset only numbered 30,000 horse, or even double the number, as our author states, could have performed these exploits The very fact of the amount of plunder brought along with them indicates a goodly number of beasts of burden or vehicles of some sort, unless their plunder was packed in a very small compass indeed, and must have hampered them in their Krimean journey, and on the Don, or a large portion of their small force must have been left in some secure position to guard it. Therefore, there can be no doubt but that this original force was greatly augmented by reinforcements of Mughals, and fresh recruits ; and the probability is, that a number of the Turk and Tāttār soldiery, which were dispersed throughout the Sulṭān's dominions without a head, and some of those taken at the capture of cities and fortresses, must have been taken into pay or forced to serve, and this enabled the two Nū-yīns to bring their bloody raid to a successful termination.

* The great fault of our author here is that he does not give the events in order as they happened, which makes it somewhat difficult to follow him in this, otherwise, most interesting portion of his History, and which later historians, especially the pro-Mughal ones, and such writers as D'Ohsson and others, seem to have been wholly unacquainted with.

tresses in repair, and surrounded the cities with ditches, and caused preparations to be made for war, and to defend the fortresses as far as lay in their power; for every part was entrusted, by the Sultān, to the charge of some Malik, who had been [previously] appointed thereunto.

The fortress of Tirmid[1] the Sultān entrusted to the [contingent] troops of Sīstān, the chief of whom was the Amīr, Zangī-i-Abī-Ḥafṣ, and the Sarhang [standard-bearer][2] Sām, and the Pahlawān [champion], Arsīah,[3] he despatched to the fortress of Walkh[4] of Ṭukhāristān, the length and breadth of which fortress is about four *farsangs* [leagues]. The fortress of Bāmīān he gave to Amīr 'Umr, the Bāwardī, and likewise commanded Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of 'Alī-i-Khar-post [the ass-skinned], the Ghūrī, to proceed from Burshor [Purshor—Peshāwar?[5]] for the purpose of securing the city of Ghaznīn[6] and to defend that territory. To Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain[7]-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrād, who was in the fort and town of Sangah[8] of Ghūr, and Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain son of 'Alī-i-Abī-'Alī,[9] he gave orders to garrison and put in

[1] Tirmid or Tirmiz: two modes of writing this name, and both correct.

[2] See note [7], page 103.

[3] But few copies of the text have this name at all, and two copies have respectively a variation of it—Arsībah and Arsibah.

[4] A different place altogether from Balkh, for which it must not be mistaken. See page 1024.

[5] It should not be lost sight of that Peshāwar is a modern name. Up to the time of Akbar it was styled Bagrām. The old capital of the province was Tahkāl, west of the present city. Excavations are being made there at present, I understand, and I have no doubt but that some important archæological discoveries will be made there.

[6] The Bodleian and Ro. As. Soc. *MSS.* have "*and Dihlī*" after Ghaznīn, which proves how much their copyists knew of geography, or their carelessness, or they must have had very imperfect *MSS.* to copy from.

[7] In some copies Hasan. Ḥusain-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrād, is the same person as is mentioned at pages 394 and 417, who was set up as ruler over Fīrūz-koh, after the death of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, and just previous to the termination of the Ghūrī dynasty. He is also styled Sipah Sālār.

[8] Sangah is the capital of Mandesh. See page 340.

[9] The same person as mentioned at pages 391, 410, and 416, and several times in the account of the Shamsīah Sulṭāns. Here is another proof, were any wanting, of an *izāfat* being used for *son* in the very same sentence with *bin*. Abī-'Alī was entitled Shujā'-ud-Dīn, and he was the son of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Al-Ḥusain, mentioned at page 338, and he was the father of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, otherwise Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, the Pearl of Ghūr, and the last of its

order the fortresses of the territory of G͟hūr, and to use their utmost endeavours in the defence of that country. The Malik-ul-Kuttāb [chief of secretaries], the Ik͟htiyār-ul-Mulk, Daulat Yār-i-Ṭug͟hrā-ī [the engrosser of the Ṭug͟hrā or imperial signature], he despatched to the fortress of Kāliūn, and directed that the two famous Pahlawāns [champions] of K͟hurāsān, whom they were wont to call the sons of the Sozan-gar,[1] should also proceed thither. Malik S͟hams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Jūzjānī,[2] was located in the city of Hirāt, and the fortress of Fīwār was entrusted to the charge of the Pahlawān, Aṣīl-ud-Dīn, the Nīs͟hāpūrī, the son-in-law of the Pahlawān, Mubārak, the Kurd. The fort of Naṣir Koh of Ṭāl-ḳān was conferred upon the confidential retainers of Malik S͟hams-ud-Dīn-i-Utsuz, the Ḥājib, and the fortress of Rang of Guzarwān was made over to the vassals of Ulug͟h K͟hān-i-Abī-Muḥammad.[3] The fortresses of G͟harjistān were assigned to S͟herān, the Amīd [chief of the tribe] of the Abū Sahlān,[4] and those of G͟hūr were entrusted to the

Sulṭāns, and this Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, was the son of 'Alī, brother of the Pearl of G͟hūr.

[1] سوزنگر—*Sozan-gar*. One set of copies of the text, which almost always agree, in undoubted errors particularly, as I have several times mentioned before, all have یوزباك—Yūz-Bak, which is Turkish, while these chiefs were all Tājziks. This is a specimen how copyists make errors, for یوزباك is merely a careless error for سوزنگر—which words are more alike in *MS.* than in type. The meaning of *sozan-gar* literally is a needle-maker, but that evidently is not the meaning here, but the worker of a description of quilting for covering or spreading over beds or the like, in which flowers of various kinds are worked of silk and thread, termed *sozanī*.

[2] Written Jūrjānī in nearly every copy of the text, but Jūzjānī is correct here. The parts about Tūlak formed what is called the Jūzjānāt, or the two Jūzjāns of the 'Arab writers, but Gūzgān of the Tājzīks. See note [7], page 321, para. 11.

[3] The same personages as are referred to at pages 266, 281, 399, and 414.

[4] One of the 'Arab tribes of which several, or a portion of several, settled in these parts of Asia, towards the Jīḥūn, at the time of the 'Arab conquest, and some of whom remain to this day.

The late Mr. W. H. Blochmann, M.A., in his criticisms on my account of the rulers of Lakhanawaṭī, contained in his "*Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal*," JOURNAL BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, Vol. XLIV., page 280, note ‡, asserted that *S͟herān by itself is not a Muḥammadan name*, and objected to my 'separating the name of the father of the VIth ruler of Lakhaṇawaṭī [page 573] from that of his sons.' Here is a proof that S͟herān *is a name by itself*, and a Muḥammadan name into the bargain. See also my *Reply* in the same JOURNAL, Part I., No. III., for 1876.

Maliks of G͟hūr. The city of Fīrūz-koh was made over to Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn,[5] the Sabzwārī, and the fort Tūlak was placed under the charge of the Amīr, Ḥabas͟hī-i-Nezah-war[6] [expert at the lance]; and, in every fortress and city, the Sulṭān located one of the distinguished Maliks among the Turks and Tājzīks.

When Sulṭān Muhammad, K͟hwārazm S͟hāh, fled towards Māzandarān, and the armies of Islām became dispersed and disorganized, the C͟hingiz K͟hān had taken complete possession of the territory of Samrḳand, and had despatched a body of horse[7] in pursuit of the Sulṭān; and other armies were despatched into various parts of K͟hurāsān.[8] Arsalān K͟hān of Ḳaiāliḳ,[9] who was a Musalmān, and had [under him] about 6000 [horse-] men, all Musalmāns and 'Ajamīs, along with Ṭūlān, the Juzbī, and a Mug͟hal force, was sent against the fortress of Walk͟h of Ṭuk͟hāristān, whilst the C͟hingiz K͟hān, himself, with the centre [main-body] of his host, advanced from Samrḳand to the foot of the walls of the fortress of Tirmid, and attacked it.[1] After some days,

[5] He is the chief who so gallantly defended Hirāt many months from the second attack of the Mug͟hals, and perished in its defence.

[6] He was famed for his skill at the lance or spear, his favourite weapon, hence his appellation—the lance or spear-carrying, or the skilled at the lance or spear. See page 1059.

[7] An army of 60,000 horse, as mentioned at page 987

[8] Including an army into K͟hwārazm, the operations against the capital of which are narrated under the notice of Tūs͟hī, as Jūjī K͟hān's name is also written.

[9] A Ḳārlūg͟h Turk of the same tribe as Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ḳārlūg͟h [Maj.-Gen. A. Cunningham's Indo-Scythian], only the former belonged to those who continued in their old country, while the latter belonged to those who emigrated to the southwards. See note [5], pages 374-5

[1] Having passed the winter of 617 H. at Samrḳand—the winter of 1220 A.D.—the C͟hingiz K͟hān, as soon as spring drew near, in the month of Zī-Ḥijjah, the last month of 617 H., and after he had despatched his three sons into K͟hwārazm, moved, with the bulk of his host, towards the Jīḥūn. He first reached Nak͟has͟hab, and, in the pasture-lands in that neighbourhood, remained during the summer, in order to fatten his horses, and, probably, until such time as the water should be low enough to enable him to cross the Jīḥūn after destroying Tirmid, which was the next point of attack. When the summer came to an end, he set out with his main army by way of Timur Ḳala'h—from whence he despatched his son Tūlī, at the head of a great army against the cities and fortresses of K͟hurāsān—towards Tirmid. On drawing near it he despatched an agent to summon it to submit, and threatening the utmost severity in case of non-compliance. The people within, however, placing faith in the strength of their walls—the waters of the Jīḥūn partly surrounded the fortress—refused

during which the Musalmāns of Tirmid had fought many battles, and had sent great numbers of the Mug̱hals to hell, and many Musalmāns had been martyred and made captive, the people of Tirmid were reduced to helplessness [2] by the stones of [discharged from] the catapults of those accursed ones, and they abandoned the place; and that fortress fell into the hands of the Mug̱hals, who martyred the whole of the inhabitants.

From thence [Tirmid] the C̱hingiz K̲h̲ān despatched bodies of Mug̱hal troops down towards K̲h̲urāsān, G̱hūr, and G̱haznīn; and the passage downwards of every army of Mug̱hals which he sent towards K̲h̲urāsān and G̱hūr used to be by the fortress of Naṣir Koh of Ṯāl-ḳān.[3] The garrison used to come down from Naṣir Koh, and fall upon the troops and followers of the Mug̱hal armies, and retake captives [4] and cattle, and despatch those accursed ones to hell. These gallant exploits against the

to do so, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Catapults were used on either side, and great energy was displayed by besiegers and besieged, but, on the tenth day—Alfī and some others say the fifteenth—the Mug̱hals, having succeeded in destroying the defences, gained possession of the place by assault. It is very probable that our author's account of the city having been evacuated is correct.

Under pretence of selecting people for distribution, as usual, the inhabitants were driven out into the open country without the city, and all, both old and young, male and female, were massacred. An aged female whom they were in the act of slaying on this occasion cried out, "Do not slay me until I shall have given up to you a great pearl." On making inquiry subsequently, they found she meant that she had swallowed—in the figurative language of the original—"one of great value, like an oyster-shell, and like a pearl oyster-shell they treated her: they opened her bowels and found it; and, after that, it was usual with them to treat their prisoners in this way, in hopes of finding jewels."

After this bloody feat, the C̱hingiz K̲h̲ān, in Zī-Ḥijjah of 617 H.—February, 1221 A.D. [according to the pro-Mug̱hal writers, but three months after according to our author—see page 1008—who was close by at the time, and whose statement is preferable here, and at that page of our author's account it will be found], crossed the Jīḥūn by the Tirmid ferry. Alfī says in the beginning of 618 H., which is much the same, since Zī-Ḥijjah is the last month of the Musalmān year.

[2] Some copies have حز which signifies a fissure or rent, particularly in the ground; some جز which is the shortened form of جزیره, which cannot be right; and others, the oldest, عاجز as translated above. The letters عا were left out by some copyists, hence the error.

[3] In some copies, Naṣr Koh. See note [7], page 1009.

[4] The Printed Text has "camels and cattle"—اشتر for اسیر—but camels come under the head of cattle I believe

infidels by the Ṭāl-ḳānīs having become frequent, a numerous force from the main body of the Mug͟hal host was sent against the fortress of Naṣīr Koh, and it invested that stronghold completely, and fighting began. Uḳlān,[5] the Juzbī, and Sa'dī, the Juzbī, together with the son-in-law of the C͟hingiz K͟hān, which accursed one's name was Fiḳū,[6] the Nū-īn, and who had [under them] 45,000 horse, were likewise despatched to make inroads into various parts of G͟hūr and K͟hurāsān. The whole of the cattle and flocks that were around about the cities, towns, ḳaṣrs, and villages of K͟hurāsān, G͟hūr, and the Garm-sīr, fell into the hands of the Mug͟hal forces, and the country as far as the gate of G͟haznīn, the territories of Ṭuk͟hāristān, and the Garm-sīr, was ravaged, and the greater part of the Musalmān inhabitants were martyred and made captive During this same year, 617 H., for a period of eight months, the Mug͟hal troops continued to carry their devastations into different parts;[7] and, at this period, the writer of this ṬABAḲĀT, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, was in the fortress of Tūlak, and the writer's brother was in the city and fortress of Fīrūz-koh. In this year likewise, a Mug͟hal army came before the fort of Astīah of G͟hūr, and for the space of eleven days vigorously attacked it. Within this fortress was an Amīr and feudatory, the Sipah-Sālār [Leader of Troops], Tāj-ud-Dīn, Ḥabas͟hī,[8]-i-'Abd-ul-Malik,[9] Sar-i-Zarrād. He was a great Malik with ample resources, but, as the decree of destiny had come, he entered into an accommodation with the Mug͟hals, and went unto them. They took him to the presence of the C͟hingiz K͟hān, and he bestowed upon him the title of K͟husrau[1]

[5] In a few copies Ug͟hlān, which is also correct, ḳ and g͟h being interchangeable.

[6] The same as mentioned at page 287, and farther on. The C͟hingiz K͟hān had many sons-in-law

[7] The pro-Mug͟hal historians either did not know of these different expeditions or have concealed them because the Mug͟hals were so often beaten. It is very significant to find that they are not to be found *in any other work whatever save the present one*, and hence, hitherto, this "honey" has not been utilized.

[8] Not an Ethiopian: it is a by-name here. See note [4], page 368.

[9] He is the brother of Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrād, mentioned at page 417 See also pages 394 and 1002.

[1] A king, a prince, a just leader, any sovereign of pomp and magnificence. This, very probably, is the person whom the pro-Mug͟hal writers mistake for Malik K͟hān of Hirāt See note [8], page 987, para. 4.

[Prince] of Ghūr, showed him great honour, and sent him back again in order that he might, by means of accommodation, cause the other strongholds to be given up. On his coming back again, after the Chingiz Khān defeated Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, Khwārazm Shāh, on the banks of the river Sind, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Ḥabashī-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrād, deserted the Mughals, and engaged in battle with them, and attained the reward of martyrdom

In this same year likewise, the army of Mughals under the Juzbī, Uḳlān, appeared before the gate of the city of Fīrūz-koh, and attacked it with great ardour for the space of twenty-one days, but did not succeed in getting possession of it, and they withdrew baffled in their attempt When the winter season drew near, and the snow began to fall upon the mountains[2] of Ghūr, the Mughal forces turned their faces from Khurāsān towards Māwarā-un-Nahr. The number of the Mughal army which was in Ghūr, Mughals and renegades included, was about 20,000 horse,[3] and the route of that force lay by the foot of the fortress of Tūlak, and, for a period of eight months,[4] a force from that army used to carry their raids up to the foot [of the walls] of that fortress, and the veteran warriors of that fort—and this votary, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, was among those holy-warriors —the Almighty's mercy be upon them!—used to join issue with those infidels, in such wise that it used to be impossible for the infidels to come near the fort; and at times during that eight months, all the day long, the Mughal troops continued to prowl around the foot of the fortress.

Trustworthy persons related that there were so many Musalmān captives in the hands of the Mughal infidels, that they had selected, for the Chingiz Khān specially, 12,000 young virgins, who followed [the troops] on foot.

[2] The Printed Text, and a few of the more modern *MS.* copies, have ايلال —peoples, families, etc, instead of جبال—mountains

[3] This may have been a part of Arsalān Khān's force, or of Fīḳū's, or, possibly, a separate force altogether.

[4] One of the best and oldest copies of the text has eight days here instead of eight months, while another, immediately after the word month, has "days" also. The sequel proves that in the first case months are correct, and days after, as rendered above The Mughals and their Musalmān Turkish allies remained in those parts the whole period, from the end of one winter to the commencement of the next, during which time, *for days together*, they used to prowl about Tūlak, awaiting an opportunity of attacking or surprising it

**The Almighty deliver them out of their hands, and, in His wrath, take vengeance upon the infidels, and annihilate them!**

## ACCOUNT OF THE PASSAGE OF THE RIVER JĪḤŪN BY THE CHINGIZ KHĀN.

When the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal of the year 618 H. came round, the Mughal hosts, a second time, were despatched into different parts of Khurāsān, Ghūr, and Gharjistān; and, as the route of the Mughal armies used to be before the fortress of Naṣīr Koh of Ṭālḳān,[4] the holy-

[4] I have now come to a point where a very great and serious blunder has been made by some of the writers, who, under the Īl-Khāniān—the Mughal sovereigns of Persia—the descendants of the Chingiz Khān, wrote their general histories, in which the conquests of the Mughals are given in considerable detail, and, consequently, other historians who follow them have generally repeated this grave error, and the fact of its being undoubtedly such I shall, I believe, fully demonstrate. It must cause a rectification of maps, and will overturn some very pretty geographical theories recently put forth in some elaborately illustrated and printed books, which theories hang upon the error in question.

Taking some of my notes from the pro-Mughal writers to illustrate the inroad of the Saljūḳs, and the life of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, I have, myself, been led into a slight error, at pages 94 and 130, of supposing all three places to be written as I found them, and as the authors themselves appeared to have imagined, or the scribes for them, in the same way, and was partly led away by Ouseley's translation of Ibn-Ḥauḳal, but even then had my doubts on the point, at pages 290, 376, 398, 399, and other places, however, after examining the MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK, I found that there was a great difference between the places, and corrected it accordingly, but I little imagined what these grave mistakes on the part of the pro-Mughal writers would lead to here, and what blunders they would commit in consequence.

The error is that of entirely ignoring the existence of Ṭāl-ḳān—طالقان—of Khurāsān, and mistaking Ṭāe-ḳān—طايقان—of Ṭukhāristān, east of Ḳunduz, for it. The latter place figures in our modern maps, including Col. J. T. Walker's last, under the incorrect name of Talikhan, but the word has no kh in it, and never had.

This error on the part of these Muḥammadan historians is the more to be wondered at, because some of them describe the situation of Ṭāl-ḳān sufficiently correctly to prove that it is the very place referred to above by our author, but in no other are such details given. The author of the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh—the earliest of the pro-Mughal writers referred to—says Ṭāl-ḳān was an exceedingly strong place, seven days' journey from Balkh. The Fanākatī, who is very brief, says the Chingiz Khān proceeded from Balkh to the fort of Ṭāe-ghān [ḳ and gh being interchangeable] and captured it. In the Rauzat-us-Ṣafā and Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, it is "Ṭāl ḳān, situated on a lofty hill called Koh-i-Nukrah"—the Mountain or Hill of Silver, after a silver

warriors of that fortress used to display valour and self-devotion. This circumstance coming constantly to the hearing of the Chingiz Khān, and the forces sent against that stronghold being unable to gain possession of it, and it being impossible to capture it, he crossed the Jīḥūn for the purpose of taking it,[6] and pitched his camp on the Pushtah [mound] of Nu'mān and in the Bayabān [uncultivated plain] of Ka'b[7] which is between Ṭālkān and Balkh.

[6] He did not proceed against it at first, in person, but, subsequently, on finding the troops he had detached for the purpose could not capture the fortress, as explained a little farther on.

[7] To the south of what appears in Col. J. T. Walker's map as "Dasht-i-Chul," both words, dasht and chūl, being precisely of the same meaning—a desert, plain, wilderness, uninhabited tract, etc. The Pushtah-i-Nu'mān lay in about Lat. 36° 20', Long. 64° 40'.

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mine—and that it was "situated *between Marw and Balkh*," and, in this, the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr, and the Tārīkh-i-Alfī agree. The Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah also gives the name and situation correctly.

This may also be quite correct; but نصرکوه or نصر might also, in *MSS*, be mistaken for نقره‌کوه and I am inclined to think that نقره‌کوه is a mistake for the other, as our author was not likely to pass over such a matter as silver-mines without referring to it.

The older historians and geographers describe both places most distinctly. Baihaḳī says "Sulṭān Mas'ūd on the way from Balkh to Sarakhs reached Ṭāl-ḳān;" and *that monarch's defeat by the* Saljūḳs *occurred in that vicinity* Ibn-Ḥauḳal says *Ṭāe-kān* of Tukhāristān is seven days' journey from Badakhshān, while "*Ṭāl-ḳān* of Khurāsān is three stages, i.e. three days' journey from Marw-ar-Rūd" [now, Murgh-āb], and the same distance from Shīwarghān. Abū-l-Fidā says "the city of Ṭāl-ḳān, once a flourishing place, did not exist at this period, but merely a citadel built on Nuḳrah Koh by a prince of Tukhāristān, on account of a silver mine which it enclosed" Ibn-al-Wardī [Hylander: Lundæ, 1823] says:—"الطالقان [aṭ-Ṭāl-ḳān] Urbs in Chorásán vel Irák el Ajem (in utraque enim regione urbes ejus nominis sitæ)." There was another place so called in 'Irāḳ-i-'Ajam, as Ibn-al-Wardī says THE MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK, a work of undoubted authority, says, "From Balkh to Shīwarghān is three *marḥalah* or stages, and, from the latter place to Ṭāl-ḳān, three stages, and from Ṭāl-ḳān to Marw-ar-Rūd three stages. Ṭāl-ḳān lies among mountains, and has running water and gardens. A river runs between it and Marw-ar-Rūd which is crossed by a bridge." It is often mentioned in connexion with Fāryāb and Marw-ar-Rūd See page 378 In another place it is said "*Ṭāe-kān* [which has been mistaken for Ṭāl-ḳān] is the largest city of Tukhāristān, which is a district of Balkh, and is situated in a plain near hills, and is watered by a considerable river" In the various maps also in that work the position of Ṭāl-ḳān is plainly indicated. If we turn to WOOD's work, "*A Journey to the Source of the Oxus*," new ed, pages 153 to 157, we shall find his description agree with what is stated in the MASĀLIK-WA-MAMĀLIK respecting its situation, and it proves, beyond a doubt, from the

When the affairs of the people of the fortress of Naṣir Koh came to a crisis, they resigned their hearts to martyr-

physical nature of the country around, that, what he—led away by the mode of writing the name, as given by Elphinstone, and others—calls Talikhan and Taulikhaun was not the place invested and destroyed by the Mughals It is a place distant from any hills, and not so situated that "every Mughal army passing to and fro between Khurāsān and Ghūr must, necessarily, pass at the foot of the fortress," as our author says. To crown the whole, at page 147, he mentions "Ṭāe-ḳān of Ḳunduz," in connexion with Walwālij, as a wholly different place

Ibn-Khalkān, too, notices two Ṭāl-ḳāns—Ṭāl-ḳān of Khurāsān, and Ṭāl-ḳān of Ḳazwīn, but not Ṭāe-ḳān of Tukhāristān, and, after describing the vowel points, says: "Ṭāl-ḳān is the name of two cities, one in Khurāsān, and the other a dependency of Ḳazwīn, and contiguous to the fortress of Ala-mūt."

ELPHINSTONE appears to have known nothing of Ṭāl-ḳān of Khurāsān, and refers to Ṭāe-ḳān of Ḳunduz, as Taulikhaun. Col. Yule, in his "Essay on the Geography, etc of the Oxus," in the second edition of Capt. Wood's "*Journey*," p. xxvi, refers to both places by one and the same name—"Tálikán on the Murgháb," and "Tálikán, on the borders of Badakshán," but, at p. xxxi. he mentions "the more open country below, *Tálikán* (or Tálikán), and Balkh," etc., and, at p. xxxiii, refers again to Tálikán, *east* of Balkh, as the fortress invested by "Chinghiz," which, of course, is incorrect. Ṭāe-ḳān of Badakhshān again is often mentioned in that excellent work the Aṣār-ul-Bilād. As to the Hayāṭilah see note *, page 423

ELLIOT (Vol. II. p. 578) falls into the same errors as others He says "*Tálikán*—a city of *Tukhāristán* between Balkh and Merv, three days' journey from the latter. There is another town of the same name east of Kunduz. The *Tálikán of Tukhāristán* is the one most frequently mentioned," etc. It is however precisely the reverse, and Tukhāristán was situated *east* of Balkh, while Marw is *west*, in Khurāsān. Ṭāl-ḳān had ceased to be known as "a city" or town prior to the time of the Chingiz Khān.

As the clearing up of this terrible error is necessary, I will show how such like mistakes are brought about. Pétis de la Croix's "HISTORY OF GENGHIZCAN THE GREAT," which is one of the cabbage gardens to which manufacturers of histories have recourse for padding, at page 283, says, that Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn *dwelt many weeks in the city of Balc, where he got together some troops*, and this it was that "*displeased Genghizcan* against its people." This is a blunder, and his own Jalāl-ud-Dīn was never at Balkh at this period: "Balc" is an error for Ghaznīn He gives no authority for his statement in the margin, but, soon after, begins to quote "Abulfarag," and "Mirconde." After mixing up a deal of his own with a little from oriental writers, he says, at page 286, quoting "Fadlalleh" as well as "Abulfarag,"—"After the Mogul Emperor had thus reduced the city of *Balc* to his obedience, he sent detachments out of his army to *India* [this is incorrect: Ghūr and those parts are referred to by the writers he quotes], and *Persia*, and left a considerable part of his troops in *Transoxiana* to keep it in awe, whilst he went to *Tocarestan*, to besiege the *city* of *Talcan* (sic), which was but seven days' journey from *Balc* [here he has mixed up his own remarks], and was esteemed the strongest *city* in all Asia [his own] for its situation, it being built on a very steep mountain [which Ṭāe-ḳān of Tukhāristān is not] called *Nocreceuh* . . whilst *Tuli* went to execute his father's commands, Genghizcan planted the engines before

dom, and washed their hands of all hope of life. Three months prior to the occurrence of the capture of the fortress, and their attainment of the glory of martyrdom, the whole of them, by mutual consent, donned deep blue [mourning] garments, and used to repair daily to the great masjid of the fortress, and would repeat the whole Ḳur'ān and condole and mourn with each other; and, after doing all this, they used to pronounce benediction on and bid farewell to each other, and assume their arms, and engage in holy-warfare with the infidels, and despatch many of the Mug͟hals to hell, and some among themselves would attain martyrdom.

On the C͟hingiz K͟hān, the Mug͟hal, becoming aware o:

*Talcun* (sic), etc. . . he caused to be made, with all speed, a great numbe. of grappling-irons, long nails, hooks, ladders, and ropes, to ascend the Rocl [this cannot possibly be applied to Ṭāe-ḳān of Ḳunduz or Ṭuk͟hāristān, lyin in a plain] . . . animated by the remembrance of the fatigues they ha suffered for seven months past, which time the siege lasted," etc. *Talcan wa situated between Merou and Balc* [here he is quite right] and dependent o Tocaristan [this is his own, and is wrong] . . . . The first *city* of this nam *was not standing* in the time of Genghizcan, and *there was nothing left but th Citadel*, which a prince of Tocarestan [one of the S͟hansabānī rulers of Ṭuk͟h āristān and Bāmīān] had caused to be built on the top of the mountai *Nocrecouh*, so called because of the mines of silver which it enclosed," etc. Fron the above extract it will be perceived how such errors have been brought about

Of modern writers, I find THOMAS is the most correct as to the position o Ṭāl-ḳān, but he spells the word incorrectly—"Tálakán" ["*Journal Ro. As Soc.*," vol xvii p 188, "*On the coins of the Kings of Ghaznī*"], and again at page 208:—"This is the Tálakán in Juzján [Jawzján ?], *which must not b confounded with the city of the same name or nearly similar name in Tokhâristán* situated to the eastward of Kunduz . The second city is discriminated i many of the early geographical authorities, by the independent orthograph of الطايقان" The 'Arabic ال is not however always, or even often, prefixe to the name except in 'Arabic books. The advantageous position for a per manent camp chosen by the C͟hingiz K͟hān at the Pus͟htah-i-Nu'mān can b seen at a glance on looking at a good map, but this position did not secure i from an attack from the fortress of As͟hiyār of G͟harjistān, mentioned at pag 1072, when the C͟hingiz K͟hān set out towards G͟haznīn in pursuit of Sulṭā Jalāl-ud-Dīn, after the latter had repeatedly overthrown the Mug͟hal force opposed to him. The fact of this attack from As͟hiyār also still further tend to prove the position of the great camp mentioned farther on, and, con sequently, the mistaking of Ṭāl-kān, of K͟hurāsān for Ṭāe-ḳān of Ḳunduz eas of Balk͟h involves *a blunder of only about* 360 *miles* too far to the east. Ṭāl-ḳā is, undoubtedly, the place visited by the Chinese traveller, Hiouen Thsang, unde the name of "Ta-la-kien" on the confines of "Po-la-si" [not "Persia," fo Fārs, which is anglicized Persia, only applies to a province, and not to Īrān and lay on the great caravan route between Turkistān, Buk͟hārā, by Tirmi and Balk͟h, to Hirāt and K͟hurāsān. See also pages 378 and 398

the severity of the conflict carried on by these warriors of the faith, he moved from the Pus͟htah of Nu'mān against the fortress in person, and the attack commenced. On one side of the fortress, where the upper gateway was situated, they had excavated a ditch in the rock, and the Mug͟hals, with stones from their catapults, battered down the bastion at that point, and filled in the ditch, and effected a breach to the extent of about a hundred ells.[8] Still the Mug͟hal forces were unable to take the fort; but the C͟hingiz K͟hān, through excessive rage, swore his accustomed oath that he would take that fortress on horseback.[9] For a period of fifteen days more fighting was carried on, until an even passage was made,[1] so that the capture of the fort of Naṣīr Koh might be effected.

When the Mug͟hal cavalry charged into the fortress, 500 men of the defenders of the place, tried warriors, formed in a compact body, and sallied forth from the gateway of the Koh-i-Janīnah[2] [Janīnah mountain] of Ṭālkān, and threw themselves upon the Mug͟hal army, broke through its ranks, and cut their way out. As mountains and ravines were close by, some of them attained martyrdom, but the greater number escaped in safety.[3]

The C͟hingiz K͟hān destroyed that fortress, and caused the whole of [the rest of] the inhabitants[4] to be martyred. May God reward them!

## ACCOUNT OF THE COMING OF SULṬĀN JALĀL-UD-DĪN, MANG-BARNĪ, SON OF SULṬĀN MUḤAMMAD, K͟HWĀRAZM S͟HĀH, TO G͟HAZNĪN, AND THE EVENTS THAT BEFELL HIM THERE.

Sulṭān Muḥammad, K͟hwārazm S͟hāh, sent his commands

[8] When ells occur, the English ell is referred to.

[9] He had to wait for Tūlī K͟hān, whom he had ordered to rejoin him with his forces from Hirāt, before he could succeed in taking the place, according to the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, and some others.

[1] By filling the ditch and levelling the walls.

[2] That is to say, the gateway facing the Janīnah—in some copies, Jaṇīah—mountain.

[3] The pro-Mug͟hal writers say that it was taken after seven months, that not a soul was left alive within it, and that it was razed to the ground. If any place was entitled to be named Mau-bālīg͟h it was this.

[4] Great fortresses, often miles in circumference, with towns within their walls. What they were may be seen from the sketches of Captain Hart, Dr Atkinson, and in Sale's "*Jalāl-ābād*"

to Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of 'Alī-i-Khar-post[5] [the ass-skinned], the Ghūrī, a man of experience, a valiant warrior, and of considerable firmness, who, some time previously, for a period of ten [two ?] years, had held out the fortress of Naṣīr Koh of Tālḳān, against the forces of Khwārazm Shāh,[6] and who, in Ghūr and Khurāsān, had, consequently, become famed and renowned, and whose line was of the great Maliks of Ghūr, to set out from Burṣhor[7] [Purshor—Peshāwar ?], which was his fief, and proceed to Ghaznīn; and, when he arrived there, the forces of Islām turned their faces towards him. In the capital city of Ghaznīn, great numbers of troops assembled, in such wise, that about 130,000 horse, all brave soldiers and completely armed, were mustered with the intention of undertaking this important enterprise, that he should organize the army, and suddenly fall upon the forces of the Chingiz Khān who was then encamped at the Pushtah[8]-i-Nu'mān, and [endeavour to] overcome him.

He [Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Khar-post] was constantly occupied in organizing the army, and in the equipment of his train; and those grandees and distinguished men of Khwārazm, who had become severed from the service of Sulṭān Muḥammad, were coming to him at Ghaznīn Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Alb, the Sarakhsī,[9] who was the Wazīr of the kingdoms of Ghaznīn and Ghūr on the part of the Khwārazm Shāh, came to Ghaznīn. There was [also] at Ghaznīn a Kot-wāl [Seneschal], whom they used to style Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, who was of the *kaṣbah* [town] of Gird-gān,[1] in conformity with the command of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh. Malik Khān of Hirāt, who, at the time of flying [from thence], had proceeded towards Sīstān, when the hot season set in, turned his face towards Ghaznīn, and news from Khurāsān was received respecting Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, that he was coming to Ghaznīn. Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Alb, the Wazīr, in secret, had

[5] "Ass-skinned" or of "Ass-like skin." It is a nickname. See pages 286 and 1002.

[6] When Ghūr was independent.

[7] In some copies, *by way* of Burshor See note [5], page 1002.

[8] Or Pusht, which is the same in signification

[9] See page 285.

[1] In a few copies of the text—کودکان—Kodakān, or Godagān.

now devised a treacherous plot with Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, the Koṭ-wāl, and had prepared a banquet and invited Malik Muḥammad-i-Khar-post to this convivial entertainment, and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, the Koṭ-wāl, assassinated that Malik-i-Ghāzī with a knife; and the army which he had gathered together became dispersed.[2]

[2] As our author has not entered into detail here, the following may tend to elucidate the events of this period, but, in some particulars, it differs considerably from his account, though he is certainly worthy of credit, as he was living in those parts at the period in question.

The disloyal conduct of Malik Muḥammad, 'Alī-i-Khar-post, towards Malik Khān of Hirāt, brought about his own downfall.

The Jahān-Kushāe says that, when Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, fled from the banks of the river of Balkh, where he was encamped [on discovering disaffection among some of his Turkish troops, and a plot to deliver him over to the Mughals], Yamīn [our author's Malik Khān—which is his correct name, and whose *title* was Yamīn-ul-Mulk—i. e. the right arm of the country], Malik—the feudatory of Hirāt and its dependencies, having proceeded thither as directed, but unable to remain, retired from thence—which must have happened soon after the departure of the Mughals under Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah], on their way towards Nīshābūr—by way of the Garm-sīr At this time, 'Alī-i-Khar-post, the Ghūrī, was at Ghaznah on the part of the Sulṭān, with a force of 20,000 men; and, when Yamīn Malik arrived within two or three stages of Ghaznah and encamped at Sūrah [سوره], he despatched an agent to Muḥammad son of 'Alī, saying, "assign us grazing ground [for the horses and other cattle], so that we—thou and I—may continue together [for mutual support], since the Sulṭān has fled towards 'Irāḳ, and the Mughals and Tāttārs have entered Khurāsān, in order that we may see what may occur in the Sulṭān's affairs."

At this time, the Shams-ul-Mulk, Shihāb-ud-Dīn [Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Alb just mentioned in the text above See also page 285], the Sarakhsī, who was the Wazīr, [one of the Wazīrs ?] of the Sulṭān, was likewise at Ghaznah; and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, the Nisāī, who was Koṭ-wāl [Seneschal] of the fortress and city, was likewise located there. From this it appears that Muḥammad, son of 'Alī-i-Khar-post, was merely feudatory of the province, and the Koṭ-wāl was in independent command The Khar-post and the Umrā [of his troops] in reply to the Yamīn Malik's [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk's] request, sent answer "We are Ghūrīs and you are a Turk, and we cannot enter into connexion with you The Sulṭān has assigned fiefs and grazing grounds to each one: let each of us therefore continue in his own locality until we see what may arise" This is a specimen of one out of the many similar causes of the Mughal successes, and the ruin of the Musalmān empire, and—like some modern Catos, who exclaim: "Perish our Indian Empire"—the faction of Ghaznīn would rather see the Musalmān rule extinguished than their own selfishness and ambition frustrated.

Agents on several occasions passed between them, but no agreement was come to, and the Ghūrī faction was obstinate in its refusal As might have been expected, the Shams-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr, and the Seneschal, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, conspired against the Khar-post, saying: "these Ghūrīs are disaffected towards the Sulṭān, and refuse to allow Yamīn Malik [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk], who is the Sulṭān's kinsman, to enter the Ghaznah territory." The whole of the forces of

In the year 617 H., Malik Khān of Hirāt, as above stated,

Ghaznah were then collected together, encamped within half a *farsang* of the city; and the Shams-ul-Mulk and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, who were among them, conspired against Muḥammad, son of 'Alī-i-Khar-post. They invited him to a feast, at a garden near by, when Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, seizing the opportunity, stabbed him with his dagger and slew him. After having killed the Khar-post, the Shams-ul-Mulk, and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, before the deed became known, succeeded in throwing themselves into the city, and secured the citadel; and the Ghūrīs became disunited, and, after two or three days, Yamīn Malik [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk] arrived at Ghaznah and assumed authority.

Soon after came news that the Chingiz Khān had reached Ṭāl-ḳān, and 2000 or 3000 Mughals—20,000 or 30,000 more likely—came in search of Yamīn Malik [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk] by way of the Garm-sīr. He sallied out with a body of troops to encounter them; but they, finding him too strong for them, did not venture to stand against him, and made a hasty retreat. Yamīn Malik [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk] pursued them as far as Bust and Tigīn-ābād; but the Mughals had gone off in the direction of Hirāt, and he, by way of Ḳuṣdār, proceeded into the Sho stān—the Salt Desert between Hirāt, the Ḳuhistān, and Sijistān

He had taken along with him the Wazīr, the Shams-ul-Mulk, and imprisoned him in the fort of Kajūrān of Bust and Tigīn-ābād, and had left Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, the Seneschal, in charge of the citadel of Ghaznīn; but, after the departure of Yamīn Malik [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk], the people of Ghaznīn rose against Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, slew him, and gibbeted him There were at Ghaznīn, at this time, two brothers, natives of Tirmiz, the Raẓī-ul-Mulk, and the 'Umdat-ul-Mulk [these are, however, *titles* not patronyms], and they became the directors of affairs; and, having gathered together a large following, acquired the whole power. The Khalj tribe [a section, see page 539 and note [5], para. 2], and Turkmāns, in great numbers, coming from Māwarā-un-Nahr and Khurāsān, congregated at Parshāwar, and their Sar-Khel, or Leader, was Saif-ud-Dīn, Aghrāḳ, who, in the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, is called a Turkmān. The Raẓī-ul-Mulk was desirous of moving against them, so that he might acquire power in Hindūstān [sic in *MSS.*, but the provinces on the Indus, part of the present Panjāb, is meant]. He accordingly assembled his forces, and marched against them; but he was overthrown by the Khalj and Turkmāns, and killed with most of his followers His brother, the 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, was left in charge at Ghaznīn during his absence.

The A'ẓam-ul Mulk, also styled the A'ẓam Malik in the Jahān-Kushāe, who was the son of 'Imād-ud-Dīn of Balkh, as mentioned above by our author, who was the Ḥākim [here signifying that he held the fief and ruled over it] of Nangrahār, and Malik Sher, the Ḥākim of Kābul, with the Ghūrī troops of the Sulṭān, who had gathered around them [they were Ghūrīs themselves], marched upon Ghaznīn, and invested the 'Umdat-ul-Mulk in the fort, *which is in the middle of the city*. After they had placed catapults against it, and besieged it for forty days, they captured the fortress; but, on the very same day, arrived the Shams-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr, whom Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, flying towards Ghaznīn by way of Khurāsān [see note [7], page 286], had released on reaching the fort of Kajūrān, in which Yamīn Malik [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk] had confined him, and had sent on, in advance, to prepare for his reception at Ghaznīn. A week after, the Sulṭān himself arrived; and troops began to rally round him from all quarters, as already related under his reign, and as will be noticed farther on.

had retired before the Mug͟hal forces and come to G͟haznīn, and, from thence, returned again towards the Garm-sīr with the intention of proceeding to Sīstān. On the way thither, he conferred the territory of Burs͟hor [Purs͟hor] upon Raẓī-ul-Mulk; and, when Raẓī-ul-Mulk came to G͟haznīn for the purpose of proceeding to Burs͟hor [Purs͟hor], the people of G͟haznīn kept him there. Subsequently to that, however, Raẓī-ul-Mulk set out towards Burs͟hor [Purs͟hor], and the troops of the Ig͟hrāḳ[3] [tribe] which were there [congregated] put Raẓī-ul-Mulk to flight. After he had withdrawn from thence the A'ẓam Malik,[4] the Sipah-Sālār [Leader of Troops], the son of 'Imād-ud-Dīn of Balk͟h, who was Amīr of Nagrahār [Nangrahār], seized Raẓī-ul-Mulk, and detained him. Suddenly, Sultan Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, arrived in the G͟haznīn [territory], upon which they ['Imād-ud-Dīn and his partizans] slew Raẓī-ul-Mulk; and, shortly after, Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, and Malik K͟hān of Hirāt, reached G͟haznīn[5]

Numerous troops joined them, consisting of Turks, G͟hūrīs, Tājziks, K͟halj, and G͟huzz, and a great army collected From G͟haznīn, they pushed forward towards Ṭuk͟hāristān, and routed an army of Mug͟hals which were before the walls of the fortress of Wālis͟htān,[6] and came back again [to G͟haznīn].

[3] In some modern copies of the text, this name appears without the point over ع 's اعراق and in one عراب with the point omitted. Some modern historians, and writers of lesser calibre, have consequently jumped at the conclusion that these men were 'Irāḳīs, or natives of 'Irāḳ—Babylonia. They did not apparently know that 'Irāḳ cannot be so written, but عراق The word above as it now stands without a point over ع is merely the plural form of 'Araḳ—عرق—signifying, juice, essence, etc., and that, of course, is wrong.

The latest, and most amusing mistake on this subject is contributed by Surgeon-Major Bellew, C S I, in a book entitled "*Afghanistan and the Afghans,*" written for the present Afg͟hān crisis, in which he says, quoting some translation probably (page 185), that "Changiz at the time of his invasion found the Peshawar valley held by *Irac* or Persian (sic) troops." When, however, G͟halzī Afg͟hāns are not Afg͟hāns but *Khiluch* Turks [the K͟halj tribe is possibly referred to], and "*Tarins*" are "G͟haljis," and "Sabaktaghin" is the "founder of Ghazni," what may we not expect?

The word 'Ig͟hrāḳ, as written by our author, is confirmed by the Jahān-Kus͟hāe and other Histories; and there is not the shadow of a doubt that the 'Ig͟hrāḳ were Turks, and, moreover, that they were a section of the great tribe of K͟halj, as stated in the account of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn

[4] See note [8], page 1021, where he is referred to.

[5] On the 17th of Ẕi-Ḥijjah—the last month—617 H.

[6] The name of this place has been mistaken by many authors, who follow

When intimation of the coming of Sulṭān-Jalāl-ud-Dīn,

and copy from each other, and they have turned it into Wālīān—واليان—which, in *MS.*, is not so very different from والشتان but that a careless copyist might leave out the ش—sh—entirely, seeing that the three shoulders—if they may be so called—in the letter, in its intermedial form in a word—ش—are made one of in *MS.*, thus—والشتان—and might put the two points of ت—t—*under* instead of over the letter, and thus make it ي—ī, which has been done in the cases in question. Our author, then in his 29th year, and his predecessor, the Baihaḳī, both of whom were natives of these parts, and government officials, must have known the names of such prominent places correctly. They continually refer to Wālishtān [in the printed text of the Baihaḳī, however, the three points of ش have been left out] as well as to Walwālij, as totally distinct places, but no such place as Wālīān is ever referred to. It is an undoubted error, as well as the supposed siege of Bāmīān, as I shall presently show.

Now let us examine what the different writers, generally quoted, say on the subject; for the clearing up of this serious error is a matter of necessity I must first, however, refer to a European writer.

PÉTIS DE LA CROIX, in his Life of "*Genghizcan*," quotes a number of authors, some of whom are undoubtedly good, and some of little or no authority, but the earliest wrote about a century after our author, who was the Chingiz Khān's contemporary Some of the originals (quoted by P. de la Croix), such as I could obtain access to on the spur of the moment, I have examined, and I find that, very often, they are not correctly quoted. The Nisāwī's Life of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, I have not had access to, but I am convinced the author could not have made some statements which he has had the credit of. I will first notice P. de la Croix, in juxtaposition with some of his chief authorities. for all I have not space

Quoting "Abulfarag" and "Mircoade," he tells us that "Genghizcan," after taking *Talcan*, put his troops in motion against *Bamian*, and was still waiting for news of his troops, sent after *Gelaleddin* towards India [Ghūr and the tracts between the Oxus and Ghaznīn are meant, but some troops were subsequently sent east of the Indus. See note *, page 293 and page 297] Then [Mircondc] that, "hearing Gelaleddin was at Ghazna, he hastened his march to surprise him, but was stopped in *Zabulestan* by the garrison of *Bamian*, which he hoped to take without opposition" He had just begun to batter the place when news reached him that the leaders of the forces he had sent towards India [this is his own, as the sequel proves, or "Marraschi"] had been defeated, and then De la C quotes the Nisāwī's History to the effect that, "two or three days after Gelaleddin got to Ghazna, he learnt that the Moguls were near by and investing Candahar." This is quite enough to stamp this quotation as incorrect, for there was no such name known to Baihaḳī, or to our author, at that period, and for very many years after, as Ḳandahār—without taking into account its position from Ghaznīn—although the site is undoubtedly ancient. It is probably identical with Tigīn-ābād, mentioned at page 448. Then we are told that. "*Emin Malic* was come out of Hirat to watch the Moguls," and that "*Schamseddin* commanded in the city *for him*," after De la Croix had just before said that *Schamseddin* had usurped possession of it, and that "he had surprised this city in the absence of Emin Malec" [see page 1013 of this translation], while the fact was that, at this time, Hirāt had been taken by Tūlī Khān, and had received a Mughal Shaḥnah or Intendant. Then, again quoting the Nisāwī, as he says, "Emin Malec consented" to

Mang-barnī, and Malik Khān of Hirāt, and the gathering

join his sovereign, and they now moved to relieve Candahar "before the citadel was taken," and "surprised the Moguls, who had already taken and plundered the town," and drove them off with great slaughter, "the town being full of dead bodies of Moguls and Tartars." All the Mogul army at Candahar perished! The Sulṭān "repaired Candahar," and "returned to Ghazna."

I have no opportunity, at present, of examining the Nisāwī's History, but I feel certain that no such name as the city of Ḳandahār will be found in it, unless the interpolation of some more modern writer or copyist; and further that it will not be found in any History of that period. Ḳandahār adjoins the tract called the Zamīn-i-Dāwar, which Baihaḳī so often refers to in connexion with Bust and Ḳuṣdār, and whose work, devoted to a single reign, is so full of detail; and he mentions Wālisht in connexion with those places, but never mentions such a place as Ḳandahār. At page 319, our author too, in his account of the five great mountain ranges of Ghūr, says, that "the fourth is the mountain tract of Waranī, in the valleys and outskirts of which are the territories of Dāwar [the Zamīn-i-Dāwar], Wālisht, and the Ḳaṣr of Kajūrān." Is it possible that such a position as that of the city of Ḳandahār could then have been *in existence*, and lying in the easiest route between Ghaznīn and Bust, without being once mentioned? It is also improbable that Wālisht can be Wālishtān, because we are distinctly told that the latter was in Ṭukhāristān, which lies some five degrees farther north than Ḳandahār. The so-called "Saygill," of some European writers, is merely an error for Sigiz, or Sijiz. The ancient name too of Ḳandahār is said to have been Waihind, and of the province Bālyūs.

Neither Baihaḳī nor our author, who constantly give names of places and routes, especially the former, as from Hirāt to Balkh, and Ghaznīn to Balkh, ever once mentions such a place as Wālīān, which, as I have already remarked, is a mistake of some copyist for Wālishtān, but both of them mention Walwālij—ولوالج. The only places mentioned in the MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK and in IBN-ḤAUḲAL in any way approaching the words under discussion, in the parts indicated, are Zawālīn—زوالين—and Wālīn—والين—with the—ز—left out in the latter, and which places neither Baihaḳī nor our author mention, and they are undoubted errors for Walwālij. See note [8], page 288. There is a *Walshian* in Col. J. T. Walker's last map, but no reliance can be placed on our maps for correctness of names—especially in Oriental names—names in the map of a country—which ninety, if not ninety-nine, times out of every hundred, are inserted on oral evidence alone, but, for historical accuracy, should be written first in the language of the country and people, and then inserted in the map. Walshian of Col. Walker is, however, just 90 miles N. of Bāmīān and 180 N. of Ghaznīn, and is not mentioned in any oriental History or Geography, that I am aware of.

P. de la Croix then goes on to say, first quoting Abū-l-Faraj for "Candahar" [page 306], and then Fadlallah [i. e. Rashīd-ud-Dīn, Faẓl-ullah], that the Chingiz Khān determined, on hearing of this defeat, to despatch Tūlī, his son, against the Sulṭān, and was about to send him off with 80,000 horse, when another courier arrived announcing the revolt of Hirāt, and, instead, Tūlī was despatched thither, and continues: "Just after despatching Tulican [Tūlī Khān, however, had nothing whatever to do with the second attack upon Hirāt. See page 1049, and note [1]], and after an unsuccessful attack on

of the troops of Islām, reached the Chingiz Khān, he

*Bamian*, news reached him of the movements of *Contoucou* Nevian [the Nū-yīn, Fīkū, previously sent into "India"], who had arrived within a day's march of Gelaleddin, who advanced [quoting "Nisavi" and "Fadlallah"] to meet them, although one-fourth superior to his own force, and came upon them just beyond a town called *Birouan*, within a day's journey of Ghazna." This force of Mughals was overthrown as already related above, and at pages 289-90 of this Translation. Then we have the astonishing statement [from "Nisavi" it is said] that, *after* this defeat at Birouan [Barwān], "There was, some days' journey from thence, a party of Tartars [not Mughals] who were besieging a fortress called *Ouala* [the Walīān of others], who, when they heard of the battle of *Birouan*, raised the siege and fled, and that "the defeat of the *Moguls* and *Tartars* was quickly known to the Emperor, who was still before Bamian." Then follows the account of its capture and the massacre of every soul. The subsequent statements are generally correct.

As to some of the originals quoted, which I have examined in order to test the doubtful passages, I find that Rashīd-ud-Dīn's account is very different. He says that Amīn Malik [Yamīn-ul-Mulk—Malik Khān of Hirāt] joined his *sovereign with 50,000 men from the neighbourhood of Ghaznīn, that the* Sulṭān married his daughter, that the Sulṭān and his forces continued the whole winter at Ghaznīn, and during that time, on the news of his arrival having spread, was joined by Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāk, with 40,000 men, and also by the Amīrs of Ghūr and their followers. He then goes on to say, that, early in the spring, hearing that the Mughals were attacking Walīān [our author's Wālishtān], and its being hard pressed, he advanced to Barwān [it was near the sources of the Lohgar river], left all his heavy materials there, and moved to attack them, as related in the notice of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, at page 288, note [3]. The Chingiz Khān heard of the first reverse within the limits of Tāl-kān, not at Bāmīān, as De la Croix asserts, and not one word is mentioned about any siege of Bāmīān, and he, after hearing of the last defeat of his troops, moved at once towards Ghaznīn from Tāl-kān. The Fanākatī mentions Ṭāl-kān of Khurāsān, and makes no mention of any siege of Bāmīān.

The Jahān-Kushāe, the account in which I have detailed farther on, says Amīn Malik was in the vicinity of Ghaznah when the Sulṭān arrived there, and agrees with Rashīd-ud-Dīn's statements in all things, brings the Chingiz Khān, at once, from the vicinity of Ṭāl-kān of Khurāsān to Ghaznīn, and makes no mention whatever of any siege or capture of any place called Bāmīān.

The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā [De la Croix's Mirconde, meant for Mīr Khāwind] does not mention Walīān at all, and the Chingiz Khān is made to advance from Ṭāl-kān [the correct name is given], but, to show his geographical knowledge, probably, the author says he came by Andar-āb to Bāmīān, by which the Mughals must have gone only 7 degrees of Long.—some 480 miles—directly from W. to E. to reach Andar-āb, then come backwards some 120 or 130 miles more to the S. W. to reach Bāmīān through some of the most difficult ground in Asia, while between Ṭāl-kān and Bāmīān the distance is only about 160 miles, and about equidistant from Marw-ar-Rūd and Balkh.

The Ḥabīb-us-Siyār, written by the son of the author of the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, agrees with that work.

The Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr agrees with Rashīd-ud-Dīn, and the Fanākatī,

nominated the Nū-īn, Fīḳū, who was his son-in-law, to

except that, in it, we have Bārānī--as in several authors--for Barwān, and Nāmīān for the Bāmīān of the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā.

The Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī says nothing about Bāmīān, but the Mujmi'-ul-Khiyār agrees with the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā.

Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, says, that, after Balkh was destroyed, the Chingiz Khān despatched 30,000 men, under several leaders, including the Nū-yān Ḳutūḳū, "to cut off [the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says, "to keep open"] the communication between Ghaznīn [in the Kazān edition wrongly spelt Gazmīn], Gharjistān, Zābul, and Kābul [wrongly spelt Zābil and Kāmil], and drive him into Kīch; and this shows, likewise, that Ghūr and its dependencies, and Zābulistān—N W and S W. of Ghaznīn, were the parts assailed by the Mughals, and not Parwān N N.E of Kābul, which is quite in an opposite direction The translation, so called, of Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān's history, however, leaves out all mention of Kīch, and much of the details; and says that the Mughals separated into two bodies, and that Ḳutūḳū, with his force, moved towards Hirāt to prevent Khān Malik [the Yamīn-ul-Mulk] from joining the Sulṭān "Another body," the translator continues, "nearly surprised Saygill," and he also mentions *Saygill* above, where the Turkī original has *Zābul* Such a place as Saygill is not once referred to, and, instead of Saygill, *the Turkī has* Wālīān There is no mention of Barwān or of Ḳandahār, in fact Abū l-Ghāzī, Bahādur, does not give the name of the place where Sulṭān Jalāl-ud Dīn overthrew the Mughals twice, but, with respect "to Ṭāl-ḳān, Andar-āb, and Bāmīān, he implicitly follows the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā. One great blunder on the part of this translator speaks volumes for the value of his authority in these matters He says that "Sulṭān Khān Malik"—as he styles Malik Khān of Hirāt—the Yamīn-ul-Mulk—after the desertion of Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāḳ, and Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's retreat to the Āb-i-Sind, "returned to his government of Hirāt!" It had been already invested and taken by the Mughals under Tūlī Khān, at this time, as already related

The most astonishing statement, respecting Balkh and Bāmīān, is contained in Alfī, which I shall presently notice, but, as to Jalāl-ud-Dīn's movements from Ghaznīn, it is very brief, and agrees with Rashīd-ud-Dīn, and the Jahān-Kushāe, that the Sulṭān set out in the beginning of spring to Barwān, pushed on to relieve Wālīān, and defeated the Mughals, who retired across the river [the Hīrmand, no doubt]—breaking the bridge that the Musalmāns might not follow them, and made their escape The Sulṭān returned to Barwān, after relieving Wālīān [Wālishtān. The same remarks apply here as at the head of this note] But, on the seventh day after, a Mughal army of 30,000 men. [Fīḳū's force was 45,000 our author says], which the Chingiz Khān had despatched under the Nū-yān, Sankghūr, appeared on the scene, but they were overthrown with great loss, notwithstanding their stratagem of dummy horsemen. Then follows Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāḳ's desertion and the Sulṭān's retreat to the Sind, "which is now known as the Nīl-Āb." The same work also adds that the Chingiz Khān, at this time, had brought the siege of Ṭāl-ḳān to a conclusion, and Bāmīān is not once mentioned in his subsequent movements from Ṭāl-ḳān to Ghaznīn.

The most conclusive proofs, however, against a long siege of any place named Bāmīān are the dates and the *facts that* the Chingiz Khān heard near Ṭāl-ḳān of the repeated defeats of his troops, and that he moved straight from the Pushtah-i-Nu'mān to Ghaznīn, and, to enable him to reach it by the

advance from Hirāt and Khurāsān towards Ghaznīn. When he [with his troops] arrived on the confines of Barwān,[7] Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn advanced against that army, and gave it battle, defeated it and put it to flight, and despatched great numbers of the Mughal infidels to hell. A second, and a third time, Mughal armies advanced, and were overthrown.

In the army of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn were a great number of the Ighrāḳ [tribe], all warlike men, and ruthless horsemen, and, between that body of the Ighrāḳ, and the 'Ajamīs and Khwārazmīs, a quarrel arose respecting the booty, and hostility ensued; and that body of Ighrāḳ troops separated from Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and went off to another place,[8] and the Sulṭān remained with the Turks [only].

shortest route, there was no need for him to have passed the place which appears in the maps as Bāmīān at all. See note [6], page 1024.

[7] It lay near the sources of the Lohgar [now Logar] river.

[8] See note [3], page 290, next to last para and note [7], page 498.

With respect to these movements, a very pretty muddle has been made in "*Mongols Proper*," page 89, and shows what a profound knowledge of the ethnology as well as the geography of these parts some of the "authorities" quoted therein must have possessed. After turning "Khan Melik," [Malik Khān—the Yamīn-ul-Mulk] into "the late governor of *Meru*," it is stated that "Seif ud din Agruk, a Turkoman chief, brought his Turkomans and *Kalladjes* (*the latter a mixed race of Arabs and Turkomans, who wandered between the Indus and the Ganges*)," joined Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and, subsequently, "Seif ud din" is made to "retire into *Beloochistan!!*" At page 716 of the same book, there is a note to this, and it is said there: "this is a statement from Wolff, and it is not quite exact." Truly! "Erdmann says, towards Kerman and Lenkoran. Raverty calls these mountains Karmān and Sanḳurān. D'Ohsson says he retired to Peshawar. This is no doubt right [of course! but see note [3], page 230, para. 6, and note [7], page 498, para. 5], and his followers were not the Kankalis but the Kalladjes."

The Jahān-Kushāe, which is generally well-informed on matters of detail, and also tolerably correct—save and except the practice of always lessening the number of the Mughals, and increasing the number of their opponents four-fold or more, and concealing their defeats—says, that Sulṭān Jalal-ud-Dīn marched towards Barwān, which is the boundary of the Nāmīān [Bāmīān] territory [the situation of Barwān near the sources of the Lohgar river agrees with this description], where several routes converge, in order that he might become acquainted with the state of affairs, when, during his absence from Ghaznīn, a force of 10,000 or 12,000 Mughals [45,000, see p. 1006], who were in pursuit of him, reached Ghaznīn. The place being denuded of troops, they entered the city [!! suburbs?], burnt the Adīnah [Friday] *Masjid*, and slew all who happened to fall in their way, but, next day, after plundering the country around, *they set out in pursuit* of the Sulṭān, *gave him battle* [this is his pro-Mughal bias, and is *quite the reverse* of what took place, as confirmed by every other writer without exception—the author was a high official in the Mughal

When the Mug͟hal Nū-īn, Fīḳū, returned defeated to the Chingiz K͟hān, the latter moved [from his camp at] the

service], and were defeated, and they retired to Ṭāl-ḳān, before which the *Chingiz* K͟hān then was. The writer then hushes up the subsequent overthrows of the Mug͟hals at the Sulṭān's hands, and proceeds to narrate the defection of a great part of his troops, consequent on the quarrel between Yamīn Malik, as he styles Malik K͟hān of Hirāt [whose title was the Yamīn-ul-Mulk. See page 287, and page 540, note [6], para 2], and Saif-ud-Dīn, Ig͟hrāḳ. Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ig͟hrāḳ, together with other K͟halj Amīrs, and the A'ẓam Malik [the A'ẓam-ul-Mulk, son of 'Imād-ud-Dīn, the Balk͟hī], a G͟hurī chief, with their troops, K͟halj [there were Kanḳulīs, and G͟huzz, among them too. See page 376], Turkmāns, and G͟hūrīs, went off in the direction of Pars͟hāwar, while the other Turks and K͟hwārazmīs, with the Sulṭān, retired towards G͟haznīn.

It must not be lost sight of, in connexion with this mention of G͟huzz, that they were once in possession of G͟haznīn, Kābul, and Zābul.

These K͟halj Turks, under the name of *Khiluch*, Dr. Bellew makes G͟halzī Afg͟hāns of, and Col. G. B. Malleson first turns them into "Abdális" and afterwards into "Ghilzais!"

These selfish and disloyal chiefs, however, very soon received their deserts. They proceeded towards Nangrahār [originally called Nek-anhār—the district immediately south of the Kābul river, and extending from Bhatī-koṭ on the east to the Surk͟h-Āb Kotal on the west, and to Kajā on the south, which was the fief of the A'ẓam Malik, and then included in the jurisdiction of Burs͟hor, or Pars͟hāwar]. Arrived there he entertained the other chiefs for a time, but, there being aversion between Nūḥ, the Jān-dār [in ELLIOT, incorrectly rendered from an imperfect MS., probably, "*Koh Ján-dár*," a strange name for a *man*. نوح has been read کوح and mistaken probably for کوه—the former is a proper name; the latter signifies a mountain. The office of Jān-dār has been previously described], who was head of a k͟hel [clan] of about 5000 or 6000 families, and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ig͟hrāḳ, he, in consequence, turned his face towards Pars͟hāwar with his 20,000 followers, while Nūḥ, the Jān-dār, stayed behind in the pasture-lands of Nangrahār [not "cantoned himself," as in the work above quoted]. When Saif-ud-Dīn had proceeded one stage on his way, he sent a message to the A'ẓam Malik saying:—"We are as father and son towards each other: thou the son, I the father. If thou desirest my good pleasure, send away Nūḥ, the Jān-dār, to his own place of dwelling, and his own locality, and do not allow him to remain in Nangrahār. [The K͟halj tribe—or rather a portion of them—had been located in the neighbourhood of the Safed-koh, on the southern slopes, in Karmān and S͟halūzān for several centuries previous. See note 5, page 539, para. 2.] The A'ẓam Malik replied: "It is not well, at this time of warfare, that antagonism should exist among the soldiers of Islām." Thus saying, he rode off with some fifty of his K͟howāṣ—or retainers—after Saif-ud-Dīn, Ig͟hrāḳ, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between him and Nūḥ, the Jān-dār. Saif-ud-Dīn went forth to receive the A'ẓam Malik, and brought him in, and seated him by his side at a convivial drinking party. The A'ẓam Malik began to refer to the matter of Nūḥ, the Jān-dār, and to interpose in his favour. Saif-ud-Dīn, Ig͟hrāḳ, inebriated as he was, suddenly got up, mounted his horse, and, attended by 100 horsemen, set out towards the encampment of Nūḥ, the Jān-dār. Nūḥ, under the impression that he was coming to him, consequent on the A'ẓam Malik's intervention, with a friendly object, went forth, with

Pushtah-i-Nu'mān, with all the forces remaining there with him, and turned his face towards Ghaznīn. He fought a battle with Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, and Malik Khān of Hirāt, and other Khwārazmī Maliks who stood by him, on the banks of the Sind river; and Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn and the troops of Islām were defeated, and threw themselves into the Sind river. Of the Musalmāns some were drowned, some attained martyrdom, some were made captive, and a few escaped in safety out of the river.

## ACCOUNT OF THE TAKING OF WALKH [9] OF ṬUKHĀRISTĀN.

When, in conformity with the command of the Chingiz Khān, Arsalān Khān of Ḳaiālīḳ, the Musalmān, with his own troops, and the Juzbī, Ṯūlān, the Mughal, marched to the fortress of Walkh,[1] they sat down before it for a period of eight months; and, as that fortress had no

his sons, to receive him, and saluted him, when Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāḳ, drew his sword to smite Nūḥ, but his followers seized him, and cut him to pieces.

When intimation of Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāḳ's, fate reached his camp, his people said: "This was deception which the A'ẓam Malik adopted, in concert with Nūḥ, in order to destroy the Ighrāḳ Malik," and, under this supposition, they seized the A'ẓam Malik, and slew him, and the Ighrāḳ forces fell upon the encampment of Nūḥ, and slew him and all his sons. Great numbers were killed on either side, and the Ghūrīs [—غوریان—mistaken for عوراتان—*women*, in ELLIOT, vol II, p 401, out of which a ridiculous episode has been made that "even the women took part in the affray!"] took part in the fighting, and a great number were killed.

About that time also Bak-chak and 'Alā-ul-Mulk, صدر [the word is doubtful. It might be Ḳunduz—'Alā-ul-Mulk of Ḳunduz, but it is not "Ṣadr," certainly, as in ELLIOT], by command of the Chingiz Khān, arrived in order to bring these wine-bibbers to condign punishment. Bak-chak was Amīr of the Mughals, and 'Alā-ul-Mulk, the Sar-Khel—head of the levy or body [*yarīk*] of local footmen; and so the remainder of those Khalj, Turkmān, and Ghūrī troops, two or three months after they had deserted the Sulṭān, were all either slain and dispersed at the hands of each other, or slaughtered by the troops of the Chingiz Khān, in such wise that not a trace of them was left. See also page 1043.

No doubt, all these events had something to do with the subsequent movements of the Ḳārlūḳs, or Ḳārlūghs, and the Khalj, towards Sind. See note [6], page 374, note , page 498, page 534, and page 539, note [3].

[9] In the best St. Petersburg *MS.* the copyist, in this heading, had written بلخ—Balkh—but afterwards crossed out the ب and prefixed و to the word—ولخ. In some copies of the text to this heading is added "and the fortresses of the territory of Bāmīān," but Walkh is alone referred to.

[1] They had a force of 20,000 men with them.

**approach [save one] in any direction, they gave orders to the Mug͟hal troops in such wise that, around and in the parts adjacent to that mountain skirt, they kept felling trees and throwing their trunks and branches at the foot of the fortress, and making it appear to the people within the stronghold that they would [really] fill up the darah [defile], whereas it could not be filled up in the space of a hundred years from its profundity;[1] but, as the vengeance of**

[1] This description will not suit the situation of Balk͟h in any way whatever, which, as the MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK, IBN-ḤAUḲAL, and others, tell us, is situated on level ground, at the distance of four farsak͟h—leagues—from the mountains, and that it was fortified [notwithstanding the author of "*Mongols Proper*," p 80, tells us "it was unfortified"] with ramparts and a citadel.

As I have hinted before, it seems to me, that, as the words ولخ and بلخ are something similar in appearance, and ب sometimes used for و and *vice versa*, and as Bāmī is another name for the city of Balk͟h, some of these writers, who incorrectly make Balk͟h stand a siege of thirty-seven days, may have jumbled the whole of these words together, and made Bāmīān out of it.

It will be noticed that our author, although he gives so many details respecting Walk͟h and other places—strong hill fortresses, sometimes miles in girth—[which the pro-Mug͟hal historians seem quite uncognizant of, or the operations concerning which they were determined not to notice, and never quote], and knew so much about them, makes not the slightest allusion to any investment of Balk͟h, nor to its having submitted to the Mug͟hals, nor to the slaying of its inhabitants by those infidels. Had such happened, so near his native place, is it possible he could not have known it? or that, had he been aware of it, he would have concealed it, especially when there was no reason for doing so?

Most of the works previously referred to are exceedingly meagre in their details, and there are numerous discrepancies in their accounts, and confusions in their dates, respecting the movements of the C͟hingiz K͟hān after the capture of Tirmid The Tārīk͟h-i-Alfī says "Having passed the river Āmūīah at the Tirmid ford, early in 618 H., the C͟hingiz K͟hān moved towards Balk͟h [our author's Walk͟h], which, after an investment of thirty-seven days, was taken by storm, the people having resisted obstinately to the last He gave orders for a general massacre of the people of Balk͟h because, at Bāmīān, his grandson, C͟hag͟hatāe's son, had been killed [here is a muddle! and so the attack on Bāmīān took place *first*, after crossing the Oxus! This remark sufficiently proves how much some of the historians are at sea. Crossing the Oxus at Tirmid, Balk͟h would be reached first, and Bāmīān is some 150 or 160 miles S S E. of it], and, therefore, to avenge his death, the C͟hingiz K͟hān gave orders for a general massacre of the people of Balk͟h, and all, both young and old, perished"

P de la Croix pretends, but does not quote his author here, but, subsequently, quotes "Mirconde," that it was because Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn was "so favourably received by the people of Balc," where "he dwelt many weeks" [but near which he never went], that the people were massacred.

The other version, in which the majority of the works I have been quoting agree, is, that, in 617 H [the end of the year is meant, but, some say, in the

Heaven, and the decree of Fate, had come down [upon the Musalmāns], the son of the Ra'-īs [3] [Chief] of Walkh came into the camp of the Mughals, and he directed and guided

first month of 618 H.], when the Chingiz Khān appeared before Balkh, the chief ecclesiastics and other personages went forth to receive him with offerings for his acceptance, and tendered the submission of the city; but, as Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn *was still in existence, and causing tumult and disorder* [it is here P. de la Croix's error occurs], the inhabitants were expelled from the city into the open country without, and all massacred to the number of 52,000 souls, after which, the city of Balkh, "the Tabernacle of Islām," as it is termed, "was levelled with the plain in which it stood."

The Rauzat-uṣ-Ṣafā says, that, "in the history of Balkh it is stated, that the city and its dependent villages—not the city only—had attained to such a degree of prosperity and populousness, that it contained no less than 1200 Jāmi' Masjids, and 1400 baths, and that there were some 50,000 Sayyids, Mullās, and Maulāwīs there [and yet all the inhabitants were massacred, and the number was 52,000 in all !] . . . . Of all the lofty and splendid buildings which the city contained, not a vestige was left standing." The rest agrees with the accounts above given.

Now, considering that our author is so correct with respect to Ṭāl-ḳān of Khurāsān, and how most authors have blundered with respect to it, and, as he, who was a native of these very parts, was dwelling within the fortress of Tūlak at the time, and personally acquainted with several of the great chiefs he names, I conceive that what the other Histories I have previously referred to speak of as Balkh is no other than the great fortress of Walkh, that their Bāmīān is his Ṭāl-ḳān, and Wālīān, as some style it, and "Candahar" of others, is his, and Baihaḳī's, Wālishtān.

The MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK and IBN-ḤAUḲAL certainly tell us that "Ṭukhāristān and Bāmīān are districts of Balkh," and that "Bāmīān is a town half as large as Balkh, situated on a hill, and is the only town in the district situated on a hill," but others tell us [see note [4], page 426] that there was no town or city so called, and that the chief place in the district was Rāṣif—راصف—or Raṣif—رصف—but in the History of Tīmūr it is written Arṣuf—ارصف—and is repeatedly mentioned. In his account of the dynasty of Bāmīān and Ṭukhāristān, our author never once mentions such a town, city, or fortress, but he constantly mentions Balkh, and does so in this Section, *as well as* Walkh, Walwālij, and Wālishtān, and in this Section, also refers to "the fortress of Bāmīān," which, as in some other instances, might be correctly rendered, *a* or *the* fortress *of* or *in* the district of Bāmīān. Our author's "fortress of Bāmīān" is, doubtless, that which is called by modern travellers "Goolgooleh," built upon an isolated rock in the middle of the valley, through which runs the river of Bāmīān, and near which, in after times, a town named after the district sprung up. Excavations in the rocks, as may be noticed at page 1058, are by no means peculiar to the well known ones near this Bāmīān The great fortress of Ẓuḥāk, situated at the extreme end of a defile on one of the two routes from Kābul to the comparatively modern Bāmīān, is, in my idea, the Walkh of our author. See "*Sale's Defence of Jalāl-ābād*," and note [6], page 1058.

[3] It was previously stated that the Sarhang, Sām, and the Pahlawān, Arsīah, were sent to the fortress of Walkh, but who the Ra'īs was is not mentioned.

them by a path by which a single light-footed person, on foot, alone could proceed. In the ridges of that mountain [on which the fortress stands] are numerous niches of stone, like unto couches;[4] and, for the space of three nights and days, he continued to take the Mughals and conceal them in those niches until a considerable number of men ascended towards the fortress. On the fourth day, at the dawn of morning, the enemy raised a shout, and fell with their swords upon the band which guarded the gateway of the fortress, until they cleared the gateway completely of its defenders. The Mughal army [now] ascended to the place, and martyred the whole of the Musalmāns within it, and set their hearts at ease respecting that momentous affair.

They [the Mughal leaders] were directed so that they proceeded from the height of the fortress of Walkh to the foot of the [walls of the] fortress of Fīwār of Ḳādas,[5] and invested that fortress likewise.

Victory to the true believers, and destruction to the infidels!

## ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE CITIES OF KHURĀSĀN, AND THE MARTYRDOM OF THEIR INHABITANTS.

Trustworthy persons relate after this manner, that the Chingiz Khān had four sons. The eldest of them was named Tūshī,[6] the next younger than he was named Chaghatāe, the third was called Uktāe, and the fourth, who was the youngest of all, was named Tūlī When the Chingiz Khān marched from Māwarā-un-Nahr into Khurāsān, he despatched Tūshī and Chaghatāe, with a large army, towards Khwārazm,[7] Khifchāḳ, and Turkistān; and Tūlī was nominated to proceed, with a numerous army, towards the cities of Khurāsān; and Uktāe, the Chingiz Khān kept near himself.

In the year 617 H., Tūlī turned his face from the [great

[4] Recesses in the hills probably.

[5] See page 375, note [8].

[6] Which is also written *Jūjī*, using the Īrānī ژ.

[7] The account of the capture of the capital of Khwārazm will be found in the notice of Tūshī farther on He was afterwards to enter Khifchāḳ.

camp at the] Pushtah-i-Nu'mān towards the city of Marw, and took that city, and martyred its inhabitants.[8] From

[8] Our author and all other Musalmān and Mughal historians must be wrong, for does not Col. Malleson, C.S.I., in his "*History of Afghanistan from the Earliest Times*," which some writer in the "Times" has declared "a marvel of accuracy," tell us at page 113 that "Chinghiz" himself took Balkh, Mérv, Herat, Nishápor, and Tus in succession? Our author gives no particulars respecting the fall of Marw-i-Shāh-i-Jahān, one of the most celebrated and ancient cities of Khurāsān, and therefore I will endeavour to supply them from other writers. After the Chingiz Khān had crossed the Jīḥūn and destroyed Balkh, but Walkh, according to our author and some others, he determined to subjugate Khurāsān, and despatched, in 618 H., from the neighbourhood of Ṭāl-ḳān—between that place and Balkh [which agrees with our author's statement], 80,000 horse, computed as one tenth of his whole host, under his youngest son, Tūlī, with whom he associated Taghāchār, a younger brother of the Nū-yān, Ḳarāchār, the ancestor of Amīr Tīmūr. Taghāchār, on acount of his having married one of the Chingiz Khān's daughters, is "styled the *Gūrgān*, which is to say, in the Turkī language, son-in-law, and *dāmād* in Persian," and, therefore, those who have hitherto imagined that this is a Chinese title peculiar to, and *first* used with reference to Tīmūr as having married into the family of "the great Khan," [but that was not the reason] will perceive that, although Amīr Tīmūr may have been the *last* to whom that Turkī title was applied, he was certainly not the *first*.

When Tūlī had proceeded forward a few marches, he detached Taghāchār, in advance, with 12,000 horse, some say 10,000, to Nīshābūr, imagining probably, after what had been stated to Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah], as related previously, that that city would be given up at once. The Mughals were mistaken, however, for the Majīr-ul-Mulk, the Kāfī, 'Umr-i-Rajī, and Ẓiyā-ul-Mulk, the Zauzanī, who had made vast preparations for defending the city, had no such intention. Alfī states that the Amīr-i-Majlis, Sharaf-ud-Dīn, was the governor. They had, among other things, besides catapults and balistas, 3000 tīr-charkh, machines for discharging iron projectiles filled with inflammable composition, in shape like a rocket, and naphtha in flasks, and 300 *ghirārahs* [the meaning of ghirārah is variously given as an iron helmet, and also a kind of net, but some sort of projectile must be meant], all of which were disposed on the towers and ramparts On a Wednesday, in the middle of Ramaẓān [December, 1220 A.D ], at dawn, the Mughals attacked the place, and continued the attack for three successive days without intermission, but, on the Friday, at the time of midday prayer, a rocket struck Taghachār the Gūrgāh, and killed him.

It is somewhat remarkable that a Ṭūḳajār should have been killed at Fūshanj near Hirāt, in the first Mughal irruption into Khurāsān, and a Taghachār before Nīshābūr on the second occasion, but, notwithstanding the similarity of names, the two events are clearly recorded

After this reverse, the Nū-yān, Nūrkā [ نورکا ], the next in command, finding it was impossible to obtain possession of Nīshābūr, divided his force into two bodies, and departed. One took the direction of Sabzwār, and, after assailing that place for three days and nights, carried it, and the Mughal leader ordered a general massacre, and slew 70,000 persons. All this, however, seems scarcely possible for 5000 or 6000 men to effect, and the number, evidently, has not been truly stated. The other half of the Mughal force moved to Ṭūs,

thence he advanced to Nīs͟hāpūr, which, after much fighting,

captured the fortress of Jand, which was near Ṭūs, and likewise massacred the inhabitants. In the work entitled "*The Mongols Proper*," these proceedings, under the names "Thus" and "Kuhustan," are wrongly attributed to Tūlī K͟hān, who never went near those places.

In the meanwhile Tūlī marched towards Marw, but, before doing so, he sent requisitions into the different parts adjacent, which had submitted to the yoke, such as Sarak͟hs, Abīward, and some other towns, to levy men to assist in his operations against their fellow-countrymen, so that, besides his army, some 70,000 men were brought together. After demolishing some few small forts and places on his route, and drawing near Marw, according to the Mug͟hal custom, he despatched a body of 400 horse to reconnoitre. This force, having advanced during the night, fell upon an encampment of *īlāts*, or nomads, and on making investigation found it was an encampment of Saljūḳ Turkmāns, then preparing to make a raid upon the environs of Marw How these Turkmāns happened to be there at this time I must briefly explain, for the details are very long

At this period Marw-i-S͟hāh-i-Jahān—a different place from Marw-ar-Rūd—was one of the largest, wealthiest, richest, and most populous cities of Asia [a place, or rather that which has taken or stands in its position, which, at this moment attracts, and, for some time past, has attracted the serious attention of those patriotic Britons, who would not see the hordes of another C͟hingiz dominant over Asia and Eastern Europe to the mortal injury of British interests both in India—which they do not desire to see "perish"—and in Europe]. S͟haraf-ud-Dīn, Muẓaffar, who bore the title of Majīr-ul-Mulk, was one of the great men of Sulṭān Muḥammad, K͟hwārazm S͟hāh's court, and carried his head very high, because his mother, who had occupied a subordinate position in the Sulṭān's *ḥaram*, when she was conferred in marriage on the reputed father, who was made a mus͟hrif [clerk or accountant in a treasury] on that occasion, was said to be pregnant by the Sulṭān. The son whom she bore, in time, rose to a high position, and had been a Wazīr, and Ḥākim of Marw and its dependencies. He had, however, for some reason, been removed, prior to the Mug͟hal invasion, and another person, who bore the title of Bahā-ul-Mulk, son of Najīb-ud-Dīn, had been appointed in his stead, and the Majīr-ul-Mulk, S͟haraf-ud-Dīn, Muẓaffar, consequently, returned to the presence of the Sulṭān. When the Sulṭān, dreading lest he might fall into the hands of the barbarian Mug͟hals, proceeded towards Māzandarān, he gave directions to all his Amīrs to secure the fortresses of K͟hurāsān, and to have them garrisoned and provided with catapults and other war engines, so as to afford protection to the people around, while of such places as could offer no opposition the unfortunate Sulṭān recommended the inhabitants to submit to the invaders on their appearing, and so save their lives, and to trust to the upshot of events. On this command being issued, the Bahā-ul-Mulk removed all the valuable property and treasure from Marw to the fortress of Ṭāḳ—the Rauẓat-us-Ṣafā, and Abū-l-G͟hāzī, Bahādur, have Yāzar and Yarāz, respectively—whither he himself withdrew, and left a Deputy at Marw, while the people, all but those whom fate induced to remain, dispersed into various other places. It was at this crisis that the Nū-yāns, Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah], with a large army, appeared before it, as already related, and the chief ecclesiastics, who had remained behind in Marw, afraid of the Mug͟hals, sent a person to those leaders with presents, and tendered submission. They could not stay to

he captured ; and, in order to take vengeance because the

take possession, and so, contenting themselves with the presents and offerings, passed on without molesting Marw.

At this time, a predatory Turkmān chief, named Būḳā, having concerted with a body of his clansmen, succeeded, unexpectedly, in throwing himself into Marw, and made himself Amīr and Ḥākim, and a great number of the Sulṭān's soldiery, and Turks of those parts, as well as other soldiers of fortune, gathered around him, so hostile were they to the Mughals. In the meantime, the Majīr-ul-Mulk had left the Sulṭān in his retreat [Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā says, after the Sulṭān's death] in one of the islands in the Caspian, and gained the fort of Ṣa'lūḳ [in Gīlān], the seneschal of which, Shams-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, received him with honour and reverence, and rendered him all assistance in his power. This enabled the Majīr-ul-Mulk to collect a large force of Turks and Tājīks, and he marched to Marw, and took up a position in the garden facing the Dar-i-Sarrājān, or Gate of the Saddlers. A number of the chiefs of the Marghazī, who had formerly been in the Majīr-ul-Mulk's service, hearing of his arrival, flocked round him with the men of that tribe. Būḳā, however, would not admit the Majīr-ul-Mulk, until the latter, by presents and promises, had gained over a great number of the inhabitants, who had gone and waited on him, and on this accession of strength, one day at noon, boldly proceeded towards the city, and entered it without opposition. Būḳā, out of necessity, now went and waited on him, and, with his followers, was enrolled among the rest of the Majīr-ul-Mulk's retainers.

The Majīr-ul-Mulk, having now gathered around him followers and fighting men to the number of 8000, began to think of something more than a subordinate position This raised the ire of the Shaikh-ul-Islām of Marw, Shams-ud-Dīn, Ḥārisī, who began intriguing against him with a relative, the Ḳāẓī of Sarakhs—which place the Mughals had obtained possession of, and left an Intendant at—in order, even at the cost of giving up Marw to the Mughals, to bring about the Majīr-ul-Mulk's downfall. Some informers brought this to the latter's notice, and he accused the Shaikh-ul-Islām, who stoutly denied the charge. At last, a letter, in his own hand-writing, to the Ḳāẓī of Sarakhs, in reply to one of his own, the bearer having been intercepted by the way—some say, a letter of the Ḳāẓī to him—fell into the Majīr-ul-Mulk's hands, who at once requested the Shaikh-ul-Islām to visit him. On his arrival, he said: "What news hast thou from Sarakhs? and what are its people doing?" The Shaikh replied "I have no cognizance of their affairs, and have no information respecting them." The Majīr-ul Mulk threw his own letter towards him, saying, "There, read that!" and, seeing his own letter, he was utterly confounded The Majīr-ul-Mulk, in a contemptuous manner, exclaimed, "Depart!" and the traitor was rising to do so when several chiefs closed with him, and with their daggers slew him, and then, dragging the corpse along by the heels, cast it into the market-place, and left it to the dogs, as all traitors to their country deserve.

After this, the Majīr-ul-Mulk began to detach troops to harry the vicinity of Sarakhs; and the Bahā-ud-Mulk [the Sulṭān's governor], hearing of the state of affairs, and the predominance acquired by the Majīr-ul-Mulk, came forth from the Ḥiṣār of Ṭāḳ, and went to the Mughal Amīrs in those parts [our author mentions how numerous bodies of Mughals were sent into Ghūr and Gharjistān about this time], acquainted them with the state of affairs, and sought to obtain, through them, the charge of the territory of Marw

son-in-law of the Chingiz Khān had been slain at that

agreeing to pay a certain amount yearly as tribute His offers were accepted, and he was sent to Marw, along with a body of Mughal troops Arrived at Shahristān, the Bahā-ul-Mulk indited a letter to the Majīr-ul-Mulk, saying: "Some ill-feeling and distrust existed between us on account of a certain office, but that has vanished, and, as the power of the Mughals is such as cannot be coped with, wisdom and foresight alike demand that no other road, save that of submission and obedience, should be traversed At this time 7000 Mughals and 10,000 levies are on the way to this part along with me, and therefore regret and sorrow will follow aught save submission to them "

When the Majīr-ul-Mulk received this communication, he became disturbed and astounded, in such wise, that his most trusted and confidential followers were for at once dispersing and seeking places of security. After a time, however, they advised him not to believe this statement of an interested person and a traitor, and that to abandon Marw would be an act of great folly The messengers from the Bahā-ul-Mulk were separated and questioned respecting the actual number of troops along with him, and, on their giving replies confirming the Bahā-ul-Mulk's statement, the Majīr-ul-Mulk ordered both of them to be put to death, and despatched from Marw a body of 2500 Turk troops of the Sulṭān of Khwārazm, to drive off the Bahā-ul-Mulk and his Mughal allies When the Mughals found this, they secured the Bahā-ul-Mulk, whose own followers now deserted him, and returned towards Ṭūs, where they struck off his head.

The body of Turk cavalry, detached by the Majīr-ul-Mulk, pushed on as far as Sarakhs, and, on their appearance there, the Musalmāns seized the Ḳāẓī, Shams-ud-Dīn, who had taken offerings to Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah], and had assumed the authority there, and made him over to a man whose father the Ḳāẓī had caused to be put to death unjustly, who slew him according to the law of retaliation All noise respecting the Mughal armies now became suspended—it was the calm preceding the hurricane, however—and the Majīr-ul-Mulk gave himself up to pleasure and revelry, drinking, and other unlawful acts

At this juncture, Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, a Turkmān, who was Ḥākim of Āmūlah, came to Marw, and reported that the Mughal forces were coming, that they had reached the Āmū, and were then investing Ḳala'-i-Nau Although the Majīr-ul-Mulk received him with great distinction, nevertheless Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn was hostile to him—on account of his remissness probably, at such a crisis—and he went and took up his quarters with the Turkmāns Soon after 800 Mughal horsemen came in search of Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, and threw themselves upon the Turkmāns. At this juncture, Shaikh Khān, and Aghūl, the Ḥājib, who arrived with 2000 men from the side of Khwārazm, laid an ambuscade for the Mughals, slew the greater part of them, and took sixty of them captive, who were paraded about Marw, and then put to a cruel death

Shaikh Khān, and the Ḥājib, Aghūl, made no stay, and retired to the Dasht-i-Khurz, upon which the Turkmāns chose Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn as their head and ruler, entered into a covenant with him, left the service of the Majīr-ul-Mulk, and contemplated taking the city out of his hands He, however, got information of it, and prepared to defeat their design, upon which they, being hopeless of surprising Marw, went and pitched their camp on the banks of the river of Marw. They then began to plunder the villages around, and the suburbs of the city, up to its very walls, and to appropriate

place, he martyred every person in Nis͟hāpūr, desolated it,

everything they could lay their hands upon. In the meantime, Tūlī K͟hān, having drawn a levy of 70,000 men from Sarak͟hs, Nisā, Abīward, and other towns of K͟hurāsān, which had submitted to the Mug͟hal yoke, and incorporated them into his army, moved towards Marw.

Having arrived in the vicinity, he sent in advance—so say the pro-Mug͟hal historians—a body of 400 horse—much more probably 4000—to reconnoitre, so that, in the night, they reached the banks of the Marw river, close to the k͟hels of the Turkmāns, and there they halted. There were 12,000 men there assembled for the purpose of making a raid in the vicinity of the city ; and, in that dark night, each detachment of Turkmāns, as they came up, totally unsuspecting the presence of such foes, were attacked unawares, in detail, and slaughtered; and, during that night, the Mug͟hals destroyed the whole of the 12,000 Turkmāns, and Ik͟htiyār-ud-Dīn is also said to have been killed. Now if the former only numbered 400 men, each man must have killed thirty on the average, and this they could scarcely have accomplished in the time, even had the Turkmāns lain down quietly to be butchered like sheep, which they probably did not do. The whole 12,000 must have come by precisely the same road, just at the propitious time, and when the 400 Mug͟hals had just finished the preceding detachment, and of course, in the stilly night, the cries and shouts, groans and screams, and the clash of arms could not be heard, and close to their k͟hels too. All this is gross exaggeration, although contained in the Jahān-Kus͟hāe, the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, and several other pro-Mug͟hal works. Having thus broken the back of their strength, the Mug͟hals, next day, made for the encampments where were the families of the Turkmāns, and early in the morning fell upon them and slew the whole—with the exception of some, who, while the slaughter was going on, threw themselves into the river of Marw, hoping to escape, and perished—male and female, young and old—who were butchered, to the number of 70,000 souls ! Now, at this rate of 400 men, *each individual* Mug͟hal must, on the average, have killed, during the night and following day, just 230 souls, which is as incredible as it is ridiculous to expect any sane person to believe it, and, even assuming that these barbarian butchers numbered 4000, each one must have slain, on the average, thirty-two persons. Taking the fighting men at 12,000, and the average number of each family at from five to six persons, each furnishing one fighting man, 70,000 is not beyond the mark. The Mug͟hals captured likewise 60,000 quadrupeds—oxen and camels—besides innumerable sheep, and proceeded to join Tūlī's camp.

This account reads like a page out of Mr Eugene Schuyler's work, or a leaf from the annals of the "Christian" and "knightly warfare" in Asia Minor and European Turkey in 1878 : the Turkmāns of that day, like the Turkmāns of this, were treated *a là Kaufmann*, and the whole proceedings were carried out in true "Circassian style." I would observe here, however, with respect to some strange theories respecting the origin of the name "TURKOMEN," in the "*Geographical Magazine*," for 1875, page 151, that there would be some difficulty to find such a word in any oriental writer whosoever.

The day after this fearful slaughter, which is said to have taken place on the 1st of Muḥarram [which must be an error for the 11th or 21st, as Tūlī was only despatched early in that month], 618 H. [25th February, 1221 A.D.], Tūlī K͟hān, with his army arrived, and took up a position opposite the S͟hahristānah Gateway, which is mentioned in the "MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK" as situated near the great *masjid*, and commenced to assail the place. The Majīr-ul-

razed the walls of the city, and, having had a pair of oxen

Mulk, who had made great preparations for its defence, distributed his treasures liberally among the troops, and used to send forth large bodies of men to make sallies upon the Mughals, in such wise, that, on the first day, in the course of one hour, more than 1000 Mughals were slain. Here it will be remarked how large bodies of Turks and Tājziks only kill 1000 Mughals, in about the time that 400 Mughals, by the writer's account, would cut up a whole host.

At this show of resistance, Tūlī, next day, attacked the place in person, at the head of 22,000 Mughals—but the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā says, an army in numbers beyond all computation—and inflicted great slaughter on the defenders; and, in this manner, from morn to eve, for a period of twenty-two days, the fighting went on. The Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr, Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, and Jahān, Kushāe, say the fighting only lasted for seven days, and that on the eighth the Majīr-ul-Mulk sent to beg for quarter, but this statement is much the same as that of the 400 horsemen slaughtering 12,000 Turkmān soldiers and 70,000 of their people.

In the meantime, the vast population of Marw became reduced to great straits, and began to say among themselves, that there was no hope of resisting the Mughals. Besides this, many persons from Balkh, Samrḳand, Bukhārā, Khwārazm, and other places captured by the Mughals, had taken shelter in Marw; and these fugitives persuaded the Marwazīs that the city must surely be captured at last, and that it was better to seek an accommodation, and thus prevent the shedding of torrents of Musalmān blood. On the twenty-third day, therefore, the Majīr-ul-Mulk was prevailed upon to despatch the Imām, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, the chief ecclesiastic, who, attended by a body of the priesthood, came out of Marw, and sought the presence of Tūlī Khān. After presenting befitting *pesh-kash*, the Imām offered, if the conqueror would promise to spare the lives of the inhabitants, and not destroy the city, to pay a ransom of 200,000 *dīnārs*, 30,000 *khar-wārs* of grain, 100,000 ambling horses, and 100 Hindū and Turk slaves, to receive a Mughal Shaḥnah or Intendant, and pay yearly taxes into the Khān's treasury. Tūlī accepted these offers, a dress of honour was conferred upon the Imām and those with him, and he was sent back to the city with that Khān's reply. The next day, the Majīr-ul-Mulk, attended by ten of his principal officers, placing faith in the word of a Mughal prince, and taking with him valuable offerings of all descriptions, came out of Marw, and proceeded to the audience tent of Tūlī Khān. On his reaching the entrance, he was stopped by the Amīrs of Tūlī—the matter, of course, had been previously arranged—and he was required to give an assignment of 300 *khar-wārs*—each computed at an ass's load—of *dīnārs* as an offering to the Bādshāh-Zādah [Tūlī Khān], and another 100,000 *dīnārs* for themselves, on the wealthy people of the city, on which they would obtain from Tūlī Khān a written deed of security for the lives of the inhabitants, and this they swore most solemnly to observe according to the rites of their belief. Willing to save the people, and again trusting the perfidious Mughals, the Majīr-ul-Mulk, at once, gave an assignment on 100 great merchants of the city, and sent a person of his own, with a party of Mughals, to receive the amount. The Mughals went and brought back with them the persons named, and, with the aid of the rack and other tortures, succeeded in extorting the money, and, besides these unfortunates, nearly 10,000 other persons were tortured to death. After this, the Majīr-ul-Mulk was mutilated by having his ears, nose, and lips cut off—the fashion of the "Sag-lab" Montenegrin and Bulgarian "heroes" of the present day—and then

yoked [to a plough], he had them driven over [the area on

put to death. Orders were then issued by this fiend in human form to destroy the city, and massacre the inhabitants. The Mughals poured in, and continued to expel the inhabitants, whom they drove out into the plain. Four days were occupied in separating the males from the females, and then, after the selection of a few young females for captivity, and about 400 artisans, the whole of the remainder were butchered, and not a soul was left alive.

By the generality of writers it is said, that some 300 or 400 victims fell to the share of each Mughal butcher; and, although the number seems incredible, when we consider that the people of other cities were fugitives at Marw, and that the inhabitants of the towns and villages near had taken shelter within the walls, it is doubtless correct. The Sayyid, 'Izz-ud-Dīn of Nisā, and a number of clerks, were occupied during thirteen days and nights in recording the number of the slain, and the number, without accounting such as it was impossible to recognize, belonging to the city and neighbouring villages alone, it is said, amounted to a little over 1,300,000 souls See page 281

After this, the walls and defences of this great city, after it had been thoroughly sacked, were demolished, and in such wise "that scarce a trace of it was left; and for a period of two hundred and nine years its desolation was such that its site did not afford sufficient shade for a wild beast," after which, in 812 H., through the favour of Sulṭān Shāh-Rukh, the son of Amīr Tīmūr, the Gūrgān, the city was rebuilt.

Tūlī Khān now bent his steps towards Nīshābūr; and, according to the Jahān-Kushāe, when he had proceeded two marches on his way, fearing, probably, that enough blood had not been shed, with the instinct of a fiend, sent back a body of 2000 horse to slay all who might have crept out of holes and corners since his departure; and about 10,000 persons more were, in this wise, massacred The Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr, however, states that, after sacking Marw, Tūlī Khān nominated the Amīr, Ẕiyā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, one of its great men, who had been spared because he had retired previously from public life, and was dwelling in seclusion, to proceed thither, and remain there as governor of the desolated city and its dependencies, along with a Mughal Dārōghah or Overseer, named Barmās—also styled Bārmās and Barmīās—over such of the inhabitants as might, from holes and corners, and other places of concealment, return to the city.

After the departure of the Mughal army towards Nīshābūr, about 5000 fugitives once more assembled, but their cup of misery was not yet full. A body of Mughals, who subsequently arrived there on their way to join Tūlī, desired to have their share of slaughter, and so they required that every person in the place should bring out a skirt full of grain for them. By this stratagem all who did so were massacred; and this same detachment slew all they met with on the road to Nīshābūr. Soon after another body of Mughals, who had separated from the Nū-yān Jabah [Yamah] arrived, and they also put to death all who chanced to come in their way.

There was still more misfortune in store for Marw. Some time after, an outbreak of Musalmāns against the Mughals took place at Sarakhs, and the Amīr, Ẕiyā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, set out to suppress it, and the Mughal, Barmās, or Barmīās, the Overseer, moved outside Marw, with his following, taking with him the artificers and mechanics of the place, with the object, in case of need, of retiring to Bukhārā. Those left within Marw imagined that he had heard news of the Sulṭān, Jalāl-ud-Dīn's arrival, and that he was preparing to fly.

which] the city [stood], in such wise that not a vestige of the buildings thereof remained.[9] Having finished with

They accordingly rose, and began to express their joy thereat by beating drums. Barmās came to the gate, and requested the chief men remaining among the inhabitants to attend him, but no one obeyed, on which he had all such as he met with outside slaughtered, and then retired hastily towards Bukhārā.

Amīr Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, returned soon after, and set about repairing the walls and the citadel; and people assembled around him from the vicinity, and other more distant places, but an officer of the late Sulṭān's, the Pahlawān Nūsh-Tigīn—called Kūsh-Tigīn by some—had gathered a considerable following under his standard, and arrived before Marw, and invested it. Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, finding it impossible to remain, succeeded, by stealth, in leaving the city with his Mughal party, as the investment was but partial, took to flight, and entered the fort of Murghah. Nūsh-Tigīn now set to work to repair some part of the city, and to cultivate the land, but a faction secretly communicated with Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, and incited him to return. He did so, and appeared with a force, and took up a position before the place. Nūsh-Tigīn sent a body of his followers, who took Amīr Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, and brought him before him, who, finding that he himself must perish or Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, he had him put to death, and, with a heart at ease, set about his restoration of the city, and putting it in a state of defence. Three or four days only elapsed when a body of 2000 Mughal horse, on their way to join the Nū-yān, Fīkū, finding how matters stood, one half went away on their duty, as ordered previously, leaving the remainder to watch the place. News was then despatched to Nakhshab, to the Mughal officers there stationed, acquainting them with the assemblage of a number of people at Marw again, and, after five days, two chiefs, Turbāe [Turtāe?] and Ak Malik [a Musalmān Turk—it was Mughal policy to employ Mughals and Musalmāns in concert], with a body of 5000 Mughals, appeared, who penetrated into the city, and are said to have slain 100,000 people more [more likely 10,000], who had again assembled there, the different quarters of the city having been assigned to different detachments of this force for the purpose of hunting up and destroying all whom they could find. Turbae [Turtāe], with the principal part of the Mughals, then departed, but Āk Malik was left behind to search for other victims supposed to be in hiding. Every stratagem that was conceivable was adopted to draw them forth; and the last one, which was but too successful, was, that one of the party, a Musalmān of Nakhshab, was made to pronounce the call to prayer, upon which welcome sound the poor wretches issued forth from holes and cellars to be put to the sword, and in such wise that but twelve persons—some say only *four*—and no more, were left alive in Marw, and these, according to the Rauẓat-uṣ-Safā, were Hindūs.[1]

[1] Having left Amīr Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, in charge of what remained of Marw, Tūlī moved towards Nīshābūr, in order, says Alfī, "to avenge the Gūrgān, Ṭaghāchār, previously killed in Khurāsān." In advance, he despatched a great part of his army with the war engines and materials for carrying on a siege, and, although Nīshābūr is situated in a stony tract of country, nevertheless, he brought along with him, from a distance of several marches, so many loads of stone that they lay in great heaps all round the place. Not a tithe of them were used, for the inhabitants, perceiving the hand of the Almighty in what was taking place, and that this was a fresh

them [the inhabitants], and the city, and territory, Tūlī

army, greater in magnitude than the previous one, notwithstanding the vast preparations they had made for defence, as previously narrated, became disheartened, and so no other remedy remained than to despatch the Ḳāẓī-i-Mamālik, Rukn-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, son of Ibrāhīm, to the presence of Tūlī. On reaching his quarters, which was a considerable distance from the place, the Ḳāẓī besought security for the lives of the inhabitants, and tendered submission and payment of tribute, but all was of no avail, and he was dismissed. On Wednesday, the 12th [in some, the 2nd] of Ṣafar, 618 H., early in the morning, the attack commenced, and was persisted in until the afternoon of the Friday, during which time, also, the Mughals had dammed up the water in the ditch in several places, so as to cause breaches in the walls. They then renewed the attack on all sides with greater vigour than before, and effected a lodgment on the top of the walls, where they were as bravely resisted; but the defenders were being gradually forced back. A lodgment had also been effected near the Sher-bān gate, and, during the Friday night, the walls and bastions became crowded with Mughals. On the following day they poured in through the gates, and began their work of plunder and massacre, while the people were still resisting at every favourable point. The Mughals made search for the Majīr-ud-Dīn [the Fakhr-ul-Mulk, Niẓām-ud-Dīn, probably. See note [3], page 990, para. 11], and at last dragged him forth, and he, to make them put him speedily out of pain, was reviling and defying them, and they put him to death in the basest manner possible. Alfī says the defence was carried on for eight days, during which great numbers perished on both sides, and, on the ninth day, the city was taken by assault.

The remainder of the inhabitants were now, as customary, driven out into the open country outside the city and slaughtered; for it was directed, in order to avenge the death of the Gūrgān, Taghāchār, that Nīshābūr should be utterly destroyed, and no living creature, not even a dog or cat, was to be left alive. The daughter of the Chingiz Khān, the Khātūn of Taghāchār, with her own followers, afterwards [not before. The idea of her "leading the avenging force at the head of 10,000 men," as stated in the "*Mongols Proper*," is as absurd as the idea of "cutting off all the heads, and making separate heaps of men's, women's, and children's heads"] entered the place, and caused all that could be found, and any who might have crept out of concealment, to be slaughtered. Only forty—not so many as four hundred—who were mechanics and artisans, were allowed to escape, and they were carried off to Turkistān; and in the time of Amīr Tīmūr their descendants were still dwelling there. The walls, towers, and all the buildings of Nīshābūr were thrown down, and for seven days and nights the water of the neighbouring river, which had been dammed up for the purpose, was made to run over it, so as to sap whatever buildings remained—the greater number of houses were probably built of unburnt bricks—and bullocks and ploughs were brought, and its site was sown with barley, and the Mughal horses [some of them?] fed with it when it sprang up. One Mughal officer and four Tājzīks were left there to slay any persons who might have escaped the general massacre!

It is stated in the Tārīkh-i-Khurāsān, quoted by some of my authorities, that it took twelve days to number the slain, and that, without enumerating women and children, and such as could not be accounted for, the number recorded was 1,747,000 souls. With respect to this immense, and almost incredible, number of persons said to have been butchered by the Mughal

advanced towards Hirāt,[1] and pitched his camp before the

barbarians, we must understand that the people of the open country always sought shelter within the walled cities and towns. This fact, no doubt, tended to hamper their garrisons, and, from the quantity of food required for their subsistence, caused the early surrender of many very strong places that, otherwise, would have held out like the fortresses of G͟hūr and G͟harjistān, as our author so graphically relates farther on.

[1] The next movement of Tūlī K͟hān was against Hirāt. On reaching the verdant plain of S͟habartū near that city, he despatched an agent, named Zanbūr, demanding that the Amīr who was governor on the part of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and the Ḳāẓī, the K͟haṭīb, and chief men of the city of Hirāt, should come out and wait on him, and submit to the Mug͟hal sovereign, and secure protection for their lives and property, lest the fate of Marw and Nīs͟hābūr might be theirs also. The governor, Amīr S͟hams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Jūzjānī, and other Maliks therein, on hearing of the advance of the Mug͟hals, had prepared to make a determined resistance, and all the approaches and defences were strongly guarded. The Tārīk͟h-i-Jahān-gīr, Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, state, that there were 100,000 troops at that time in Hirāt, but this is mere exaggeration for the glorification of the Mug͟hals, as the sequel shows the contrary to have been the fact, but there certainly was a strong force there. When the envoy from Tūlī K͟hān appeared before Amīr S͟hams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, and delivered his message, he forthwith ordered him to be put to death, saying at the same time: "Let not that day come for me to be subject to Mug͟hal and Tāttār infidels while breath remains in my body!" Next day, when intimation reached Tūlī of the fate of his envoy, he was greatly enraged, and directed the troops to take up positions round about the city, and to slay every Harawī Tājzīk they could meet with.

For a period of seven days Malik S͟hams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, opposed the Mug͟hals with great valour, and inflicted heavy loss upon them, among those killed being several of the principal Amīrs, and 1700 others of lesser note, besides common men. On the eighth day Tūlī led the Mug͟hals in person to the attack, and Malik S͟hams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, sallied out, at the head of a large force, to encounter him, and an engagement ensued which was carried on with great obstinacy. The Mug͟hals were so severely handled at last, that they were nearly giving way, when an arrow struck Malik S͟hams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, and he fell from his horse, and then and there expired.

His fall caused division within the city, and the people became separated into two parties—those who were devotedly loyal to Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and the soldiery, who were for vigorous resistance to the last, while the civilians, such as the Ḳāẓī and the ecclesiastics, the priesthood holding grants of land, and those to whom trade and their own selfish interests were all and everything, and patriotism nothing, who were for accommodation; and it will be noticed that, throughout these misfortunes, such persons invariably caused resistance to be abandoned, or they betrayed their people and their sovereign's interest for their own ends.

In the meantime, Tūlī K͟hān, who had taken a great fancy to Hirāt, and liked its climate and situation, did not wish to desolate it like other cities [and who, doubtless, had information of the state of affairs within, and the resistance likely to be offered], and whose ranks had been thinned, and were then drawn up facing the Fīrūzī—some say Fīrūz-ābād—gateway, which, according to the "MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK," was the most flourishing quarter of Hirāt, rode forward on the ninth day, with 200 horse, to the edge of the ditch, and requested a parley. Then, removing his head-dress [some say helmet, others

gate of that city, and the attack began, and catapults were placed in position in every direction.[1]

turban, but neither correctly], he called out : "O ! men of Hirāt ! know ye that I am Tūlī, the son of the Chingiz Khān ; and, if ye desire to save your lives, and those of your women and children, from the hands of the Mughals, cease from all further resistance, and submit, and I will agree that ye pay into my coffers one-half the amount of taxes [Alfī says, "the same amount to my deputies"] ye have been paying to your Sulṭāns." These words he accompanied with most solemn oaths and promises, that no injury should befall them, if they ceased fighting and opened the gates. Hearing these words from the mouth of Tūlī Khān himself, it was agreed to submit to his authority. This is what, in the "*Mongols Proper*," becomes "it offered to capitulate."

In the first place, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, the Harawī; who, by command of the Sulṭān, was the Muḳaddam, or Provost of the guild of weavers and manufactories—with 100 persons of his craft, each bearing nine pieces [the Mughal fortunate number] of silks of various kinds, and of great price, for which Hirāt was famous—it still is for a kind styled *ḳanāwes*—proceeded to the presence of Tūlī, and after them followed the chief officials and men of the city. They were all well received, but, as though it were impossible for a Mughal to keep his plighted word, 12,000 persons, the soldiers and dependants of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, were massacred to a man, but to the other inhabitants, whom they had defended and for whom they had shed their blood, no further molestation was offered, and the Mughals acquired vast booty. Misery enough was, however, in store for the Harawīs.

After the surrender, Amīr Abū-Bikr-i-Maraghanī [see note on the Kurat dynasty, farther on] was left there as Governor of Hirāt and its dependencies, and a Mughal, named Mangatāe, also written Māngatāe and Mangāe, a favourite attendant of Tūlī's, was left with him as Shaḥnah or Intendant. The former set about remedying the distracted state of affairs, ruled justly, and endeavoured to restore the province to its former prosperity, and put the city in repair. Tūlī Khān, according to his father's commands, set out [Alfī says, in 609 R = 619 H., but this is not correct: it was 618 H ] on his return eight days after the surrender, and joined the Chingiz Khān in his camp near Ṭāl-ḳān of Khurāsān, which he had not yet taken.

During this expedition under Tūlī Khān, besides Marw, Nīshābūr, Hirāt, Ṭūs, and Sabzwār, other cities and towns and their dependencies, such as Jājurm, Nisā, Abīward, Sarakhs, Khowāf, and other places in Khurāsān, fell under the yoke of the Mughals, which is referred to in the metrical account of the Mughals before noticed, in the following words, "than which," as an author says, "the Darī tongue furnishes no terms more forcibly expressing the fearful calamities caused by the Mughals," referring to the words contained in the first line of the second couplet :—

بسه ماه تولی گیتی ستان گرفت این همه تا در سیستان
بکند و بکشت و برفت و ببرد نماند کسی نه بزرگ نه خرد

"In three months, the world-seizing Tūlī
Captured these all to the gate of Sīstān.
He razed and he slew, and he swept and he clutched ;
Not a person remained, neither great nor small."

Whilst these events were happening at Hirāt, Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn had upon several occasions overthrown the Mughals, as related under the reign of that hero, at page 288, and note [3], and farther on.

[1] Those who consider the Muscov a lamb may take a lesson from these identical places—Marw and Hirāt

Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Jurjānī, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, the Jūzjānī,[3] and other Amīrs who were within the city, made preparations for resistance; but trustworthy persons have related after this manner, that the stone of every catapult, which they used to discharge from the city in the direction of the Mughal camp, used to go into the air, and again descend into the city.

The city of Hirāt which Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, sat down before, and, before which, he carried on hostilities for a period of eleven months[4] before it was surrendered to him, the Mughals took up a position before, and, in the space of eight months, they captured that place which [in strength] was the barrier of Sikandar, and martyred the whole of the inhabitants [with few exceptions]. Persons, whose statements are to be depended upon, relate, that, in one quarter [part] of the city, 600,000 martyrs were counted. According to this proportion, in the whole four quarters of the city, twenty-four *laks* [2,400,000!] Musalmāns were martyred. May the Almighty reward them![5]

When Tūlī came to the determination of returning, he set at liberty some of those captives, and gave them a Shahnah [Intendant] and left him there, and commanded him to restore the city.

## ANECDOTE.

An anecdote,[6] worthy of insertion here, is related, as referring to the occurrences which happened at the period in

[3] The other is styled Ḳazwīnī in one or two copies, but Jūzjānī may be the most correct after all. The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā also has Jūzjānī.

[4] See page 259, and note [3].

[5] Our author has fallen into complete confusion, and has here entered the events of the second siege, while, in his account of the latter, at page 1048, he has introduced some events belonging to the former siege. The greater part of this paragraph and the next relates to the second siege with which Tūlī Khān had nothing to do.

[6] This anecdote refers to the attack on Hirāt by Tūlī Khān, the particulars of which have just been given. It has been stolen by the author of the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā without acknowledgment, indeed he pretends—such is, too often, the conduct of some unprincipled writers—to have obtained it from the Ḳāẓī, from whose lips our author heard it, and merely says "*It is stated by the Ḳāẓī of Gharnstān*," and then uses our author's own words, without acknowledgment. Such pirates, after they have pilfered from another's writings, generally turn round and abuse him.

question. In the year 622 H., the author of this ṬABAḲĀT, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, who is the servant of the Sulṭān's dynasty, had occasion to undertake a journey, on a mission from Ghūr towards the Ḳuhistān, at the request of the august Malik, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-'Usmān, the Maraghanī[7]—may he rest in peace!—for the adjustment of the route of kārwāns [of merchants and travellers], and the tranquillity of this territory. When he [the author] reached the city of Ḳā'īn, he there saw an Imām, one of the great men of Khurāsān, whom they were wont to style Ḳāẓī Waḥīd-ud-Dīn, the Būshanjī [of Būshanj or Fūshanj]—the Almighty's mercy be upon him! That Imām related [saying], "In the disaster of Hirāt I was present in that city; and, every day, in conjunction with the Ghāzīs [holy-warriors], its defenders, I used to don arms and armour, and proceed to the top of the ramparts, and view the multitude of the forces. One day, I was at the top of the ramparts of the city of Hirāt while the fight and tumult was going on, in full panoply, with helmet and cuirass, besides other things, when, suddenly, I missed my footing from the top of the walls, and fell down towards the ditch, and, like unto a stone or a ball, I went rolling down the face of the *khāk-rez*,[8] whilst 50,000 men, Mughals and Musalmān renegades, with arrows fitted to their bows, and with stones, were aiming at me, until, rolling over and over, I fell into the midst of the infidels, and was made prisoner by a body of men who, in making the attack, had come to the foot of the parapet, and the face of the *khāk-rez*, and descended into the ditch This mischance happened to me at a point facing which Tūlī, son of the Chingiz Khān, had had a tent pitched, at the edge of the ditch, and the Mughal troops were fighting under his personal observation. Although I came rolling down the face of the *khāk-rez* a distance of about twenty *gaz* [ells], until I descended into the abyss of the ditch, which was forty *gaz* more,[9] Almighty

[7] A well-known race or family, one of whom—Abū-Bikr-i-Maraghanī—was left by Tūlī Khān as governor of the city and its dependencies, along with Mangatāe, the Mughal Intendant See the note on the Kurat Dynasty, under the account of the downfall of the Mulāḥidah, farther on.

[8] An artificial mound, surrounding Hirāt, and forming its chief strength. See following note.

[9] The description of modern Hirāt will give some faint idea of what it was

God shielded me under his protection so that I experienced no wound, neither did any of my members sustain any hurt or fracture whatever.

"When I came to the ground he [Tūlī] caused a party to run up with speed, telling them: 'Bring ye that person alive, and do not harm him in the least.' When, in accordance with that command, they conducted me to the presence of Tūlī, he looked at me searchingly, and gave orders to them, saying: 'See whether he has received any hurt;' and, as there was none, he said to me: 'What person art thou—of the race of Adam, or a parī, a demon, or an angel, or dost thou hold a charm bearing the names of the Ulugh Tingrī?[1] Speak truly, how it is' I bowed my face to the ground and replied: 'I am an unfortunate man of the learned class, and one of those who blesses or prays; but I had one thing with me.' He said: 'What hadst thou with thee?' I bowed my head to the ground, and replied. 'The sight of a sovereign like thee had fallen upon me, and through the felicity thereof, I remained in safety' This reply was favourably received by Tūlī, and he looked upon me with favourable eyes, and remarked, saying: 'This person is a sagacious man, and a wise, and may be qualified for the service of the Chingiz Khān. It is necessary that ye take care of him in order that he may be conducted to his presence;' and he commanded so that they made me over to the care of one of the respected Mughals.

"After Tūlī had completed the conquest of the cities and districts of Khurāsān, he took me along with him to the Chingiz Khān's presence,[2] and related the story [to him], and in the Chingiz Khān's service I found great favour. I was constantly in attendance at his threshold, and he used continually to inquire of me the traditions of the prophets, and concerning the sovereigns of 'Ajam, and the

in its strength and glory at the period in question It is entirely enclosed by an artificial mound of earth between fifty and sixty feet in height, at the present time, the walls rising about thirty feet above. This mound slopes down from the base of the rampart, at an angle of about forty or forty-five degrees, and at the bottom of the mound is a deep wet ditch thirty feet wide

[1] The Great Spirit—God

[2] Before Ṭāl-ḳān of Khurāsān, which the Chingiz Khān had not yet succeeded in capturing See page 1008, and note [5].

kings of the past; and would inquire: 'Did Muḥammad (on whom be peace!), foretell aught respecting my rise and sway?' I used to relate to him the traditions [of the Prophet] which they have related respecting the irruption of the Turk;[3] and he used to say: 'My heart bears evidence that thou speakest the truth,' until one day, during conversation, he said to me: 'A mighty name will remain behind me in the world through taking vengeance upon Muḥammad, the Aghrī'—that is to say, he used to call Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, by this term, and, in the Turkī language, aghrī[4] signifies a robber—and this expression he would greatly make use of and say:—'Khwārazm Shāh was not a monarch: he was a robber. Had he been a monarch he would not have slain my envoys and traders who had come to Utrār, for kings should not slay ambassadors.' In short, when he inquired of me, 'Will not a mighty name remain behind me?' I bowed my face to the ground, and said: 'If the Khān will promise the safety of my life, I will make a remark.' He replied: 'I have promised thee its security.' I said: 'A name continues to endure where there are people, but how will a name endure when the Khān's servants martyr all the people and massacre them, for who will remain to tell the tale?' When I finished this sentence, the Chingiz Khān dashed the bow and arrow which he had in his hand upon the ground, and became exceeding enraged, and turned his face away from me, and his back towards me. When I beheld the effects of rage upon his impious brow, I washed my hands of life, and gave up all hope of existence. I made sure to myself that the time of my departure was come, and that I should leave the world from the blow of the sword of this accursed one.

"After a minute had passed away, he turned his face towards me again, and said: 'I used to consider thee a sagacious and prudent man, but, from this speech of thine,

[3] Here again is another proof of what I have stated in my account of the descent of the Turks and of the Ī-māḳs of Tāttār and Mughal. Had the Ḳāẓī, incorrectly, said by mistake, "the outbreak of the Tāttārs," the Chingiz Khān would, no doubt, have taken it as an insult, but he was a Turk of the Mughal Ī-māḳ. See note [2], page 869, and para. at page 875.

[4] In some copies "the Mughalī" The Printed Text has—اغشی—aghshī, but all others are as above.

it has become evident to me that thou dost not possess complete understanding, and that thy comprehension is but small. There are many kings in the world, and, wherever the hoofs of the horses of Muḥammad, the Aghrī, have reached, there I will carry slaughter and cause devastation. The remaining people who are in other parts of the world, and the sovereigns of other kingdoms that are, they will relate my history.' No favour on the part of the Chingiz Khān remained to me, and it came about that I was distant from his presence; and I fled from the Mughal army, and made my escape, and returned thanks and praise unto Almighty God for the same."

## ACCOUNT OF THE CALAMITIES WHICH BEFELL THE TERRITORY OF KHURĀSĀN THE SECOND TIME.

After Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, Khwārazm Shāh, overthrew the army of Mughals, on the confines of Barwān, between Bāmīān and Ghaznīn,[5] several times, and the Chingiz Khān turned his face towards Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, and advanced towards the river of Sind, and the news of these victories [of the Sultān] reached all the cities of Khurāsān, in every city and town wherever the Mughal Shaḥnahs [Intendants] were stationed, the people thereof despatched the whole of them to hell,[6] and in every place a predominant person arose. After the Chingiz Khān defeated Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn on the banks of the river of Sind, he despatched the Bahādur, Shā'ūr,[7] along with Uktāe [his son] to Ghaznīn, so that they destroyed

[5] This shows, were any proof wanting, that our author did not refer to the narrow Parwān valley, north of Kābul, but to a locality much farther south-west. The author of the Rauẓāt-uṣ-Ṣafā here repeats what he has stated several times before, in other places, that it is Barwān, a place between Ghaznīn and Bāmīān. As I have said before, the situation of Barwān was near the sources of the Lohgar river. See note [3], page 288, note [5], page 1008, and note [6], page 1016.

[6] It was this that caused the second siege, and the utter desolation of Hirāt, the Hirātīs having slain the Mughal Shaḥnah and the Musalmān governor, the Maraghanī. Here again it will be observed that there is no mention either of Bāmīān or of its long siege.

[7] In one or two copies, Sā-ūr

the city of Ghaznīn,[8] and brought forth the inhabitants without the city, and, with the exception of a few, who were made captives, martyred the whole of them.

The Chingiz Khān, himself, advanced from the banks of the Sind river in pursuit of the Ighrāḳī[9] Musalmāns, who formed a very large force, and a countless number of men, and proceeded towards Gībarī.[1] He took the fortress of

[8] It has never recovered to this day from the effects of this calamity like many other famous and formerly densely populous cities of Asia.

[9] Some modern copies of the text have عراب—'Arāb—here.

[1] This word is written Gabarī—گبري—Gībarī—گيبري—and Girī—گيري—in the different copies of the text, but the best and oldest copies have Gabarī or Gībarī. The Calcutta printed text has both گبري and گيري In *MSS.*, the point of the letter *b* often appears as two, close together, occasioned by the two points of the reed, especially when there is not much ink in it, and *vice versa*. The letter might, in consequence, be sometimes mistaken for *ī*.

Baihaḳī and the Gardaizī continually refer to the fort of Girī—گيري—as being near the Sind or Indus [possibly Kāpir dī Girī. See note [2], page 76], but the former invariably mentions it in connexion with "Parshāwar" or "Purshor," "Man-Manārah," and "Wahind." Man-Manārah is evidently Prata'h Manāra'h on the west bank of the Indus above Atak, and the words are, apparently, the Pus'hto translation of an older name, *prata'h* signifying "fallen," "overturned," &c., qualifying a feminine noun. Sulṭān Mas'ūd, the Martyr, was confined in the fortress of Girī. See page 95.

The tract referred to by our author, however, is, without doubt, the country north of the Kābul river, between the Kamān, or river of Kunaṛ, and the Landey Sind, namely, Bājawṛ and the tracts forming its southern boundary; and I find, in an old geographical work, and in a Persian lexicon of old and difficult words, that Gabar—گبر—with the pronunciation written, is the name of a town [shahr] in the country of Bājawṛ. To have come upon the Ighrāḳs, the Mughals must have entered Nangrahār, or, as it was anciently called, Nek-Anhār, lying south of Bājawṛ; and the Chingiz Khān was never in "Pakli," in his life, nor in Pakla'ī either.

The people inhabiting the tracts lying along the banks of the river of Kābul, and east even as far as the Indus, were sometimes styled by the general name of Shalmānī by the Afghān chroniclers, and Dihgān by the Tājzīks, but Elphinstone styles them by the fanciful name of "Swatis" They were a purely Tājzīk race, and had become converts to Islām at an early period. On the northern bank of the Kābul river there was another race of people who are known up to very recent times under the name of 'Arab عرب—respecting whom some account will be found in my "NOTES ON AFGHĀNISTĀN AND PART OF BALŪCHISTĀN, GEOGRAPHICAL, ETHNOLOGICAL, AND HISTORICAL," printed by command of the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for India.

These Tājzīk people were no more "Scythians," than the Musalmān Dilazāk Afghāns were "Buddhists," as Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., styles them in one of his books, and "Rájpúts" in another, or than the Kākaṛ Afghāns are the "Gakar tribe of Indians in the north Panjab," or than the Kihtrān Afghāns, whom he styles *Khatrini* in his last book, are "Khatir Hindus."

Gībarī and other forts of the territory of the Koh-pāyah [hill-skirts], and slew the Musalmāns. For a period of

The fort of Gībarī or Gabarī appears to be the very same as Gabar-koṭ, which the Mughal Bādshāh, Bābar, subsequently took from Mīr Ḥaidar, the Gabarī. The Shalmānīs, with whom the Yūsufzīs and Mandaṛs, of the Khak'hī division of the Afghān nation, first came into contact, when they, in after years, retired from Kābul into Nangrahār, were divided into three septs or divisions.—Gabarī [not from Gabr, a fire-worshipper: it is a different word], Mutrāwī, and Mumīālī. Their rulers were descendants of the Jahāngīrīān Sulṭāns—Sulṭān Bahrām and Sulṭān Pakhal—who held all the country north of the Kābul river, from the Tag-āo river to the Pīr-Pinjāl mountains of Kashmīr, east of the Indus, and likewise some parts on the southern side of the Kābul river as far south as the Spīn Ghar or Safed Koh, but their power had greatly declined. Sulṭān Awes was the Gabarī Sulṭān of Suwāt at that period, and was the last king of that territory and its dependencies, but he retired northwards before the power of the Yūsufzīs and Mandaṛs, towards the sources of the Āmūīah or Oxus. He, and his descendants, for several generations, ruled therein as far as the frontier of Badakhshān, after which they are suddenly lost sight of The great probability is that the rulers of Chitrāl, Ḳāshḳār, Shighnān, Wākhān, and some other petty states on the upper Oxus, are their descendants; and, like them, they claim descent from Alexander of Macedon.

In the time of the Ākhūnd, Darwezah, some of the descendants of these Jahāngīrīān Sulṭāns of Pich, as they are called, were still dwelling in Nangrahār, at the town of Pāpīn in particular, and the Ākhūnd himself, on the mother's side, was descended from Sulṭān Bahrām He gives the names of twelve direct generations of Chiefs and Sulṭāns as far back as Sulṭān Shams. I hope to be able to enter into details of this interesting subject shortly, but a good de l respecting the geography of these parts, and practical routes, will be found in my accounts of Suwāt, Ḳāshḳār, Chitrāl, Kāfiristān, and the Independent Afghān States, and also of Yārkand and Kāshghar, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, as far back as 1856, which contain many geographical details, which have since been *discovered* by "Havildars" and "Mullas," and appropriated by one or two literary vampires.

Khushḥāl Khān, the celebrated Poet, and Chief of the Afghān tribe of Khaṭak, in one of his poems on Suwāt, which I have quoted in my account of that valley, in the Journal above mentioned, refers to some of the many routes leading into Turkistān from the tract in which the Chingiz Khān was encamped, and one of which he evidently intended to take, in the following manner:

"There is a road leading into Turkistān by Hindū-koh,
And another that leads into Chitrāl and Badakhshān,
Another route also leads to Butān and Kāshghar,
And there is one more that goes to Morang—up hill and down dale."

A few of these Gībarīs are, I believe, still to be found in the districts referred to

In the KASHGHAR MISSION HISTORY, Surgeon-Major Bellew states [p. 142] that "His route *was probably across the Swát country into the Kúnar* [*sic*] *valley*, where Chaghán Saráe, or 'white hostelry,' from its name attests Moghol occupation, and thence up the Chítrál [*sic*] valley called also Kashkár,

three months he halted in the Gībarī territory and the Koh-pāyah; and, from thence, the Chingiz Khān despatched envoys to the presence of the august Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish—May he rest in

through the easy Burogil Pass. . . . . Such, at least, is the route taken by part of his army, if not by Changiz himself, who, according to the author of the *Tabcáti Nasiri* (a personal actor at Tolak in the defence against his invasion of Ghor), rejoined his camp with the heavy baggage left at Naman Pushta, in Tokharistan [*sic*], and took it on with him to Samarcand, where he spent the spring and summer"!

The Doctor could not have had a map by him when he wrote this, and certainly did not read the "*Tabcáti Nasiri*" aright. What the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī contains may be seen above and farther on. If the Chingiz Khān had taken the route marked out for him by the Doctor from "Pakli and Swát"—but the Chingiz Khān *never* crossed to the east bank of the Indus with his army—he would have performed a feat indeed. From thence to Chaghān Sarāe and the Pushtah-i-Nu'man in Khurāsān, *not* in Tukhāristān, I beg leave to say, he would have marched through a maze of mountains, the most difficult, perhaps, in Asia, some 10 degrees from E. to W, after which, to reach Samrḳand only, he would have had to march backward some five degrees more in the direction of N E. Chaghān certainly signifies white, as he says, but who shall show that the place in question was named Chaghān Sarāe in consequence of that march, or that it did not receive the name from Turks centuries before, or from Mughals—even the Mughals reigning in India—centuries after?

It will be observed that the Doctor simply says "*his route was probably across the Swát country*" and "*through the easy Burogil Pass*," but Mr D. C. Boulger, in a book entitled "THE LIFE OF YAKOOB BEG, AMEER OF KASHGAR," whose *sole authority* [as he states] for such a statement is Doctor Bellew's narrative in "all its fullness," has ventured to assert, on the bare probability expressed by the Doctor, that the Chingiz Khān *did* actually return from the Indus to Kāshghar by the "Baroghil Pass." At pp. 28 and 29 is the following:—

"Genghis Khan carried the terror of his name into the utmost recesses of the Hindoo Koosh. He wintered in the district of Swat, on our north-west frontier, a territory which is quite unknown to us except by hearsay [he might have added, "as far as he knew"], and which has only been occupied by the Mongol and Macedonian conquerors [here, too, he might have added, "as far as he knew"] *From his head quarters on the banks of the Panjkora* he sent messengers to Dehli. . . . . He hastily *broke up from his quarters in Swat, and, by the valley of the Kunar and Chitral, he entered Kashgar, through the Baroghil Pass.*"

All this may appear very satisfactory to the unwary, but there is not an atom of fact in the whole statement, and I shall presently show that the Chingiz Khan did nothing of the sort, and was never near the "Baroghil Pass" in his life. This is a specimen of the nonsense called history which this Afghān war has called forth by the hecatomb, and the public misled.

Colonel G. B. Malleson, C S.I, in his "*History of Afghanistan from the Earliest Times*," states (p. 113) that "Chinghiz Khán," meanwhile, on the first news of the outbreak in Khwárizm, had hastened to that province, had

peace!—as he was entertaining the design of conducting his army towards Hindūstān,[1] and of returning, by way of the Koh-i-Ḳarā-c͟hal[2] and Kām-rūd, to the country of C͟hīn; but, although he was burning shoulder-bones [of sheep] continually and examining them, he used not to find permission

suppressed the *rebellion* [*sic*. Perhaps the writer did not know that K͟hwārazm was an independent empire, including great part of western Asia], *killing in battle the two brothers of Jalál-u-Dín*, and that he had then "marched southward, capturing in succession *Balkh, Mérv, Herát, Nishápor*, and *Tus*," which places, save Balk͟h, the C͟hingiz K͟hān was never near in his life. Soon after the author informs us that from 1227 to 1251 "the enslaved country (Afghanistan) *had no history*" [as far as Col. Malleson knew]. These pages will show the correctness of history, which is "a marvel of accuracy"

To return to the C͟hingiz K͟hān. His object was to save distance, and reach Tingḳut by the shortest route By Lakhanawaṭī and Kām-rūd the distance would have been still lessened, assuming that it lay as we find it in the maps of the old travellers and the Jesuits, but not if it had lain as far north as it appears in the map to the "*Mongols Proper*," wherein we are informed [p 92] that "Jingis Khan wintered about the *sources* of the Indus," which are in Tibbat itself! If so, he would have been very near Tingḳut, without marching back some ten degrees west to reach Buḳlān, and then marching twenty degrees east again to reach Tingḳut. He found, however, that he was not likely to obtain the consent of Sulṭān I-yal-timis͟h to take the Ḳarā-c͟hal route, and as time pressed he had to give it up, and get into the route by which he had entered K͟hurāsān in the outset. The particulars respecting his return will be found farther on.

[1] Northern India is here referred to.

[2] In nearly all the copies of the original this word is written قراجل with ج but چ is meant the three points having been run into one, as is often done in *MSS.* This is the mountain range which several European scholars have made mistakes about, but our author seems to refer to the Himālayah range in its general acceptation, in referring to Kām-rūd. Reinaud, for example, reads the name *Kelardjek* from AL-BIRŪNĪ, in the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīk͟h of Ras͟hīd-ud-Dīn, but, in the copies of the latter work which I have examined, the name is correctly written Ibn Baṭūṭah also has Ḳarā-c͟hāl The description given shows very plainly the tract of country indicated Al-Birūnī says the peaks resemble domes of *bilaur* [crystal], and that they are covered with perpetual snow, like the mountain of Dimāwand Then, continuing his description from east to west, he says, next come the Bilaur Mountains in the direction of Turkistān, and that a two days' journey brings one into Turkistān. Their cities or countries [bilād] are Gilgit, Astūrah, and C͟hilās, and the people of Kas͟hmīr suffer greatly from their raids. Farther on he says that, in two days after passing the mountains of Bilaur and S͟hāmilān, the country of the Bhūtawāri Turks is reached [this was the part the Mug͟hal ruler wished to reach], and again refers to their raids upon Kashmīr, but what I wish to draw particular attention to is this statement, that, if a person travels along the left bank of the Sind [Indus], he will meet with numerous towns and villages, to the south of the capital of Kas͟hmīr, *as far as the* ḲARĀ-C͟HAL *range between which and Kashmīr is a distance of two leagues*

augured that he should enter Hind, when swift messengers brought information to him from Ṯamghāj and Tingit, that the Khāns of Tingit, and Ṯamghāj were in a state of revolt, and that the loss of those territories was impending; and, as a matter of necessity, he returned from the Koh-pāyah of Gībarī.

The whole of the mountains [of that tract] were blocked with snow, and, by the Chingiz Khān's command, they used to sweep it away; and, by way of the passes of the territory[4] of Ghaznīn and Kābul, he returned to Turkistān and Kāshghar.

From Gībarī, in the depth of the winter season, he despatched Uktāe with an army of Mughal troops into Ghūr and Khurāsān. Uktāe reached a place situated between Ghūr and Ghaznīn which they [the people] call Pul[5]-i-Āhangarān [the Blacksmiths' Boundary], near unto Fīrūz-koh, and there Uktāe pitched his camp. From thence he nominated the Juzbī, Sa'dī, and the Juzbī, Mankadhū,[6] and several other Nū-īns, with a large force, to proceed into Sīstān, and the Nū-īn Abkah, who was the Chingiz Khān's personal Manjanikī [Engineer—head of the catapult workers], and in whose corps were 10,000 Mughal Manjanīkīs, was

[4] The word appears to be شعب the plural of شعبه as rendered above In some copies of the text the word appears to be شيبه which, unless a proper name, is meaningless Other copies have بشته شته and even سته The Calcutta Printed Text has بشته

The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh states that, after the defeat of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Chingiz Khān advanced up the Indus, and sent Ūktāe downwards towards Ghaznīn, and that, during the hot season, the Chingiz Khān, with the main army, continued encamped in the plain of Mīrwan—میروان—or Nīrwān —نیروان—for it is written both ways, and also Yazwān—یزوان in expectation of being joined by the Nū-yān, Balā, who had been sent in pursuit of the Khwārazmī Sulṭān When he rejoined, the Chingiz Khān moved from his summer quarters and set out in order to reach Tingkut by the shortest route. His forces advanced some marches, when news of the revolt in Tingkut reached him, and, as the route he was then following lay through a most difficult country, filled with mountains and forests, uncultivated, with a sickly climate, and bad water, he gave orders to make a retrograde movement back towards Parshāwar [the territory of—Alfī also states that he set out from thence in Muḥarram], and returned to his own country by the same route as he had come, by the Bāmīān mountains. When he reached the fortress of Kūnaūn-Ḳor-ḳān—کوناون قورقان—Ūktāe rejoined him with his forces.

[5] *Pul* has other meanings besides that of *a bridge*, and here means as rendered See page 321.

[6] In some works, Mankadah.

despatched against the fortress of [the] Ashiyār[7] of Gharjistān. Uktāe likewise sent the Nū-īn, Iljī, into the hill-tracts of Ghūr and Hirāt. In short, Shaḥnahs [Intendants] and bodies of troops were appointed to proceed into every part of Ghūr, Khurāsān, and Sīstān; and, during the whole of that winter, those bodies of troops from the Mughal forces, which had entered into those different territories, carried slaughter into all the townships and villages thereof.

When information had reached the Chingiz Khān of the slaying of the Mughal Shaḥnahs, he commanded, saying: "From whence have these people whom I have killed come to life again? On this occasion my commands are on this wise, that the heads of people shall be separated from their bodies, in order that they may not come to life again." Consequent upon this, they [the Mughals] devastated all the cities of Khurāsān, a second time.

The force[8] which had advanced to the gate of Sīstān took that place by assault; and, in every quarter, and in every dwelling thereof, they had to fight before they were able to overcome the people, for the Musalmāns of Sīstān,[9] women and men—great and small—all resisted obstinately with knife and sword. All [the males] were slain, and the females were martyred.

In the city of Hirāt, to the gate of which [another] Mughal force had advanced—as has been previously recorded—there was a Khwājah, whom they were wont to style the Khwājah Fakhr-ud-Dīn-i-'Abd-ur-Raḥmān, the 'Ibrānī[1] [Hebrew] Banker, a Khwājah of vast opulence, and held in great respect; and, on this occasion, he held out the city of Hirāt for some days. Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, the Sabzwārī, having evacuated and fled from the fortress of Fīrūz-koh, had arrived at Hirāt, and they [the

[7] Ashiyār is the plural of Shār, the title by which the ancient rulers of Gharjistān were known. See page 341, note [6].

[8] From Uktāe's army, as will be seen farther on.

[9] The events of Sīstān will be found farther on. The fortress referred to held out a considerable time

[1] This word—عبرانی—occurs in the oldest and most of the other copies of the text, but a few have 'Irāḳī—عراقی He is also styled 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm in one copy, but that was his father's name The Rauẓat-us-Ṣafā has عرفی which may be meant for Timrām. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, according to Price, has 'Arab

inhabitants] had made him commander of the forces of Hirāt.[3] They related on this wise that, when the Mughals

[3] The news of the defeats inflicted upon the Mughal armies by Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, at Barwān, in the spring and summer of 618 H., spread rapidly; and, "the wish being parent to the thought," it was stated that, henceforth, the Mughals would never again be able to cope with the Sulṭān. Consequently, in every part where there was any Malik, Shaḥnah, or official of the Mughals, he was put to death, and the people set over themselves some person to direct the affairs of their various cities and provinces until such time as the Sulṭān should restore order, while some, no doubt, hoped to become independent.

Hirāt followed the example: the people rose, Malik Abū-Bikr, the Maraghanī, and the Mughal, Mangatāe, were put to death, and the chief people chose Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, the Sabzwārī, as their leader and governor, the same who is mentioned by our author at page 1004, while the administration of civil affairs was made over to the Khwājah, Fakhr-ud-Dīn-i-'Abd-ur-Raḥmān, a man of experience, who is styled an 'Irāḳī by all but our author; and these two personages were of one heart and one mind to resist the Mughals to the utmost. They forthwith made great exertion to put Hirāt in a good state of defence.

When the Chingiz Khān heard of these outbreaks, and especially that of Hirāt, he was very wroth with his son, Tūlī, who had now rejoined him, and exclaimed: "This comes through your withholding the sword from the Hirātīs!" and the very next day a force of 80,000 horse was despatched on the way to Hirāt, under command of the Nū-yān Iljidāe [the Īlchikdāe of others—which seems the most correct—and Iljī of our author. Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur, spells it Īlchīktāe. He was the son of Ḳājbūn, brother of the Chingiz Khān, and greatly trusted by him], at the same time remarking to him that dead people had come to life again, but he was to take care this time to ensure their being dead, by cutting their heads off, and to spare nothing. He set out in the month of Shawwāl [Sha'bān?], 618 H. [January, 1222 A.D.]. Such is the date given, but it is simply impossible. It, however, tends to correct, at the same time that it proves itself impossible, another date—that of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's defeat on the Indus. Tūlī Khān, in the same year, had marched against Marw, Nīshābūr, and Hirāt, and had returned to the camp at the Pushtah-i-Nu'mān, near Ṭāl-ḳān, which still held out, in 618 H. The news of the defeats inflicted on the Mughals by the Sulṭān, in the spring and summer of that year [about the first quarter of that year which began on the 7th of March], required a little time to spread; then the news of the outbreaks in consequence, and among them the rising at Hirāt, required a little time to reach the Chingiz Khān's camp. By this time Tūlī had rejoined him, a supreme effort was made to capture Ṭāl-ḳān, and after that we may suppose that he determined to send Iljidāe against Hirāt, and move against the Sulṭān in person. The date generally assigned to the Sulṭān's defeat on the Indus is Rajab—the seventh month—618 H., *three months before* Iljidāe, according to the date above, *was sent from* Ṭāl-ḳān *against Hirāt*. Some, again, say the Sulṭān was defeated in Shawwāl, the month in which Iljidāe is said to have been despatched, and this also proves that he could not have been despatched in that month, but some time before. It therefore seems beyond a doubt that the Chingiz Khān heard of the rise at Hirāt in the fifth or sixth month of 618 H., despatched Iljidāe early in Sha'bān—the eighth month—pushed on

captured the city upon this occasion, this Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, an aged man of fine and handsome aspect, rode

himself to Ghaznīn in pursuit of the Sulṭān, very soon after, and defeated him on the Indus in Shawwāl, the ninth month of 618 H. The Sulṭān could not have been defeated in Rajab—the seventh month—therefore; and from these dates likewise it is clearly proved that, on his way to Ghaznīn and the Indus, the Chingiz Khān could not have been detained by the so-called siege of Bāmīān, referred to in notes [6], page 1008, [3], page 1012, and [6], page 1016.

The Nū-yān, Iljidāe, in due course reached the river of Hirāt, where he halted for the period of one month in order to prepare for undertaking operations, and make ready the catapults and other warlike engines. From the neighbouring places, previously indicated by the Chingiz Khān himself, which had submitted to the Mughal yoke or had been subdued, he obtained assistance and war materials, and, in a short space of time, from the confines of Khurāsān, the territories of Balkh, and the highlands of Shīwarghān, some 50,000 horse and foot, of the people of the country compelled to serve, arrived to aid in the siege.

On the other hand, they were not idle in Hirāt; and Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn prepared for a vigorous defence. All the people, high and low, great and small, bound themselves by most solemn pledges not to do as was done on the former occasion, but to fight while life remained.

The month of preparation having expired, the Nū-yān, Iljidāe, or Iljī, who now had a force of 130,000 men under him, advanced towards the city of Hirāt, and four bodies of 30,000 men each were disposed, so as to operate against the four sides of the city, and the four gateways He took care beforehand that those among his troops who should be guilty of any misdemeanour [no doubt this was because their defeats, by Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, had made them feel themselves less sure of success than previously, and it was soon after the Sulṭān's overthrow of the two Mughal armies that this force was sent against Hirāt, and before the Sulṭān's defeat on the Indus] should be punished with death, but those who distinguished themselves should be fittingly rewarded.

The siege was prosecuted with vigour and as bravely defended during a period of 6 months and 17 days, when, in the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 619 H., the Mughal commander determined upon a supreme effort, and assaulted the place for several successive days, with the loss of some 5000 men upon each occasion The walls, from the constant battering of the catapults and other military engines, had become quite honey-combed, when, one day, about 50 ells of the curtain gave way, burying, among others, 400 men of note among the Mughals under the *débris*. Three days after this misfortune division arose among the defenders—one party being for holding out, the other for capitulation—for the people within had now become much straitened, both for military stores, as well as food to feed the immense number of inhabitants and fugitives within the beleaguered city, while day by day, reinforcements and assistance were reaching the Mughals. At length, on a Friday, in the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal—Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā says, the month after, but all leave out the date—619 H., the final assault was delivered where a portion of the curtain fell, and the Mughals entered the fortifications at what was afterwards called the Khākistar Burj [bastion] and captured the city. They at once commenced an indiscriminate massacre—old and young, male and female, adult and infant—and for the space of seven days this was

through the city fully armed, and arrayed in defensive armour; and, lance in hand, fought against the infidels until he attained martyrdom; but God knows the truth of the matter.

## ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTS OF KĀL-YŪN AND FĪWĀR.[3]

After the Mughal troops had effected the capture of Hirāt and desolated the city, they divided into two divisions. One of these marched into Sīstān, and at its head was the Juzbī, Sa'dī, and other great Nū-īns; and the other force appeared at the foot [of the walls] of the ḥiṣār of Kāl-yūn, and the troops took up their position round about that fortress.[4] It is a fortification excessively strong, the like of which, in strength of construction, there is nowhere to be found, either in loftiness and sublimity, or in stability and solidity; and in the KITĀB-I-MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK [The Book of Roads and Kingdoms], which

carried on, the city sacked, the buildings and defences demolished, and the ditch filled up. "The number of persons who attained martyrdom on this occasion amounted to 1,600,000," in which number must be certainly included those who, from the towns and villages around, sought shelter within that stronghold, and it will easily be perceived how difficult it was to have held out so long with such a number to feed The resources of Hirāt must have been immense.

After the Nū-yān, Iljidāe, or Iljī, had desolated the district around Hirāt and left not a soul alive, he, after a further stay of eight days, set out for the fortress of Kāl-yūn, as our author states; but some authors mistake the name, and have Isfīzār—اسفزار—which was the name of a town and district dependent on Hirāt, through which he passed, and also mentioned in the "MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK." See page 397, note [7]. The fortress described by our author lies beyond that, but the direction agrees. From this place the Mughal leader sent such of the booty captured at Hirāt, as was befitting, to the Chingiz Khān; and, when he reached the ḳaṣbah of Aobah, mentioned before, at page 358, note [8]—still a well-known place on the direct route between Hirāt and Kābul, although geographers, at the present day, seem to have very hazy ideas on the subject—he sent back a body of 2000 horse, with the true fiendish instinct of these barbarians, to slaughter such of the unfortunate Hirātīs as might have concealed themselves, and who now, imagining that the Mughals were far away, had come out of their places of shelter. Sixteen persons, including the Khaṭīb, were all who remained alive! The particulars respecting them will be found under Uktāe's reign.

[3] This fortress was founded by Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām. See page 342.

[4] It is worthy of note, and highly significant, that the pro-Mughal authors never allude to these events in Ghūr and Khurāsān. They either knew nothing about them, or purposely concealed them.

the masters learned in science have compiled, this fortress is mentioned in these words: "The strongest fortress in the world, and the fairest, is Kāl-yūn." It is such a fortress that whosoever would go from the foot of [the walls of] the city of Hirāt to the foot of the walls of that fort, it behoveth him to proceed twenty farsangs [leagues] in an upward direction to a considerable altitude, until he reaches the base of the rock upon which that fortification stands; and, that point having been reached, it is necessary to proceed another league upwards in order to reach the foot of the rock on the summit of which the ramparts of the fort stand. The height of that rock is about a thousand cubits, and the face of it is like a wall, so that it is impossible for any living thing to mount it, with the exception of reptiles of the earth; and on the top of the rock is the plateau of four leagues or more [in area ?].[5] In the fortress are seven wells which they have excavated in the solid rock, and in each of these is so much perennial water that, however much of it is expended, it does not diminish; and, in the middle of the fortress, is an extensive plain.

The sons of Abū-Bikr who were the champions of Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, two brothers, two heroes of renown, and, in themselves, two huge elephants of war—were the seneschals[6] of that fortress. Trustworthy persons have related that both the brothers, in stature, were so tall that, when they used to accompany Sultān Muhammad Khwārazm Shāh [on horseback], in procession, with their hands placed on his stirrup, their heads rose a head higher than that of the Sulṭān; and the two brothers were famed for their valour and high spirit, and they were the Amīrs [governors] of the fortress. During these events the Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk, Daulat Yār, the Ṭughrā-ī, who was one of the rulers in the Khwārazm-Shāhī empire, had also entered the fortress of Kāl-yūn

[5] In most of the modern copies, "four bow-shots or more," but the context shows that inside the fort itself was an extensive plain. The map compiled by Captain Sanders and Lieutenant North, of the country around Hirāt during the first occupation of Afghānistān, will probably show its position, which lies about 70 miles N. E. of Hirāt.

[6] The principal person in charge was a civilian, as previously mentioned, the Malik-ul-Kutāb, the Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk, Daulat Yār-i-Ṭughrā-ī, as mentioned at page 1003, but these two champions acted as seneschals of the fortress.

At the time when the infidel horsemen reached the base of the fortress, there were in Kāl-yūn a great number of men and much war material. Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwā-razm Shāh, had [previously] beleaguered and pressed hard this fortress and that of Fīwār, which is opposite to it, for a period of ten or eleven years before he obtained possession of them.[7] Kāl-yūn had [since] been thoroughly provided with men and arms, and stores and provisions. When the Mughal troops began the attack upon it, the holy warriors and tried men within descended from the fortress and commenced holy war upon them, and despatched numbers of Mughals to hell. Day and night they engaged in fighting with and resisting the infidels. The intrepidity of the garrison of the fortress reached such a pitch that it was impossible for the Mughal force to obtain sleep at night out of dread of them, and so these infidels completely enclosed the entire fortress round with a circular wall, in which they placed two gates, facing the fortress, with walls before them, and men were told off to keep watch at night.[8] A trustworthy person related that a fox had remained at the foot of the rock on which the fortress of Kāl-yūn stands, within the circumvallation of the Mughals, and, for a period of seven months, that fox had no way by which he might get out, so strictly did the Mughal troops guard this wall.

When one year of the investment of the fortress passed away, the Juzbī, Sa'dī, with a Mughal army, from before the gate of Sīstān, came into Khurāsān, and arrived at the base of the fortress of Kāl-yūn; and, a second time, was the place closely invested.[9]

[7] That was during the time of the Ghūrī Sulṭāns and must have happened soon after the assassination of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i Sām, or even before that event

[8] The Printed Text, like some *MS* copies, differs considerably here, and they have, "a double" wall

[9] From this it appears that, before the arrival of the Juzbī, Sa'dī, the Mughals had latterly contented themselves with merely blockading the place, but, after his arrival, began more active operations. Although beaten off twice, they never left it entirely, and then came back again to invest it, as will presently appear.

The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā has an apocryphal story to the effect, that the people of the great fortress of Kāl-yūn, fearing the Mughals, with the help of the Hirātīs, would attack them again, now that they had obtained possession of Hirāt,

A pestilent disease overcame the defenders of the fortress, and the greater part of the people died, through the provisions with which the fortress was supplied, which consisted of a large quantity of dried flesh and pistachios —for the pistachios of Khurāsān mostly come from around about Kāl-yūn—and, from constantly eating dried flesh, pistachios, and clarified butter, the people of the fortress used to fall sick, and their heads and feet used to swell, and death would result. After the garrison had held out against this investment for a period of sixteen months, not more than fifty persons remained alive, and of these twenty were suffering from swollen feet, and thirty were strong and healthy. One of this band left the fortress and went over to the Mughal force, and made known the state of the garrison and of the fortress of Kāl-yūn ; and, when the Mughal troops ascertained for certain the state in which the people of the place were, the infidels donned their arms and turned their faces towards it. The garrison, resigning themselves to martyrdom, threw everything of value within the fortress, consisting of gold and silver, and valuable clothes, and whatever was of worth, into the wells, and then filled them up with large stones from the fortress ; and all else that remained they burnt. They then threw open the gateway of the fortress, drew their swords, and threw themselves upon the infidel Mughals, and attained the felicity of martyrdom.

When the fortress of Kāl-yūn was taken, a body of the Mughal forces which had been at the foot of the walls of the fort of Walkh [1] of Ṭukhāristān, namely Ṭūlān, the Juzbī, and Arsalān Khān of Ḳaiālīḳ, with those Mughal troops, by command of the Chingiz Khān, marched to the foot of the fortress of Fiwār of Ḳādas.[2] This fortress of

although they had twice been obliged to raise the investment, despatched eighty men to Hirāt to kil' Amīr Abū-Bikr and Mangatāe, the Mughal, and thus create a diversion, and direct the Chingiz Khān's power to the *destruction of Hirāt!*

[1] See page 1023, and also note [2], page 1024.

[2] This is the tract respecting the name of which there were some doubts at pages 342, 375, and 398, but Ḳādas and not Fādas—there is but the difference between ق and ف—is the correct name, but, in some copies, it is written—Ḳādush—with sh. It is in these parts, and among these mighty fortresses that the student of the Macedonian Alexander's campaigns might identify the stronghold of the Bākhtrian Oxyartes, the rock fortress of Chorienes [Kāl-yūn ?]

Fīwār in strength, solidity, and impregnability, is still stronger than the fortress of Kāl-yūn, and the fact of its strength may be held certain in that ten men can defend it. Between Fīwār and Kāl-yūn is a distance of about ten farsangs [leagues], in such wise that both fortresses are in sight of each other. If strange horsemen should reach the base of the fortress of Kāl-yūn in the day, the people would make a smoke, and, at night, they would light a fire; and the garrison of Fīwār used [thus] to know of it: and if such should reach the fortress of Fīwār the same would be done to make it known to Kāl-yūn.

For a period of ten months[3] that the Juzbī, Ṯūlān, and Arsalān Khān of Ḳaiālik, lay before the fortress of Fīwār, on account of the great scarcity of provisions, their forces had become reduced to great straits. They now brought from the stores of the fortress of Kāl-yūn what was necessary for their subsistence,[4] so that, for a short time [longer], they were able to continue before the stronghold. A person from the fort of Fīwār [now] came into the force of the Juzbī, Ṯūlān, and gave information of the state of the place, that [nearly] the whole of the garrison were dead, and that, throughout the whole fortress, there were not more than seven men alive, and out of them four or five were sick. Then the infidels armed themselves, and captured the place, and martyred those seven persons—God reward them!

These events happened in the latter part of the year 619 H.,[5] and this was the affair, as has been [just] related, of those two strongholds, than which there were no stronger forts in all Khurāsān and Ghūr.

## ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED IN GHŪR, GHARJISTĀN, AND FĪRŪZ-KOH[6]

The city of Fīrūz-koh which was the capital and seat of

and other positions not made out, always supposing, however, that the first Nicæa is no other than Nisā, a very ancient place. Several of these strongholds agree with the descriptions given by Arrian and Strabo.

[3] One of the oldest copies has eight months.

[4] It is stated just above that everything of value had been thrown into wells or burnt, but perhaps they did not think pistachios and other provisions worth destroying.

[5] See note [7], page 1061.

[6] The fortress of Tūlak is included under this heading, and our author says it

government of the Sulṭāns of Ghūr, the Juzbī Uḳlān,[7] with the Mughal forces [under him] appeared before, in the year 617 H., and for twenty days and more attacked it vigorously, but retired without having effected their purpose.[8] The people of Fīrūz-koh showed opposition towards Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, the Sabzwārī [who was in charge], and rose against him , and he was under the necessity of entering the upper fortress, which is situated to the north-east of the city, upon a lofty and overhanging mountain. During the time of the Sultāns of Ghūr there was no more upon that spot than a great kaṣr [castle],[9] and it used to be impossible for laden beasts to get there ; but, at this period, that Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, the Sabzwārī, had restored and enlarged that fortress, he had carried a rampart all round the top of that mountain, and had made a road to that fortress so that laden camels used to go up to it, and a thousand men could find quarters therein.

When disagreement arose between the people of Fīrūz-koh and Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, the Sabzwārī, and the latter took up his quarters in the upper fortress, the people wrote letters to Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain[1]—may he rest in peace!—and solicited him to come thither. Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, with the forces of Ghūr, proceeded to Fīrūz-koh, and Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, located his uncle's son, Malik 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Zangī, Ba'lamī,[2] at Fīrūz-koh, and this circumstance happened in the year 618 H.

lay between Ghūr and Khurāsān, and, therefore, it was situated, by this account, in Gharjistān, north of Hirāt, or close to it In another place [page 362], he says it is in the hill-tracts of Hirāt

[7] This is the person who is turned into Hulakoo in Miles's "*Shajrat ul Atrak*," so called, but it is a work of no authority whatever, and his translation contains gross and absurd errors

[8] As already mentioned at page 1007, which see

[9] This is the place referred to at pages 403 and 407

[1] Here, as in other places preceding, he is, in some copies, styled Ḥasan He was Malik of Ghūr, under the Khwārazmīs, after the downfall of the Ghūrī dynasty This is the illustrious Malik—the son of 'Alī, son of Ābī 'Alī—who came into India in the reign of I-yal-timish, who held such a prominent position in Nāṣir ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, and who was, at last, put to death by that Sulṭān, or rather his advisers See pages 702 and 798.

[2] Doubtful it is written نعلی in some of the best copies of the text as well as بعلمی as above, and in others—تعلی and نعلی—without any points.

When the forces of the infidel Mughal, under Uktāe,[3] moved from Ghaznīn and advanced towards Ghūr, a body of troops [from that army] pushed on, suddenly and unexpectedly, and fell upon Fīrūz-koh. Malik 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Zangī, they martyred in the year 619 H.; and the people of the city were martyred also. Malik Mubāriz-ud-Dīn, the Sabzwārī, evacuated the [upper] fortress, and came to Hirāt, and there attained martyrdom; and the city of Fīrūz-koh was wholly destroyed.[4]

The fortress of Tūlak, however, of which Amīr Ḥabashī-i-Nezah-war [the expert at the lance] on the part of Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh—on whom be peace!—was governor, did not fall into the hands of the Mughals. The fortress of Tūlak is a fortification totally unconnected

[3] The Chingiz Khān's son, at the time his father left the banks of the Indus with the intention of returning homewards. See page 1047

[4] This place, the seat of a powerful empire never afterwards recovered; and at this day even its site appears to be imperfectly known. Its destruction is another specimen of the "architectural afflatus which fell upon the world after the Mongol invasions."

But neither our author, nor any other Oriental writer, knows anything about Ghūr, its capital, or its sovereigns, and when they tell us that Fīrūz-koh was the capital they merely show their ignorance, for does not "General Ferrier" tell us that "*Zerni*" was? In his book, entitled "CARAVAN JOURNEYS," he states at page 248, "*Zerni was, as I have before remarked, the ancient capital of the country of Gour . Its position in a valley is happily chosen*"!!

In his attempt to reach Kābul from Hirāt, "the General" set out from the latter place, and says he reached as far north as Sar-i-pul, and was compelled soon after to return to Hirāt again. This journey occupied him from the 22nd June to the 21st July—just *thirty days*—on which latter date he was brought back to Hirāt again. During the chief part of this time he was under *surveillance*, and not permitted to roam about, and travelled part of the time through "Gour" by *starlight*, but notwithstanding all this he not only discovered the ancient capital, but also its name, totally contrary to every native author who has written on the subject, and also had time to make researches into the history of Gour, although he did not even know how to spell the name correctly. Consequent on these discoveries our author's account of its twenty-two rulers, not including those of Ghaznīn and Tukhāristān, must be contrary to fact, for "the General" tells us that the "Gour" dynasty only lasted sixty-four years, and that it only consisted of *five* persons!!

I may be permitted to doubt the correctness of "the General's" statements (upon a good many matters besides this, and not in this book alone), until some one can show me, in any history whatever, such a name as *Zerni*, much less that it was the "ancient capital" of Ghūr.

It is quite time such incorrect statements and such "Histories" should be exposed

with any adjoining mountain, and the foundation of it dates from the time of Manūchihr, and Ārash,[5] the Archer, [then] held it. In the upper part of it are chambers hewn in the solid rock which they call Ārashī [after Ārash],[6] and Amīr Naṣr, the Tūlakī,[7] sunk a well, in the upper part of the fortress; and the diameter of the well will be about twenty *gas* [ells], and it is excavated in the solid rock. The water, however much is drawn from it, shows no decrease, and its depth is immense. The fortress is of great strength, and lies between Ghūr and Khurāsān. When Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, came to Balkh,[8] Ḥabashī-i-Nezah-

[5] The famous champion and archer of Manū-chihr—Heavenly-faced—the tenth king of the Bāstānīah dynasty, and one of the heroes of the Shāh-Nāmah. Ārash, upon one occasion, is said to have discharged an arrow from Āmul to Marw, a distance of only about "*forty days' journey*." This, however, is much of a kind with the feats the Greek heroes of antiquity performed, and not a whit more exaggerated.

[6] It will be seen from this, that the excavations in and around the district of Bāmīān, and where the two great idols, the Khing But—Grey Idol, and the Surkh But—Red Idol, stand, are, by no means, the only ones in these parts; and the fact shows, in a somewhat ridiculous light, the various opinions respecting the latter, and their purposes.

The account given respecting them by oriental writers is, briefly, this. "The *Khing But* is the beloved of the *Surkh But*, and they are each about fifty-two *gas*—ells—high. They are situated in the mauẓa'—district—of Bāmīān, a dependency of Ṭukhāristān, on the frontier of Badakhshān. People can go in and come out at the fingers and toes of these idols or figures, which are hollow within. Some call them Lāt and Manāt, and in 'Arabic they are styled Yaghūṣ and Ya'ūḳ."

MASSON, in his Travels, makes out these two figures to be the work of the "White Huns," who conquered Transoxiana and "Khorasan," and were finally exterminated by "Zingis Khan," and his opinion is supposed to "receive countenance from the well-ascertained fact that Zingis Khan destroyed Ghulghuleh," the ruins of which are scattered over the Bāmīān valley. The same author considers these caves to have been catacombs. Strange that we hear of no *white* or *black* Huns in connexion with "Zingis" and "the catacombs." MOORCROFT [each rides his own hobby] was of opinion that Bāmīān was "the residence of a great Lama," and the excavations the abodes of "Lama clergy," and "the lower classes of the monastic society," and that "the laity inhabited the adjoining city"! ELPHINSTONE attributes these idols and the contiguous caves to "the Buddhist princes of Ghore," but what history says that the Tājzīk Ghūrī chiefs and rulers were Buddhists any more than that they were "White Huns"? and what are the proofs? Col. G. B. Malleson, however, makes "Ghilzai" Afghāns of them!

[7] A former governor of the place: the chief whose fief it was.

[8] Just previous to his flight towards Nīshāpūr. Here all the copies of the text collated have Balkh—بلخ and not Walkh ولخ as before, showing, still more clearly, that they refer to two separate places.

war, with the troops of Tūlak, proceeded to Balkh also, and presented himself before the sublime threshold [of that monarch]. He was directed to return to Tūlak,[*] and put the fortress in order and make preparation for opposing the Mughals. After he returned from thence, in the beginning of the year 617 H, on several occasions, bodies of Mughal horsemen came to the foot of the fortress, and made raids in its neighbourhood; and, in the year 618 H., the Nū-īn, Fīkū,[1] who was a son-in-law of the Chingiz Khān, and who commanded a force of 40,000 Mughal cavalry, and troops of other races, appeared at the foot of the fortress of Tūlak with a numerous army.

Amīr Ḥabashī-i-Nezah-war[2] agreed with him that he would become tributary to the Mughals; and came down from the fortress and paid homage to him, and returned to it again. The subsidy which he had assented to, Ḥabashī-i-Nezah-war apportioned among the people of Tūlak, and enforced its payment rigorously. This Ḥabashī-i-Nezah-war, in his younger days, in the beginning of the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, was a common man, a Nīshāpūrī, and a maker of sacks; and, in Khurāsān and Khwārazm, there never has been one so skilled in the use of the lance as he. This has been heard oftentimes from his own lips,—"If, upon occasion, I should lie down on my back upon the ground, and take a staff in my hand, I would defend myself against four men with spears." In short, he was a very excellent man, and his good works were many, and his charities countless. At this time, however, through his having apportioned this subsidy among them, the whole Tūlakī people decried him, and considered themselves oppressed in the collecting of it. One of the

[*] Tūlak must have been a place of considerable size, and its dependencies populous, as, some years before, 1200 Tūlakīs, were left to garrison Tabarhindah, just before Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī, was defeated by Rāe Pithorā at Tarā'īn. See pages 458 and 459.

At page 362, our author states that it lies in the mountains in the vicinity of Hirāt, and is in the country of Khurāsān. It is in vain to look for it in any of our maps, but it is not in "Ghor," so styled.

[1] The same who was overthrown by Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn. At page 1006 the number of troops is stated at 45,000. See note [3], page 288.

[2] He must not, from the similarity of part of his name, be confounded with Tāj-ud-Dīn, Ḥabashī-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrād, referred to at page 1007, who, subsequently, fell, fighting against those infidels.

clever, of that time, composed a verse, and, as it is witty, it has been here inserted in order that it may come under the observation of the sovereign of Islām, and that the people of the Tūlak district may be remembered with an invocation. The Khwājah, and Imām, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, the Khāzinchī [3]—on whom be the Almighty's mercy!—says:

> "I said: 'Ḥabashī, Nezah-war! what is this wrong?
> What have the Tūlakīs to do with rack and prison?'
> He replied 'I am a leather-worker and Fīḳū a dog:[4]
> The dog knows and the leather-worker knows what the wallet contains.'"

The inhabitants of Tūlak, both the soldiery and the peasantry, having suffered extortion [at his hands], revolted against him, seized him, and delivered up the fortress of Tūlak and Ḥabashī-i-Nezah-war to Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, in order that he might take charge of it, who came to the fortress of Tūlak, and he located therein his own son, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Muhammad; and the maternal uncle of the writer [of this work], which is Minhāj-i-Sarāj, and whose name was Ḳāẓī Jalāl-ud-Dīn-i-Majd-ul-Mulk, Aḥmad-i-'Usmān, Nisāwī, was Ḥākim [governor], and the Khwājah [Jamāl-ud-Dīn ?] directed its affairs[5] After Ḥabashī-i-Nezah-war fell into the power of Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, the latter for a time kept him in confinement, and, at length, gave him permission to proceed to the fortress of Fīwār. The Malik of that fortress was the Pah-

[3] This term, signifying treasurer, is somewhat doubtful, as it is written in different ways, and mostly without the diacritical points—حارزعی—حاروئی—and حاررمی

[4] A tanner and a dog held near akin in those parts

[5] This is an important passage, in some respects, since, without the use of two iẓāfats, both of which stand in lieu of *bin son of*, no sense can possibly be made of it At page 458, our author mentions this uncle "of his maternal grandfather," but that last part of the sentence must have been redundant or an interpolation There, his name and titles are not given in full, he being merely styled Ḳāẓī Majd-ud-Dīn, Tūlakī, but it now appears that Majd-ud-Dīn was his title, and Aḥmad his name, and that he was the son of 'Usmān, the Tūlakī, whose family, originally, came from Nisā Ḳāẓī Jalāl-ud-Dīn was his son, and the brother of that Ḳāẓī of Tūlak, named Muḥammad, entitled Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn, who was left, along with 1200 Tūlakīs, to defend the fortress of Tabarhindah, when, thirty-seven years before, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī, retired to Ghaznīn after his defeat by Rāe Pithorā.

The son of Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, the Ghūrī, must have been young in years, and therefore the Khwājah, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, and the Ḳāẓī Jalāl-ud-Dīn, directed the affairs of Tūlak, nominally for Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn. It appears strange, however, that his own people should have put the Ḳāẓī to death, and our author does not give us any further particulars

lawān, Aṣīl-ud-Dīn,[6] the Nis͟hābūrī, and he seized Ḥabas͟hī-i-Nezah-war and martyred him.

When the fortress of Kāl-yūn fell into the hands of the infidels [the Mug͟hals], the inhabitants of the fortress of Tūlak, who were also kinsmen of the K͟hwājah, and fifteen heads of families, also kinsmen of each other, entered into a compact together,[7] in the year 619 H., and caused the K͟hwājah to be martyred, and sent the son of Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, back to the presence of his father. For a period of four years, they [the Tūlakīs] waged war against the Mug͟hal infidels a great many times, and the author of this work, which is Minhāj-ud-Dīn-i-Sarāj, during these four years, used to join the people of Tūlak, who were all kinsmen and brethren, in their holy warfare, and, in the end, it continued safe from the hands of the infidels.

After the people of Tūlak became disobedient to the authority of Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, he determined upon retiring into Hindūstān, in the year 620 H.,[8] and the fortress of Tūlak remained unmolested.[9]

Subsequently to these events, the author of this work chanced, upon two occasions, to undertake journeys into the Ḳuhistān on the subject of a mission: the first time, in the year 621 H.,[1] and, on the second occasion, in 622 H. Afterwards, in the year 623 H., on the part of Malik Rukn-

[6] Mentioned at page 1003.

[7] The date here given in the text, in which all copies agree, is سبع—*seven*—but it cannot possibly be correct, and must be a mistake for تسع—*nine*—because Ḳiwār, which held out over a year, was not captured, by our author's own account, until the latter part of the year 619 H. The investment of that fortress was only undertaken after the fall of Walk͟h of Tuk͟hāristān, against which Arsalān K͟hān of Ḳarālıḳ, and Tūlān, the Jurzbī, were despatched in the third month of 618 H., and which held out for eight months. See pages 1023 and 1055.

[8] An account of what misfortunes befell him on his way thither will be found farther on.

[9] At page 1069 it is stated that, on the 12th of a month, not given, in the year 620 H., the Mug͟hals sprang an ambuscade against Tūlak, but did not succeed in their object. At page 1070 also, our author further states, that Tūlak was entered in 620 H. by the Mug͟hals, after Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, had retired from the territory of G͟hūr with other Maliks, and they were making towards Hind by the route over the Arg͟hand river.

[1] At this time K͟hurāsān was entirely clear of Mug͟hals. These journeys are mentioned farther on in the account of the downfall of the Mulāḥidahs, which see, and page 201. He undertook two journeys for Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, the first was in 622 H. See page 1039.

ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-'Usmān, the Maraghani, of Khāesār [of Ghūr], the author proceeded to the presence of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, the Khwārazmī; and, in the same year, on the part of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, he went on another mission to the Bādshāh [2] of the Ḳuhistān, to Neh [3] and to Sīstān. After this the author set out [on his journey] towards Hindūstān.

Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn [subsequently ?], came to Tūlak,[4] and the people of that fortress paid obeisance to him, and he removed [some of ?] them to Sīstān. In the disaster of Sīstān, they all attained martyrdom,[5] and [the remainder of ?] that people continued there [at Tūlak]. The Amīr of Tūlak [at that time ?] was Hizabr-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Mubārak, and he went to Kyuk Khān,[6] and, up to this present day, his children hold that fortress.

## ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE BEFORE THE FORT OF SAIF-RŪD OF GHŪR.

The fortress of Saif-rūd of Ghūr [7] is the strongest of all

[2] Not a sovereign or king here, but the Muḥtashim—a sort of Abbot or Prior—of the Mulāḥidah heretics, on the part of the head of that sect. See "*Panjab and Dehli*," in 1857, "by Rev J Cave Browne," who raises up a "*Badshah*"—a king—by means of the poor old Ākhūnd of Suwāt [lately dead], not knowing that words sometimes have two meanings.

[3] The Printed Text is always wrong with respect to the name of this well-known place. See under the Maliks of Sījistān, page 200.

[4] At page 201 our author says Bināl-Tigīn took possession of the fortress of Isfizār, as well as that of Tūlak, in 623 H., about the time he himself left his native country and set out for Hind, and at page 200 he states, that Bināl-Tigīn was despatched to Neh, by Burāḳ, the Ḥājib, to the assistance of one of the rival Maliks of Sīstān, and that he took possession of Neh for himself.

[5] Our author says "all," as contained in the whole of the *MSS* collated, but this cannot be, for, otherwise, how could he have remained at Tūlak at the same time? Perhaps, as these events occurred at the period he was preparing to leave for Hind, his account became somewhat confused. At the time the Mughals invested the citadel of Sīstān—the second time of their appearing in that country—these very Tūlakīs who were removed formed part of the Sīstān garrison and made a gallant defence. Hizabr-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, was set up by the Tūlakīs after Bināl-Tigīn withdrew, and, having made submission to the Mughals, was allowed to continue to hold it. The siege of Sīstān is mentioned farther on

[6] Kyuk Khān ascended the throne in 643 H., and died in 647 H., some say in 648 H. See under his reign. It is most absurd to notice how this simple name has been written in some copies of the text—کیکل—کیکل—کنکلی—کلکا—and even خان only

[7] This is the fortress in which Bahrām Shāh, son of Khusrau Malik, the last of the Maḥmūdīah dynasty of Ghaznīn, was immured. See page 115.

the strongholds of the *jibāl* [mountain tracts], and the foundation of it had been laid by the father of the Sulṭāns Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn—Sulṭān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām,[8] son of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Al-Ḥusain.

When Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, retired from before Balkh towards Māzandarān, he commanded so that Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, should put the fortress in a state of repair. There was but little time [to do it in], and he was unable to construct more than a reservoir in the upper part of it; for, two months after the command was given, the Mughal army entered [that part], and the possibility of constructing anything more did not offer itself. In that reservoir he collected sufficient water for about forty days' supply for the people of the fortress. The Mughal troops carried their depredations into all parts of Ghūr; and the whole of the quadrupeds of every kind, from all parts, fell into the hands of the infidels, and the people of Ghūr attained martyrdom, through a *diram* of four *dāngs*.[9]

Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, with his troops, sought shelter within that fortress, and the Nū-īn Mangūtah, the Nū-īn Ḳarāchah, and the Nū-īn Utsuz,[1] with a numerous army, advanced to the foot [of the walls] of the fort, and, when they understood that the defenders had but a small supply of water, they fixed their camp at the base of the stronghold, and commenced hostilities. For a period of fifty days they assailed it with great vigour, and, on both sides, a great number of Musalmāns attained martyrdom, and Mughals beyond compute went to hell. There was an immense number of quadrupeds in the fortress; and as

[8] Four forts are mentioned as having been constructed by him, but this one is not mentioned See page 341. The *jibāl* of Ghūr has already been noticed.

[9] This appears to be some proverb or trite saying. It might be read "four *dāngs* out of a *diram*"—four fourths. A *diram* has four *dāngs* or *tāngs*. Or it may mean that many people lost their lives in attempting to save their cattle.

[1] This name is very doubtful in the text, no two copies being alike; but this is, at least, Turkish, and is plainly written—اتسر—in one copy. The others may be Albar, Alsar, Àbsar, Atar, Asaz, Albasar, or Alburz, and thus, in three copies, the second letter is *t*, and in three other copies the last letter is *s*. This leader's name does not occur in other histories, because they do not contain any account whatever of the attacks upon, and determined defence of, these strongholds, nor is his name to be found in a long list of the Chingiz Khān's Nū-yīns.

many as they were able to cure by drying they slaughtered, and the remainder, amounting to the number of 24,400 odd, perished for want of water. The whole were thrown from the ramparts of the fort on to the glacis on the side of the hill [on which it stood], and the whole face thereof, for a depth of some forty *gaz* [ells], was completely strewn with the carcases of the dead animals, so that not a yard [of space] of the whole hill could be seen for them.

Orders were given so that, for the people of the fortress, a stated allowance of water, grain, and other provision was fixed, to each man half a *man* [about a gallon, or rather less] of water, and a *man* of grain;[2] and to Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, one *man* of water—half for [his own] drinking, and half for the purpose of his ablutions. There was no horse in the fortress but one, the private horse of Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, for the use of which the water expended in the Malik's ablutions used to be set aside, and was collected in an open vessel so that the animal might drink it. When a period of fifty days had expired, the party which had been stationed to guard the reservoir of water gave intimation that not more than one day's supply remained in it; and a person, from the fortress, went away, and informed the Mughal troops of that circumstance. Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, when he ascertained the fact, convened the males of the people of the fortress at the time of afternoon prayer, and proposed that, the next morning, at break of day, they should put all the females and children to death[3] with their own hands, and throw open the gateway of the fortress, and that every man, armed with a naked sword, should conceal himself in some place within the fortress, and, when the infidel Mughals should enter it, they [the Musalmāns], with one accord, should fall upon them with their swords, and should continue to fight them until they should attain the felicity of martyrdom.

All pledged themselves to this, and submitted their

[2] About 8 lbs. This weight varies in the different countries and districts of Persia, Afghānistān, and India, from 8 lbs to 40 lbs

[3] The I O L. *MS.*, No. 1952, the Hamilton *MS*, and the Ro As Soc. *MS* have instead of بکشند—"should put them to death"—برهنه کنند—"should strip them naked"! This shows the danger of trusting to a single *MS*, or even two, and the absurd mistakes made by ignorant scribes, who, in this instance, wrote the adjective qualifying sword twice over

hearts to martyrdom; and this determination became fixed in their minds, and they were taking leave of each other, until, at the time of evening prayer, Almighty God, the Most High and Holy, unclosed the door of His mercy [upon them], and, out of His boundless beneficence, sent clouds, so that, on the summits of the mountains around about, and parts adjacent, until midnight, the rain of mercy descended, and the snow of compassion fell, in such wise, that, from the army of the infidels without, and the champions of the faith within the fortification, a hundred thousand exclamations and cries arose in wonderment at the succour of the Most High God. The people of the fortress, who had withdrawn their hearts from existence, and washed the hand of hope of life, and who had endured the thirst of fifty days, and during that time had not drunk the *sharbat* of their fill of water, drank from the coverings of the tents and *sāyah bāns*, so much snow water, in satisfying[4] their longing, that, for a period of seven days after, smoke issued from their throats along with their saliva.

When the Mughal forces beheld that Divine assistance, and witnessed the bountifulness of the Creator, they knew that the people of the fort had saved at least a month's supply of water, or even a two months' supply, that the month of *Tīr* [the fourth solar month] was come to its close, and that, without doubt, in the winter season, snow would fall successively. The following day, therefore, they abandoned their position before the fortress and raised the investment, and went to hell until the following year.

When the new year, 619 H.,[5] came round, again the Mughal forces from Khurāsān, Ghaznīn, and Sīstān, entered the different parts of the mountain tracts of Ghūr. After the disaster which befel Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Khwārazm Shāh, a force from the Mughal armies, amply equipped

[4] In most copies of the text مطبخ—a cooking-place, a kitchen, etc.—and in the printed text بطبخ has been used for تطبع

[5] The greater number of the copies of the text have 618 H., but, as Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's defeat happened, not in the seventh month—Rajab—of that year, as generally stated, for the reasons already given in note [2], page 1049, but in Shawwāl, the ninth month, the second attack on this fortress, if it happened in the beginning of a year, must have happened in the beginning of that of 619 H., and it is subsequently stated that, with a winter intervening, it was taken in 620 H.

and provided, and [consisting of] cavalry, and infantry, and Amirs, beyond computation, appeared at the foot of the fortress of Saif-rūd, and pitched their camp; and hostilities commenced. As Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, had had opportunity, and had constructed reservoirs, and collected vast store of provision, he fought many encounters with the Mughal troops, and used strenuous efforts against them; and, the greater the efforts and endeavours the infidels put forth, the stronger became the affairs of the fortress, and the more intrepid grew the warriors of the faith. On this occasion, the fighting continued, and they kept up the investment, for a further period of two months, and, in no way, could they obtain possession of the fortress.

After that [period of time], the infidels turned their faces towards treachery and deceit, and entered into the gate of peace, and propounded words of amity. As the people, for a considerable time, had suffered the disquietude and care of a fortress, out of eagerness for gold, and clothes, and cattle, at a cheap rate, they were agreeable to an accommodation. Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, used to dissuade them greatly from entering into a truce with infidels, but the people had become wearied and exhausted, and the fate of some of them was near at hand. His expostulations were of no avail; and, in the end, a truce was agreed to, on the stipulation that, for a period of three days, the people of the fortress should come into the Mughal camp, bring the commodities they possessed and dispose of them, and take away the gold and silver the price thereof, and purchase such cattle and woollen garments as they required; and that, after the expiration of three days, the Mughal troops should march away from before the place. When the truce had been ratified, the people of the fortress conveyed all such commodities as they possessed into the camp of the accursed ones, and for a period of two days bought and sold what was necessary, and not a Mughal infidel, or any one else,[6] annoyed any person whosoever. When the night of the third day came, the infidels concealed a great number of armed men behind rocks, [bales of] clothes, pack-saddles of animals, and in the old gullies and ravines

[6] The contingent of the Ḳārlūgh chief, Arsalān Khān of Ḳaiālīḳ, is doubtless referred to here.

about their camp; and, when the morning of the third day broke, the people from above descended from the mountain and mingled as before among the infidels in their camp. All at once they [the Mug̲h̲als] beat kettledrums and raised a shout, and every Mug̲h̲al infidel and renegade, who was buying and selling with the Musalmāns, seized, on the spot, those Musalmāns and slew them, with the exception of the persons whose lives Almighty God had spared; and all who had arms with them, or displayed knives, them they first deprived of their weapons, and then slew them.

At this place an incident occurs, and a piece of advice for observers and readers offers; and it is this: There was a leader among the soldiery [in the fortress], a Nis̲h̲āpūrī, a thorough man, whom they were wont to style Fak̲h̲r-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Arzīz-gar [the worker in tin[7]], one among the followers of Amīr Ḥabas̲h̲ī-i-Nezah-war, who was, at this time, in the fortress of Saif-rūd, in the service of Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain. He [Fak̲h̲r-ud-Dīn] also had gone into the camp of the Mug̲h̲als, and was buying and selling; and, in the leg of his boot, he had a knife in shape like a poniard. A Mug̲h̲al, who was trafficking with him, desired to seize him, but he laid hand on his knife, and drew it out of the leg of his boot. The Mug̲h̲al stayed his hand from him, and Fak̲h̲r-ud-Dīn again placed his foot to the mountain, and returned in safety to the fortress.

The warning [here conveyed] is, that it behoveth not a man, in any case, to be passive in the matter of his own safety, particularly when in a place he may be holding parley with a foe, or be in the company of an enemy; and he should see to his own preservation for some useful purpose, and not be without a weapon: for the rest, the protection of the Most High God is sufficient to preserve whom He wills.[8]

Trustworthy persons have related that two hundred and

[7] Workers in tin are not generally "leaders" of soldiers, and the word here used, viz., "Sipah-Sālārs," is that also applied to the commander of an army, but, of course, the context shows what is meant here.

[8] Here is a good proof how wrong are the ideas of some persons as to the Musalmāns and their religion, that *all* must be, and is left to fate, and that no effort must be made on their own parts to help themselves. Our author here describes the teachings of his religion.

eighty men of note and heads of families, valiant[9] men, fell captive into the hands of the Mug͟hals [upon this occasion]; and, such a disaster having befallen the people of Islām, there was not a dwelling [in the place] in which there was not mourning.[10] On the occurrence of this misfortune the Mug͟hal Nū-īns employed emissaries to propose that they [the people of the fort of Saif-rūd] should ransom their own people; but Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, did not consent. When the Mug͟hals understood that, on this occasion, the people of the fortress would not take the bait of treachery, they, on the following day, bound all the Musalmāns who had become captive—ten and fifteen together—and killed them with sword-wounds, stones, and knives, until they made martyrs of the whole of them. The next day, the Mug͟hals made preparations to renew the attack; and Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, the night before the attack, gave directions so that all the great [blocks] of stone [lying about] on the face of the hill near the k͟hāk-rez[1] of the fortress were speedily placed in such a manner that the touch of a child would move them from their places and send them rolling down. More than a hundred great stones as big as mill-stones, and hand-mill-stones, fastened to beams of wood, at the extremity of each beam a millstone, they had drawn out, and those beams were fastened to the battlements of the fortress by ropes The whole of the men of the fortress were divided into two bodies. one half were concealed on the top of the ramparts, behind the battlements, and the other half outside the fortress, at the foot of the ramparts, behind the great blocks of stone. Malik Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, enjoined that, until the sound of the kettledrums of the fortress arose, not a person should show himself.

All things having been arranged in this manner, at dawn the next morning, all at once, the Mug͟hal forces—great and small, Amīrs and common men, infidel Mug͟hals and renegades, armed at all points—issued from their camp,

[9] This tends to show what these forts were—in reality, fortified towns in themselves

[10] The "Printed Text," which is *so much* to be depended on, and *so very correct*, upon occasions, has فرائي

[1] An artificial mound See page 1039, note [8].

and turned their faces towards the fortress. For example, there were more than 10,000 valiant men under shields,[2] whom they brought upwards. The Musalmāns had given them time, so that they ascended more than the distance of two arrow flights towards the fortress, and not a man of the Musalmāns appeared in view. When between the infidels and the Musalmāns about one hundred yards of the side of the hill remained, they beat the kettle-drums within the fortress, and the holy warriors and champions—leaders and common men—all raised a shout, cut away the mill-stones, beams, and ropes, and sent the great stones rolling down. Almighty God so willed it, that not a single individual among the infidel force should escape being killed, wounded, or disabled; and, from the summit[3] of the hill to the base of the same, Mughals and renegades lay prostrate together, and a great number of the Mughal grandees, Nū-īns, and Bahādurs, went to hell.

The remainder of the Mughal army arose and retired from before the foot of the fortress. This victory, bestowed through the grace of Almighty God, according to the promise. "It is a duty incumbent on Us to help the Believers" —took place on Thursday,[4] in the year 620 H.

On Sunday, the 12th of the same month, they [the Mughals] sprung an ambuscade against the fortress of Tūlak,[5] and made determined attacks upon it; and, on

[2] The words, or compound word, here used, differ considerably in different copies of the text, but one has plainly سپرکاو—another سرکاو—and two others سپرکاو and سرکاو respectively; and all three last are probably intended for the first, which is the name of a description of shield or buckler made of buffalo hide, and this would signify men under bucklers, as rendered above. The Printed Text has سرکاو

[3] Every copy has fort—قلعه—instead of hill—تله—but the error is palpable. The Mughals were within about *one hundred yards of the foot of the walls* when the great stones were sent rolling down upon them, and they had no chance of gaining the top of the fortress Had they been able to reach that they might have captured the place.

[4] Here is one of the justly "vaunted impregnable castles and fortresses" which were *not* "without exception captured," as the Kāshghar Mission History informs us they were

The month is wanting in every copy of the text collated, but, from what has been stated at page 1065, that in the first month of the year 619 H. the Mughals set out to invest it the second time, and that this happened in 620 H., the fortress must have held out over a year.

[5] As usual with our author, this circumstance he leaves out altogether in his

that day, the infidels lost great numbers of men killed before that fortress; and then they retired.

When the infidel Mug͟hals had withdrawn from K͟hurāsān, and the *jibāl* [mountain tracts] of G͟hūr and K͟hurāsān had become clear of that host, Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, resolved upon retiring into Hindūstān, together with other Maliks of G͟hūr, such, for example, as Malik Sarāj-ud-Dīn, 'Umr-i-K͟haros͟h,[6] from the territory of Jār,[7] and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, and others, all joined him, and, with their families and dependents, set out. By destiny's decree, a force from the infidel Mug͟hals' main army was nominated [about this time] for the purpose of ravaging K͟hurāsān, and, at the head of that army, was a Mug͟hal of note, whose name was Ḳazil Mañjuk; and it entered K͟hurāsān. From the side of Hirāt and Isfīzār it advanced to the foot of the fortress of Tūlak,[8] and every Musalmān the Mug͟hals found within the fortress [of Saif-rūd] they martyred, or made captive. There they obtained information from the captives of the departure of Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, with other Maliks of G͟hūr, with their families and dependents, and their followers. They set out after the G͟hūrī forces, and, on the banks of the river Arg͟hand,[9] discovered them, engaged in constructing a bridge over that river, in order that they might pass over the troops, families and dependents, and effects. Suddenly and unexpectedly, the Mug͟hals came upon them. Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, with his followers, sought

account of the fortress of Tūlak already given, but gives it here in the account of Saif-rūd, and, since the month is not mentioned in the preceding paragraph, it cannot be gathered from this. See page 1061.

[6] This term is both written K͟haros͟hī and K͟haros͟htī, as well as K͟haros͟h. See pages 433, and 493.

[7] Thus in the best and in the greater number of copies of the text, but in others حال and حار respectively. It is some district in G͟hūr evidently, but no such place has been before mentioned in this work.

[8] Our author must mean from the side of Isfīzār and Ḥirāt, as going from the latter to the former place, or in its direction, would be moving farther from the river Arg͟hand. The fortress of Saif-rūd must, from this, have been abandoned in a defenceless state.

[9] Not the "*river* Arg͟hand-āb"—Urgundab, or Urghundab, is entirely out of the question, and, indeed, it may be said that no such river exists—*āb* itself means river and water, and we might as well say the *river* Arg͟hand river or *water*, which is the real signification of "river Arg͟hand-āb." The word Arg͟hand signifies angry, full of rage, impetuous, bold, etc., and thus denotes what the river is.

**the protection of the hills, and so remained safe, and again retired towards the *mountains* of Ghūr. Malik Sarāj-ud-Dīn, 'Umr-i-Kharosh, stood to fight, and was martyred; and Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, by great stratagem,[1] dashed his horse into the river, and, with a few men, emerged from it [on the opposite bank]. All the rest of the Amīrs of Ghūr, chieftains, and warriors, and the females, all attained martyrdom, including the sisters, daughters, and kinsfolk of Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain.**

**From thence the Mughal army returned again towards Ghūr and Khurāsān.**

## THE FALL OF THE FORT OF ASHIYĀR, OF GHARJISTĀN,[2] AND OTHER FORTRESSES.

Trustworthy persons have narrated, that, when the Chingiz Khān *determined* to advance *from his camp* at the Pushtah [hill] of Nu'mān of Ṯāl-ḳān of Khurāsān[3] towards Ghaznīn, he left behind there his baggage and heavy materials, and his treasures, because it was impossible for wheeled carriages to be taken into the defiles and passes

[1] Some of the best copies of the text have جنگ بسیار—with, or after much fighting, and some others have خیل بسیار—with a numerous following, but I read it حیل بسیار—by much or great stratagem. The reason for so doing is that it is said that the Malik who stood to fight was killed, and that Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, with a few followers, reached the opposite bank. It is possible many persons may have been drowned in crossing, but our author does not say so. Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, had probably heard of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's feat on the Indus, and here followed his sovereign's daring example.

It was this same Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, who recovered the body of his wounded Sulṭān, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, mentioned at page 416, which see, and gained great renown in India. At last he fell a victim to ingratitude, or, as some state, intrigue on the part of Ulugh Khān. See pages 702, 798, and 833.

[2] The best Paris copy of the text always blunders at this name, respecting which there is not the shadow of a doubt, and turns it into "Ghazistān:" the scribe appears to have imagined that Ghuzzistān was meant. Here is another proof respecting the position of Ṯāl-ḳān, and also another proof against a siege of any such fortress as Bāmīān, which is said to have stopped the Mughal Khān on his way to Ghaznīn. No other author whosoever mentions his having left his heavy materials, baggage, and wheeled carriages, behind at this place, and no other writer enters into such interesting and valuable details respecting these strongholds, and the doings of the Mughals in these parts.

[3] Gharjistān is a district or province, once an independent principality of Khurāsān. See page 341.

of Gharjistān, by reason of the very mountainous nature of that country, and the impracticability of the roads. When the Mughal army moved towards Ghaznīn, only a small force was left behind for the protection of the heavy materials, baggage, and wheeled-carriages. The fortresses of Gharjistān of Khurāsān were near by, namely, the fortresses of Rang,[4] and Bindār [Pindār], Balarwān,[5] Lāghrī,[6] Siyā-Khānah,[7] Sabekjī,[8] and Ashiyār. The most of these fortresses are galleries on the faces of the mountains, in such wise that the rain falls upon the inhabitants of those strongholds, and springs of water flow forth in front of the galleries of [forming] these fortifications[9]

Within the fortress of Ashiyār was a Gharjah[1] Amīr of great determination and energy, and his name was Amīr

[4] In some copies of the text the name of this fortress is written رنگ,—Rang, and in others زنگ,—Zang The former appears the most correct, according to the most trustworthy copies of the text. See page 1003

[5] Here, as at page 115, the name of this fortress is written in some of the less trustworthy copies of the text, Yalarwan, with ى for ب—one has Bīrwān—بيروان—and one مروان which may be read in various ways. See also page 436 It is the stronghold in which Khusrau Malik, the last of the Maḥmūdī Sulṭāns of Ghaznīn, was confined, and, subsequently, put to death, together with his son, Bahrām Shāh, who was kept in captivity within the walls of Saif-rūd of Ghūr.

[6] A native of this place was feudatory of Lakhan-or in 642 H. See page 739

[7] At page 416, this fortress, in some copies, is styled ستا خانه—Satā-Khānah as well as سيا خانه—Siyā-Khānah. Here, however, the different *MSS.* vary still more, for, whilst two of the three best [the oldest abruptly terminates at page 1026] here have ستا خانه—Satā-Khānah, and شيا خانه—Shiyā or Shīā-Khānah, others have شنا خانه—Shinā-Khānah, and سا خانه Sā-Khānah, and some, the more modern copies, turn it into سنگه—Sangah, which is a totally different place, in Mandesh, not in Gharjistān See pages 331 and 340

[8] At page 363, the name of this fortress is as above, in the best copies of the text, and in others varies considerably, as stated in the foot-note, but here one of three oldest and best copies has what may be read either سنبكجى—Sanbagjī or Sanbakjī, or سبنكجى—Sabangjī or Sabankjī, whilst another of the three best copies has سبكجى without any diacritical points whatever Baihaḳī mentions a fort of Sabekh—سبخ—as somewhere near Ghaznīn, probably west of it, but the latter must be a different place

[9] Our author has described these famous strongholds so plainly that, should ever an opportunity offer of exploring these parts, of which we know comparatively nothing, there will not be much difficulty, from their peculiarity, in finding them They appear to be excavations in the rocks something after the fashion of the excavations near the present Bāmīān

[1] That is to say, a native of Gharjistān

Muḥammad, the Maraghani.[2] As there was a vast amount of wealth, and also innumerable captives, and numerous horses, in the Mughal camp [at the Pushtah-i-Nu'mān], Amīr Muḥammad-i-Maraghanī, with a strong force, started from the fortress of Ashiyār, and seized upon as many wheeled carriages, laden with gold and other wealth, as he possibly could, *from the Mughal camp*, set a great number of captives free, and obtained possession of many horses. On one or two occasions Amīr Muḥammad performed such like feats of daring, and displayed similar determination.[3]

When the Chingiz Khān set out from the territory of Gībarī towards Turkistān, and despatched his son, Uktāe, towards Ghūr, Uktāe, that winter, fixed his camp between Fīrūz-koh and Ghaznīn, and sent out bodies of his forces in every direction, as has been previously recorded.[4] The

[2] See page 1003 He was the ancestor of the Kurat dynasty.

[3] Which it is almost needless to state will not be found chronicled in any pro-Mughal history.

[4] See page 1047

Strange to say, our author, although he refers in detail to the despatch of Uktāe with an army, never refers, in the most remote manner, to Chaghatāe and the force under him, nor will any reference to it be found under the reigns of Kabā-jah or I-yal-timish I will, therefore, notice, as briefly as possible, what the subsequent writers mention on the subject

Alarming accounts, as our author also mentions at page 1084, reached the Chingiz Khān respecting the state of affairs in Tingkūt and Khitāe in consequence of his prolonged absence in the west, and that the Tingkūtīs and Khitā-īs were preparing to throw off the Mughal yoke. Having held counsel with his sons, the Nū-yīn, Karāchār [the ancestor of Amīr Tīmūr], and other Nū-yīns and chiefs, he determined to despatch a force to endeavour to find out Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, wherever he might be, for his existence troubled him, and whose prowess and energy he feared. It was further determined that this army, which was to be very powerful, should push on as far as the limits of Kīch and the Mukrānāt [i.e. the Mukrāns], and the frontiers of Hind. This army was put under the command of Chaghatāe, and he was directed to utterly devastate and ruin the countries through which he passed, in order that the Sulṭān might have no means of acquiring strength or resources, or of recovering himself, and be completely crippled.

A second army was to be placed under the command of Uktāe, which was to advance from the valley of the river of Sind towards Ghaznīn, and was to devastate the country in that direction, and so utterly destroy that city that there should be no more inducement for Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn to return there. But our author's account as given above, of the movements of this force, is much more clear. It was also intimated that, towards the close of the cold season, the great *urdū* would be moved towards Turān Zamīn

The army under Chaghatāe, which was the most numerous, penetrated into Sind and the Mukrānāt, but, strange to say, not one of the pro-Mughal writers

Nū-īn Abkah,[6] who was the Amīr of 10,000 *Manjanīḳ-chīs*

[6] See page 1047.

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referred to above, and previously, says by what route it went, and no reference is made to it either under the reign of Ḳabā-jah or I-yal-timish. This army is said to have overrun the whole of the territories in question, and to have wintered [the winter of 619-20 H.—A D. 1222-23], within the limits of a territory named Kālinjar—کالنجر—on the banks of the Sind river [but the name is also written لنجر—Lanjar—کانجر—Kānjar, and even لنحر—Lanḥar, the letter ح in the latter, however, is without points, and may be intended for j, ch, or kh. The Rauẓat-us-Ṣafā calls it Kālanjī—کالنجی], the ruler of which part of the country was the Sālar, Aḥmad , but who he was, and whether he was independent, or the feudatory of any sovereign, the chroniclers say not ; and he is not known to the historians of Hind or Sind.

The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says he passed the *hot* season on the confines or frontiers of نوبه کور but this name, being without points, is unintelligible, and that the ruler of this part was the Sālār, Aḥmad.

The fort in which Isrā'īl, the Saljūḳ, was imprisoned and died, referred to at page 117, and note [8], is spelt like the first name mentioned, and with long a—کالنجر—and the word کالنجی in the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā may have been کالنجر originally This fort lay, we are told, in the Multān province, and was subsequently called Talwarah, but the place where Chaghatāe's army wintered is said to have been on the banks of the Sind.

Whoever this Salār Aḥmad was, he is said to have done his utmost to supply the requirements of the Mughals, and the subsistence of that great army. It, however, became prostrated with sickness through the unhealthiness of the climate [in the "*Mongols Proper*" this sickness, by mistake, is transferred to his father's army !], and also impeded with a vast number of captives, in such wise that, in every tent [or dwelling, or hut—the word used is *khānah*], there were from ten to twenty, or twenty to forty, and they had the task of bringing and preparing the food of the army. In this sickly state of his troops, Chaghatāe issued commands for each captive to clean 400 *manns* [of 4 *sers* or 8 lbs each] of rice—and this shows they were in a rice growing country—and the task was completed within the following week His next command was to massacre the whole of these Hindūs [*sic* in *MSS* ], and, by the next morning, they were all killed, and their bodies lay about in great heaps. How unjust to call those times the dark ages ! The Mughals, barbarians and infidels as they were, carried on war as it was carried on by "Christians" in the years of grace 1877 and 1878

Whether the object of this massacre was to prevent an outbreak among the captives in the weak state of his army, who can tell? Another strange thing is that, throughout the year 619 H , and in the hot season of 620 H , Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn was in the countries on the Indus which constitute the present Panjāb, had defeated the Khokhars, and afterwards gained their alliance, and had overthrown Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, before Ūchchah Towards the latter part of 620 H , Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn had come by way of Multān and Ūchchah to Shīwistān, the modern Sihwān, and into Lower Sind, remained there several months, sent an expedition as far east as Nahrwālah in Guzarāt, and only moved from Sind, by way of Mukrān, in 621 H , on his way into 'Irāḳ, on hearing of the movement of a numerous army of Mughals, which, if the accounts of these writers are correct, must have been this very army See

**[catapult workers], he nominated to proceed [with his men]**

note [6], page 293. It is therefore difficult to imagine whereabouts "Kālinjar" was, "near the banks of the Sind," where Chaghatāe and his army could have passed the winter of 620 H., and still more so that he could obtain no information respecting the Sulṭān, as will be mentioned presently; he could not have searched *very* diligently for him. It would have been a grand opportunity for the Sulṭān to have fallen upon the Mughals had he known the state they were in.

To return to the movements of Chaghatāe. He, finding no trace of the Sulṭān or his whereabouts, as soon as his troops had somewhat recovered from their sickness, determined to return, and set out, accordingly, on his way back to Turān-Zamīn. It is a long march from the territory of Mukrān to the Hindū-Koh, and yet the Mughal historians say not one word respecting the route followed.

I find the author of the "*Mongols Proper*," pages 90 and 91, quoting Wolff on this very subject, but, as Wolff often makes strange statements, one of which is contained in the passage referred to under, and as he gives no authorities, his statements are not very reliable. The passage is this: "While Jingis retired northwards his son Jagatai [this is the "*Mongol Proper*" name for Chaghatāe, probably] made a raid into Kerman in pursuit of Rokn-ud-din, a brother of Jalal-ud-din [!] He advanced as far as Tez [according to Abū-Isḥāḳ, the Iṣtakhurī, Tiz is a seaport in Mukrān], on the borders of the Indian Ocean, passed through Beloochistan [which, being an entirely modern name, will not be found *in any early author*], where he wintered, and where he also lost a large number of his soldiers, and returned by the mountain land of the Afghans [this last clause of the sentence must also be Wolff's own. The land of the Afghāns in that day was very small], where he was joined by Bela Noyan," etc., etc. See page 281, and note [6].

I must now notice the proceedings of the army under Uktāe, which are but slightly alluded to by the writers I take this from; but our author supplies some details not mentioned by them, as they, writing while in the employ of Mughal sovereigns, only cared to chronicle *successes*.

Uktāe, having marched from the valley of the Sind river, reached Ghaznīn, and all the offers of submission and obedience tendered by its inhabitants were of no avail [the writers appear to have forgotten that they previously stated that, on his advance to the Indus, the Chingiz Khān had "left Maḥmūd, Yalwāj, at Ghaznīn as his Dāroghah." What had become of him in the meantime?], because Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn was still alive, and a source of anxiety to his foes, who feared he would make head again; so Ghaznīn was sacked and totally destroyed, its inhabitants massacred, and the parts through which he passed were devastated, and all buildings utterly destroyed. Ghaznīn never recovered this. Uktāe, after this feat, when the season arrived, proceeded by way of the Garm-sīr of Hirāt, and set out for Māwarā-un-Nahr. For the further movements of the Chingiz Khān and his sons on their return homeward, see page 1081.

Surgeon-Major Bellew, in his Kāshghar Mission History, referring to "Changiz" sending his son "Aoktáy in mid-winter to Ghazni and Ghor, there to wipe out in the blood of the people the disaster his troops had suffered at the hands of Jaláluddín at Parwan," which he is said to have done so effectually during a "campaign of two years," that "the aboriginal Aryan stock" were annihilated, considers the Hazára "still pure Moghol in race type, and

against the fortress of Ashiyār, and that body advanced to the foot of that stronghold, and the attack commenced; and, for a considerable time, they assailed it.

When they found that, through the vast strength of the fortress, and the brave men [within it], it was impossible to take it [by force], they sat down before it [and blockaded it] for a period of fifteen months—but God knows best—and, through scarcity of provisions, the people within the fortress became reduced to great straits. As long as there were provisions and flesh, they used to consume them; and, when food of that kind failed, affairs reached such a pitch that they were wont to eat the flesh of whoever was killed, or who died, to that degree, that every person used to keep his killed and dead for curing and eating. Some have related after this manner—the narrators are responsible for correctness—that there was a woman of the minstrel class in the fortress of Ashiyār. She had a mother and a female slave. Her mother died, and she dried her body, and her

many of their customs," but who "know nought of their antecedents," as "*the descendants of the army of occupation left there by him*." History, however, shows that there were many of the so-called "Aryan stock" in that part for some centuries after Uktāe's campaign, but it is not to be wondered at that they should be lost, when Tājzīks are supposed to be Scythians, Dilazāk Afghāns "Rājpúts" and "Buddhists," Kākaṛ Afghāns Panjābī "Gukars," and the people of Irānī descent to be "foreign Aryans." There is not the least *proof*, that I am aware of, that the Chingiz Khān left any of his Mughal troops in Ghūr, but the direct contrary is shown by what our author states, and from the proceedings at the commencement of Uktāe's reign. This "famous tribe of Hazára," as Mr Dowson styles them, without doubt, derive this "designation," however incorrect in fact, from *hazārahs* [this is the mere Tājzīk rendering of the Turkī *ming*, the name applied to bodies of Mughals, and others of Turkish descent, numbering a thousand men generally. See page 1093] permanently located in the tract in question, but they were sent thither many years after, and about the same time that others, the descendants of whom now figure as the Chahār Ī-māḳ, were sent. One of the *hazārahs* moved into the part in question, from the territory of Balkh, was that of the Nū-yīn Mūkā of the tribe of Karāyit, but they were not Mughals, but Turks, and it was located round about Bādghais, and in a short time increased considerably.

As to the "Hazárahs," so called, having "entirely lost their language," Elphinstone says, "Why, if they be Moguls, should they speak Toorkee?" See note at page 874. If some one acquainted with the history and traditions of the Turks, Tāttārs, and Mughals, were to institute inquiries among some of their educated men, I have no doubt but that they would be able to furnish us with sufficient information to trace their antecedents pretty clearly, or their descent, at least. I shall have more to say about them hereafter.

female slave likewise died, and she dried her body also. She sold the flesh of both of them, so that, from the two corpses, she acquired two hundred and fifty *dīnārs* of pure gold. At last she also died.

When a period of fifteen months and ten days had expired, about thirty men only remained alive within the fortress. They seized Amīr Muḥammad-i-Maraghanī, and martyred him, and threw his head near to the camp of the Mughal forces, in hopes of their own deliverance. When the Mughal troops beheld this occurrence, they at once assaulted the fortress and took it, and martyred the whole of those within it.

During this period [of the investment of Ashiyār] they [the Mughals] captured the other fortresses of Gharjistān likewise, so that, during the year 619 H., all the strongholds of Gharjistān were taken ;[6] and they sated the hearts of the Mughals with slaughter.

May the Most High God continue the gates of victory and success open unto the servants of the kingdom of the present sovereign, SULTĀN NĀSIR-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD DĪN, ABŪ-L-MUẒAFFAR-I-MAḤMŪD SHĀH, for the sake of His prophet and his race !

## ACCOUNT OF THE RETURN OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN TOWARDS TURKISTĀN, AND HIS DEPARTURE TO HELL

Trustworthy persons have related that the Chingiz Khān, at the time when he came into Khurāsān, was sixty-five years old, a man of tall stature, of vigorous build robust in body, the hair on his face scanty and turned white, with cats' eyes, possessed of great energy, discernment, genius, and understanding, awe-striking, a butcher just, resolute, an overthrower of enemies. intrepid, sanguinary, and cruel. The fact that there were astonishing things in several respects concerning him is sufficiently clear and apparent to all intelligent persons. In the first place, he was an adept in magic and deception, and some of the devils were his friends. Every now and again he

[6] This date is simply impossible from his own previous and subsequent statements. The Chingiz Khān did not despatch Uktāe on this expedition until 619 H , and, as Ashiyār is said to have held out over fifteen months 620 H. must be the year in which it fell, and the other fortresses likewise.

used to fall into a trance, and, in that state of insensibility, all sorts of things used to proceed from his tongue, and that state of trance used to be similar to that [previously mentioned], which had happened to him at the outset of his rise ;[7] and the devils who had power over him foretold his victories. The tunic and clothes, which he had on, and wore on the first occasion, were placed in a trunk, and sealed up ; and he was wont to take them about with him Whenever this inspiration came over him, every circumstance—victories, undertakings, indication of enemies, defeat, and the reduction of countries—anything which he might desire, would all be uttered by his tongue. A person used to take the whole down in writing and enclose it in a bag, and place a seal upon it ; and, when the Chingiz Khān came to his senses again, they used to read his utterances over to him one by one ; and according to these he would act, and, more or less, indeed, the whole used to come true.

Besides this, he was well acquainted with the art of divination by means of the shoulder-bones of sheep ; and he used continually to place shoulder-blades on the fire, and burn them, and in this manner he would discover the signs of the shoulder-blades, contrary to the shoulder-blade diviners of the 'Ajamī countries who inspect the shoulder-blade itself.[8] The Chingiz Khān moreover in [the ad-

[7] See page 954

[8] The Afghāns, too, as well as some other Musalmān people of Asia, used to practise this sort of divination One of the Ṣūfī poets of Afghānistān—of the family of the notorious Pīr-i-Tārīk, or Pīr-i-Roshān, as he styled himself, but not a *pure* Afghān—Mīrzā Khān, commences one of his mystical poems thus :—

"When, with the mind, I examined the shoulder-bone of prediction,
I saw that, within unity's area, the community of plenitude dwelleth," etc.

The shoulder-bone of an animal, but more particularly that of a sheep, which, like the Mughals, they also read their auguries by, is termed *walaey* in Pushto ; but the Afghāns do not burn the bone, and merely draw their conclusions from the signs they pretend they see in it. See my "POETRY OF THE AFGHĀNS," London, 1867, page 58.

Rubruquis in his narrative says that on *Septuagesima*, when they all went in procession to Mangū's dwelling [khargah or felt tent], "as they entered, they saw a servant carrying out the shoulder-bones of rams, burnt black. These he consults on all occasions, be they ever so trivial ; as whether he shall admit such a person into his presence. The method is this : he calls for three bones, then, holding them, thinks whether he shall do what he proposed or not. Then he delivers them to be burnt, which is done in two little apartments [or

ministration of] justice was such, that, throughout his whole camp, it was impossible for any person to take up a fallen whip from the ground except he were the owner of it; and, throughout his whole army, no one could give indication of [the existence of] lying and theft. If any woman that they [the Mughals] took in all Khurāsān and the land of 'Ajam had a husband, no living being would form a connexion with her; and, if an infidel [a Mughal] set his eyes upon a woman who had a husband, he would [first] slay the husband of the woman, and then would form a connexion with her.[9] It used to be impossible for falsehood to be spoken, and this fact is clear.

## ANECDOTE.

In the year 618 H., the writer of this ṬABAḲĀT, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, returned from Tīmrān towards Ghūr. In the fortress of Sangah, which they style Akhūl Mānī,[1] he saw Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain[2]-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrād. Suddenly, his brother, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, [Ḥasan], Ḥabashī-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrād, to whom they [the Mughals] had given the title of Khusrau of Ghūr—mention of whom has been previously recorded—with the permission of the Chingiz Khān, returned to Ghūr from Ṭāl-kān;[3] and from him this anecdote was heard.

He stated: "On a certain occasion we came forth from

tents?] near his dwelling When they are black, they carry them to the Khân, who looks at them; and, if they be cleft lengthways, he may do it (it is enough if one of them be cleft), if across, or round pieces have flown out of them, he must not"

[9] This perhaps is the style of justice the Chingiz Khān was endowed with, which our author refers to—murder a man first, and take his wife after!

[1] In some copies, احول مانی as above, in some Khūl Mānī—حول مانی—but in other copies it is written حوال مانی—حول مانی and عوالی مال Mānī, among other significations, means uncommon, rare, matchless, but what the first word may signify is doubtful, and is not mentioned in connexion with Sangah in other places in this work

[2] In some copies, Ḥasan, but his brother, Tāj-ud-Dīn, is styled Ḥasan in other places, and this brother, Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain. 'Abd-ul-Malik is evidently their father's title Ḥabashī is merely a nickname. See pages 368, 394, 1002, and 1006.

[3] Ṭāl-ḳān of Khurāsān, from the camp at the Pushtah-i-Nu'mān. What our author says is a clear indication of its whereabouts

the presence of the Chingiz Khān and sat down in a tent.[4] Uḳlān,[5] the Juzbī, along with whom I had come, together with some other Nū-īns, were also seated there; and the greatest in rank among them all was the Juzbī, Uḳlān. Some persons brought thither two Mughals who, the previous night, when on guard around about the camp, had gone to sleep [upon their post]. Uklān, the Juzbī, asked: 'What Mughal has brought them?' The Mughal who had done so bent the knee, and replied: 'I have brought them.' The former inquired; 'What offence have they been guilty of? State it.' He replied: 'These two men were mounted on horseback, and I was going my rounds and examining the guards. I came up to them, and found them both asleep. I struck their horses over their heads with a whip to let them [the riders] know they were culprits for being asleep; and I passed on. This day I have brought them up.' Uḳlān, turning his face towards those two Mughals, said: 'Were ye asleep?' They both acknowledged it, saying: 'We were.' He commanded, saying: 'Put one of them to death, and fasten his head to the locks[6] of the other, and parade the latter round the whole camp, and then put him to death also.' They [accusers and accused] all made their obeisance, and, at once, [the former] carried out the command. I was riveted in astonishment, and said to Uḳlān, the Juzbī: 'There was no evidence or proof on the part of that Mughal [the accuser], and, when they [the accused] were well aware that the punishment would be death, why did they confess? for, if they had denied [the charge], they would have escaped being killed.' Uklān, the Juzbī, said: 'Why are you asto-

[4] A Tāttār or Mughal *khargāh* or tent probably, consisting of felt supported on props. For a description of them see Rubruquis.

[5] Uḳlān and Ughlān are equally correct—the letters *k* and *gh* are interchangeable. He was an Ūlḳūnūt Kungḳūr-āt Mughal, brother of the Juzbī, Sukātū or Sugātū, who commanded the Ūlḳūnūt *ming* or *hazārah*, and brother of the Juzbī, Tūlān. They were brothers of the Bat Tingrī, Kokjū, and were the sons of the Nū-yān Manglīk, who married the Chingiz Khān's mother. The term *juzbī* is said to mean true-hearted, and sincere, but our author gives it another meaning. See page 979.

[6] John de Plano Carpini says: "They [the Mughals] shave the crown of the head. They braid their hair behind in two locks, binding each behind the ear. . . . They highly reverence their lords, and never tell them a falsehood."

nished? You, Tājziks,[7] do such things, and tell lies. A Mughal, were a thousand lives at stake, would choose being killed, but would not speak false; but false speaking is your occupation,[8] and, on account of such things, it is that Almighty God hath sent a calamity like us upon you [Tājziks]."

I have again returned to the relation of this history

When the Chingiz Khān, after Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, Khwārazm Shāh, was defeated, set out in pursuit of the Ighrākīs, for Gībarī, for a period of three months he halted among those mountains He used to go out hunting, and for the purpose of coming towards Hindūstān, used, continually, to burn shoulder-blades [of sheep], but used not to obtain permission [from the prognostications], and used not to perceive therefrom omens of victory. His purpose in entering Hindūstān was that, mayhap, he might return back into Chīn by way of Lakhanawatī and Kām-rūd;[9] and, as he used not, from the portents of the shoulder-blades, to obtain dispensation to do so, he used to delay.[1]

[7] Here the word Tājzīk is applied to the people of 'Ajam generally, whom the Mughals had a contemptible opinion of, and not to Ghūrīs only. Our author also informs us what Tājīk or Tājzīk signifies, and, in the face of such an authority, and a Tājzīk himself, it is amusing to find that Surgeon Major Bellew has discovered, according to the statement of Capt T. C Plowden, B S C, in his translation of a book entitled "Kalíd-i-Afghání," that they are "*a Scythian people, the aborigines of Afghánistán*, they still abound there, as well as in Persia and Turkistán." In his last book, entitled "Afghanistan and the Afghans," page 222, the Doctor has the following on the same subject. "*Another principal people of Afghanistan is the Tajik or Tazik The term means Arabian, and is applied to anything of Arab origin. . . . But the offspring and descendants of Arabs* who married women of the country in which they settled *are called Tazik or Tajik*"! See also note at page 1076, and note [4], page 304.

[8] In the most trustworthy copies کارِ تو—"your occupation," as above: in others, "the business of women."

[9] See the account of Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār-ud-Dīn, the Khalj, in Lakhanawatī, pages 560—568.

[1] His superstition therefore may be said to have saved India from sharing the fate of other countries, although it is probable he would have met with more combined and systematic opposition there.

In the spring of the year 620 H [the spring of 1223 A.D] the Chingiz Khān resolved to move, for the reasons stated in a previous note, towards his native *yūrat* in Mughalistān, taking the same route as he had entered the Ghaznīn territory by, through Bāmīān and Ṭukhāristān, and marched to Buklān, or Bughlān, both being correct, where his Ughrūk [the families, the waggons, heavy baggage, felt tents, etc] had been sent on his advance towards

Unexpectedly, swift messengers reached him from Ṭam-

Ghaznīn. Alfī says he moved from the vicinity of Parshāwar, by way of the mountains of Nāmīān [*sic* in *MSS.*, but Bāmīān must be meant], and that the Ughrūḳ was ordered to march from Buḳlān to join him on the way to Samrḳand. At page 1074, our author plainly states where his Ughrūḳ was left, and that he conversed with a person who had but recently left it [page 1079], and his statement with regard to it cannot be doubted in the least. It was left at the Pushtah-i-Nu'mān between Tāl-ḳān and Balkh. The pro-Mughal writers, having made the great blunder of mistaking Ṭāe-kān of Ḳundūz for Tāl-ḳān of Khurāsān, make all other places agree with it, as in the case of Andarāb, previously referred to. The Chingiz Khān may have had his heavy baggage, waggons, and war materials removed from the Pushtah-i-Nu'mān to Buḳlān subsequently, after he had determined to return by the same route by which he had come, and most probably after the attacks made upon them by the Gharjah chief, as related at page 1073.

To return, however, to the pro-Mughal accounts. The whole of his forces *being concentrated there* [at Buḳlān], the Chingiz Khān continued encamped in the pleasant pasture-lands thereabout during the summer [of 620 H.—1223 A.D.], and, when autumn came round, having appointed Dāroghahs to *the different cities of Ī-rān-Zamīn, despatched them* [!]. Troops, too, would have been required, but none are mentioned, and the subsequent proceedings, after his death, prove that no Mughal troops were left behind in Ī-rān-Zamīn, i.e., west of the Jīḥūn, and it is very doubtful whether any Dāroghahs were. In the beginning of autumn he crossed the Jīḥūn, and marched towards Samrḳand, in the vicinity of which he encamped, and there passed the winter [620-621 H. = A.D. 1223—1224]. From Samrḳand, Jūjī, who, since the investment of the capital of Khwārazm, was ill-inclined towards his brother Chaghatāe—ou author, however, tells the tale differently from the pro-Mughal historians, as will be seen farther on—and had continued to remain in the Dasht-i-Ḳibchāḳ, which had been assigned to his charge, was directed to move, with a portion of his forces, and to keep along the skirts of the mountains to drive the game before him, as a grand hunt was proposed farther in advance.

Chaghatāe and Uktāe took up their quarters during that winter near Bukhārā, and devoted themselves to fowling and hunting, and sent weekly to their father 50 *khar-wārs* of game. When the spring of 621 H. set in, the Chingiz Khān moved towards Turkistān, and now he showed his fiendish nature in its true colours. He compelled the unfortunate Turkān Khātūn, the aged mother of the late Sulṭān, and the ladies of his family—his wives and daughters, and to whom had been also added the females of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's family captured after the battle on the Sind—to wend their way on foot [some authors say bare footed] and bare-headed, in front of his troops on the line of march, and to raise lamentation, as *they went along, on the downfall* and humiliation of their empire, and the death of those Sulṭāns, and this they were compelled to do until they reached his *yūrat*, in order, as he affirmed, that people might *take warning therefrom*. This again was partly the innate hostility of Mughals against the other Turks. Turkān Khātūn lived on in this miserable state until 630 H., when death relieved her.

Advancing by regular marches, the Chingiz Khān reached the Sīḥūn, after which Uktāe and Chaghatāe also joined him from their expeditions, and, when he reached a place named Ḳulān Yāzī—قلان يازى—but this name is

ghāj and Tingit, and gave intelligence that the whole

written Ḳulān Bāzī, and Ḳulān Tāzī, in as many different authors—supposed to be situated in the vicinity of Fanākat, but, apparently, farther N E., Jūjī, from the direction of the Dasht-ı-Ḳıbchāḳ, drew near, driving the game on his side before him The Chingiz Khān now moved towards him, the two half-circles of troops dispersed for the purpose, drawing gradually closer together, and reached a place named Aḳābar or Aḳābır—اقابر—or Aḳāir—اقاير—and styled Ūḳā—اوقا—in the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā [and Oukâeır—Akāīr ر—by Pétıs de la Croıx, but on what authority does not appear, as, in this particular part of his History of "*Genghızcan the Great*," he gives none, and makes it out to be "the city of *Toncat*," where subsequently the *kurīltāe* or diet was held, but in no history with which I am acquainted, and such as I have named, is any reference made to any city, and such a city as Tonkāt or Toncat is never referred to]. The Chingız Khān now mounted and entered the circle to enjoy the sport, and after he was satisfied his sons were permitted to do the same, and subsequently the great chiefs The sport over, the remainder of the animals received a brand on one of the thighs, and were allowed to escape After this Jūjī presented himself on bended knee, with offerings for his father's acceptance, among which were 100,000 horses, every 20,000 of which were of different colours—dappled grey, white, piebald, bay, and black, his father's troops being in want of horses

The Chingız Khān continued encamped in this place during the summer of this year [621 H ], and, all his sons and Amīrs having joined him from all parts, including Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah], he now held a great *ḳurīltāe* or assembly He distributed honours and rewards, and put to death a number of the Ī-ghūr chiefs, why is not said, but it no doubt had reference, in some way, to the dismissal of the *ulūs* of the Yiddī-Ḳūt, mentioned in note [1], page 1101, and evidently refers to what the Tārīkh-ı-Jahān-gīr mentions in a few words, that, on his arrival in this part, he received the submission of the petty rulers around, but that some, who, at the outset, were the first to submit to him, now showed symptoms of hostility, and a body of troops had to be sent to coerce them Their names are not given. Jūjī was now allowed to return to his government of the Dasht-ı-Kıbchāḳ, and, in the last month of the year 621 H [Dec.-Jan , 1225 A.D ], after an absence of seven years, the Chingız Khān reached his native *yūrat* in Mughalıstān—the Chinese say, on the banks of the Tulā river—and again enjoyed the society of his wives and children

At this point I come to a very amusing matter, and which also is a specimen of history-writing taken from translations often second-hand, a somewhat dangerous course of procedure At page 92 of "*Mongols Proper*," the author, immediately after stating that "Jagataı and Ogotaı went to hunt Kukus and Karaguls (ı e. wild swans and antelopes)"—I have already stated how Chaghatāe and Uktāe employed the winter near Bukhārā—says that, "On the banks of the Imıl he (Jıngıs) was met by two of his grandsons, afterwards very celebrated, namely, Kubılaı [he is afterwards styled *Khubılaı*] and Khulagu, one eleven and the other nine years old. *They had killed their first game, and, according to Mongol custom, Jingis pricked their middle fingers to mix some blood with their food and drink, a kind of baptism of the chase.* Afterwards he gave his army a fête, at a place called Buka Suchıku, and reached his Ordu or home [camp ?] in the month of February, 1225." This appears to have been taken from Erdmann, and, at page 99, this fête is again

territories of Chīn, Ṭamghāj, and Tingit, were in a state of revolt, and that, on account of the very great distance [of the Chingiz Khān from the scene], those kingdoms were about to pass out of the hands of the Mughal governors. The Chingiz Khān, on account of this information, became anxious in mind, and he consequently set out on his return by way of Lob and the country of Tibbat.[3]

referred to as a "grand reception," as though a wholly different affair; and, in a note at page 716, on "Jinjis Khan" crossing the Jaxartes, and before the "Kukus and Karaguls" [the *kargawal*, by-the-bye, is a pheasant, and Shaw, I believe, brought some specimens with him from Turkistān] are referred to, the writer says, "Before leaving Transoxianah Jingis, who had been joined by his sons, *seems to have held a grand fête at Benaket or Tonkat* This was in 1224 It is described by De la Croix, but his description is a mere rhetorical display without facts" Now, considering that the author of the "*Mongols Proper*" has referred to this very "fête" in two other places, and as happening at two different times, and in two different localities, on which side have we "mere rhetorical display without facts"?

The facts of the "baptism of the chase" are these, and no doubt Erdmann, in some way, derived them from the same original source whence also I take mine —"When the Chingiz Khān reached the neighbourhood of his native *yūrat*, it is said, Hulākū Khān was nine years old, and Ḳūbīlā Khān two years older They both came out to meet him [their grandfather], and, by the way, Ḳūbīlā had captured a hare, and Hulākū a small deer [with dogs, probably]; and, as it is a custom among the Mughals, on the first occasion of boys capturing game, to *anoint* the middle finger with flesh and fat of the game, which anointing is termed اغامیشی—aghāmeshī—the Chingiz Khān anointed the fingers of his grandsons himself, petted them much, and gave feasts and banquets to celebrate the event"

The winter of 622 H [A D 1224-5] was passed by the Chingiz Khān in pleasure and jollity in his own *yūrat*, but, during this time, news reached him of the hostility of Shīdarḳū, the Ḥākim or ruler of Ḳāshīn, who had assembled a vast army, intending to throw off the Mughal yoke The historians I quote from appear to have lost sight of the fact that the alarming state of the Tingḳūt country, or Ḳāshīn, as it is also called, and the revolt there, had, as our author says above, brought the Mughal sovereign back from west of the Jīḥūn The Chingiz Khān now re-assembled his forces, and commenced his march towards the territory of Ḳāshīn It was determined that Chaghatāe, with his forces, should guard the rear of the *urdū*, or, in other words, form the reserve Tūlī, through one of his Khātūns being attacked with small-pox, was unable to accompany his father, and followed some time after, but Uktāe accompanied him In this same year likewise, and about this time, the news of the death of his eldest son, Jūjī, in the Dasht-i-Ḳibchāḳ, reached him The sons of Uktāe, Kūtān, our author's Kutan, and Kiwak, were now sent back to the *yūrat* under the care of a trusty person.

What follows next in the account of the Chingiz Khān's movements before his death, in the writers I am quoting, is so different from our author's accounts, that I must make that subject the matter of another note.

[3] These names vary considerably in the different copies of the text, but the above rendering is without doubt correct, though it is only by comparing the

When he reached that territory [Tingit], there was a Khān in the country of Tingit, a man of great energy and intrepidity, and he had an army and munitions and war materials beyond computation; and, on account of the multitude of his troops, the power of his servants, the amplitude of his dominions, the vastness of his riches, wealth, and treasures, he had assumed to himself the name of "the Tingrī Khān."[2] On several occasions the Mughal troops

whole of the copies that it could be arrived at. It is also confirmed by others. The best copies have لوب و بلاد بىت some لوب و بلاد بهت others كوه و بلاد بشت and تبت and بست

The explorations of Col Prejevalsky about Lob Nāwar and the mountain-range to the south, the existence of which some people had the assurance altogether to ignore, confirm the correctness of our author's statement, and extent of his information, and also that possessed by the Jesuits

[2] Our author's account of the events of this period differs considerably from that of the other Muḥammadan writers who followed him, and who appear unable, or unwilling, to write aught unpalatable to the Mughal rulers, whose subjects and *employés* they were, and is also very different from the Chinese annals of Gaubil and others Passing over the little episode respecting the milk-coloured blood of the Tingrī Khān, which is much after the fashion of the "Saga-loving Ssanang Setzen's" childish fables, of "the brown-coloured dog with a black muzzle which could prophesy," and the like, the accounts our author gives appear well worthy of credence, and are, no doubt, such as were related to him, as in other instances, probably, by actors in the events he records

We may therefore receive with some reserve the statements of the pro-Mughal writers who followed our author, and be somewhat sceptical as to the defeats sustained by the Tingrī Khān, Shīdarkū, on the previous occasions as related by them [See note at page 949], for, had that ruler been reduced to such a state of helplessness, as they mention, how could he have again managed to acquire such power, and assemble such an immense army?

The following is, briefly, what the other, and subsequent Musalmān writers say on the subject

The Chingiz Khān having reached the territory of Tingkūt, otherwise called Kāshīn, succeeded in possessing himself of the cities of Kām-jīw, Kā-jū, Sujū, and Arūmī or Urūmī, and invested the city of Tingāī or Tangāī—تنگاى [this is the same doubtless as the Ning-hya of the Chinese, as [ت] t and [ن] n may be easily mistaken in *MSS*], and set it on fire in several places. Shīdarkū—شيدرقو—the Tingrī Khān of our author, and Shīdāskū of some other writers, and the Ly-Hyen of the Chinese, but never styled "Khaķān" in any history I have met with—the Bādshāh of Kāshīn, whom, in the language of Tingkūt, they style by the title of Lī-wān—ليوان—[the Liyau of Europeans] moved from his capital, which, in the Tingkūt language, they style Īrkī or Īnkī—ايرقى—and the Mughals call Īrķīā, or Īnķīā—ايرقيا—and which is also written Īrķīah—ايرقيه—with fifty *tomāns* of troops—500,000—[this is a *one-sided* statement it must be remembered], and advanced to encounter the Mughal sovereign, who, likewise, made ready to meet him When they came in contact a desperate battle ensued, and such a vast number were

had invaded his territory, but had not overcome him or

slain on the side of Shīdarḳū, but some say, as is most probable, on either side, that *three corpses were found, after the battle, standing on their heads!* Among the Mughals it has become firmly established [in their minds?] that, for every ten *tomāns*—100,000 persons—slain on the battle-field, one of the killed stands on its head [sic in *MSS.*] The author of the "*Mongols Proper*" (p. 102) has got hold of this fable through some foreign translation, but the translator has made a muddle of it. Certainly "the great Raschid" never made such an error in telling it Mr Howorth's version of it is as follows. "The story of Raschid *about the man standing on his head* is explained by D'Ohsson, who says, that, when the Mongols slaughtered a large number of people, *in order to mark the number of the slain*, a census in which they gloried, *they put a corpse on its head on some elevated point for every thousand killed.*" ! ! There is nothing like a bold translation perhaps when a person may be in doubt

At length, Shīdarḳū, unable to make any further resistance, took to flight, much to the joy of the Mughals, who considered themselves fortunate in obtaining this success, and shut himself up in his stronghold, the city of Īriḳī or Īriḳiā, but which Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur, in the Kazān edition of his work, styles Ḳāchtī The Chingiz Khān remarked that, as Shīdarḳū had been so utterly defeated in this battle, and his territory devastated, he would have no more strength left to him, since great part of his troops had been slain So, holding him of little importance, and passing his city without molesting it [he must have left a force to watch it], but plundering, slaughtering, and devastating the territory of Kāshīn, the Chingiz Khān turned his face towards Khiṭā, and, when spring came round, he determined to move against the territories of Tingnāsh—تنكاش—[See third para farther on] and Khūrjah—خورجه—but, before he could carry out his intentions respecting them, he had an awful dream which warned him that his end was near, and he became very much agitated in mind in consequence He is also said to have received intimation about this time of the death of the Khalīfah, Un-Nāṣir B'illah, who died in Shawwāl, 622 H When he awoke from his dream, he inquired of Baisūḳā Āḳā, his nephew, the son of Jūjī Kasār, who was in attendance: "Are my sons Uktāe and Tūlī distant or near?" As they were in their own *urdūs*, with their forces, Baisūḳū Āḳa replied that they might not be more than two or three *farsangs* distant The Khān said: "Let them bring them hither;" and, when they presented themselves the following day, along with the great Amīrs, after partaking of the morning meal, the Chingiz Khān turned his face towards the assemblage and said "I have some counsel to hold with my sons, and a confidential matter which I wish to communicate to them, and desire to be private with them for a short time"

When the Amīrs and others who were then present withdrew, the Chingiz Khān turned towards his sons and said: "My beloved ones, the time approaches for me to take my last journey, and the period of my dissolution is at hand! By the power of the Almighty, and the aid of Providence, I have acquired and consolidated [not very consolidated west of the Jīḥūn, at least, and in very few, if in any, places had Intendants even been established, much less troops located, at this period, but certainly there were ample proofs of the butchery and desolation he and his barbarian hordes had committed] for you an empire, so extensive, that from one side of it to the other is one year's journey I wish to ask of you who, by your counsel, is

**subdued his country, and many times he had overcome the**

the person most befitting to succeed me." Uktāe, Chaghatāe, and Tūlī—for he was also present according to some of my authorities, but Jūjī had recently died in the Dasht-i-Ḳibchāḳ—bent the knee, and replied:—"Our father is sovereign, and we are his servants, and will obey what he commands." The Great Khān replied: "I have implicit faith, in all things, in the wisdom and experience of Ḳarāchār, and desire his opinion, and whom he approves of I will appoint." Having received the opinion of that Nū-yīn, the Chingiz Khān directed that the Covenant entered into in by-gone times by Ḳabal Khān and the Bahādur, Ḳa-jūlī, bearing the Āl-Tamghah of Tumnā-ī Khān, which had descended to him from his ancestors, and to which his forefathers had also appended their names [see the note on the Turks at page 896] should be brought from the treasury. This having been done, it was shown to his sons, and he continued:—"I name Uktāe as Khān, and appoint him my successor, and make over the throne to him. Do ye likewise act in accord one with another, and enter likewise into a Covenant that ye will not deviate from his commands, and that ye will attend his ḳūrīltāes." This they did, and the Covenant was attested by the Amīrs and Ministers. He also requested that the mother of Uktāe, Būrtah Ḳūchīn, should exercise the sovereign authority over the *ulūsīs* until such time as a kūrīltāe should assemble to confirm Uktāe's succession, which would be two years. He further commanded that, as the countries of Māwarā-un-Nahr and other territories adjoining it had previously been assigned by him to Chaghatāe, and as there were ancient [sic in *MSS.*] foes still existing between Ī-rān and Tūrān, namely Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn and his brother, he would make over Chaghatāe to the paternal charge of Ḳarāchār; and urged that Nū-yīn to act towards his son as he had acted before towards himself, his father, and continue to give Chaghatāe the benefit of his assistance in the government of the affairs of his dominions. He also caused Chaghatāe and Ḳarāchār to enter into a Covenant as father and son; and the last-mentioned Covenant was made over to Chaghatāe's charge, and that previously mentioned, between the brothers, to Uktāe. "The Great Khān further requested, that, when his death should happen, no lamentations whatever were to be made, and that it should be kept a profound secret ['the ruling passion' of treachery was 'strong even in death']; and that as soon as Shīdarkū, the king of Ḳāshīn, should leave his city and come to the Mughal camp, as he had agreed to do, he should be put, at once, to death, in order that firm possession of his territory might be secured. Having said this, he closed his eyes, and thou mightest have said that the Chingiz Khān had never existed."

Alfī, quoting Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, and other authorities, differs considerably from the above in some points. It states that, after settling the succession, at which Chaghatāe was not present, the Chingiz Khān requested his sons, Uktāe and Tūlī, to return to their own tribes and territories, that is such tribes and countries as had been entrusted to them, lest Chaghatāe, who was not present, might not act according to his father's commands, and might raise sedition in the empire; and he further urged them, for the sake of his good name and fame, to observe his laws and regulations.

Uktāe and Tūlī took leave of their father, and returned to their respective posts, while the Chingiz Khān, with a numerous army, marched towards the country of Tingnāsh—تنکاش [which may even be more correctly Ningāīsh —نکایش. It is written in various ways. The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā has Tang-

Chingiz Khān in battle At the period that the Chingiz

tābash—تکابش—while others have Bīktāsh—بیکتاش—but the first mode of writing is contained in the majority of trustworthy writers], and Khūrjah —خورجه. When he reached them, the Bādshāhs of those countries were ready to become tributary, and to submit to him. On reaching a place named Līwak shān—لیوق شان—which is on the frontier boundary between Khūrjah, Tingnāsh, or Biktāsh, and Tingkūt, the Bādshāh—also styled Wālī—of Khūrjah [the Kin emperor according to the translations from the Chinese annals, but from what subsequently happens in the reigns of Uktāe and Mangū this is contrary to fact] despatched envoys, with numerous and valuable presents for his acceptance, among which was a bowl of the finest pearls, and to tender their sovereign's submission and obedience. The Chingiz Khān commanded that such among those present at that time in his assembly, as had their ears bored, should be presented with pearls, while those, whose ears were not already bored, had them bored very quickly, and received pearls also; and, notwithstanding this, a great number of pearls remained undistributed. The Chingiz Khān commanded, saying, "It is a day of largess: let the pearls be scattered that people may pick them up." This was done; and, in consequence, a number of pearls were lost in the ground, and for a long time after that pearls used to be found there.

About this time Shīdarkū, Bādshāh of Kāshīn, who had shut himself up in his capital, Irtākiā, Irtkīn, or Irtkīah, sent an envoy to the Chingiz Khān to intimate that, if the Mughal Khān would enter into a Covenant with him, stipulating for his safety and security, he would, within the period of one month, come in person to his *urdū*, and present pesh-kash, which is equivalent to doing homage. The Chingiz Khān gave the required guarantees, and confirmed them with most solemn oaths; and the envoy departed.

After the envoy had gone, the Chingiz Khān was taken ill, and grew excessively weak; and, from an awful dream which he had, warning him of his approaching death, he was much disturbed. It was at this time, according to the authority I have named, that he sent for his sons, and appointed his successor: the remainder agrees with the statements of other writers. His death, as he desired, was kept a profound secret; and, when Shīdarkū, Bādshāh of Tingkūt or Kāshīn—he is styled so indiscriminately—according to the terms agreed upon, left his capital, the city of Irtākīā, and drew near the Mughal camp, the Nū-yīns and Amīrs came forth to receive him, and escorted him and his train, as though about to lead him to the presence of the Chingiz Khān, but, on their arriving within a short distance of the *urdu*, a body of Mughals, posted for the purpose, fell upon Shīdarkū and his followers, and butchered the whole of them. An army was then despatched to Irtakia, which the Mughals entered, plundered, and massacred its inhabitants, and then desolated the country round. Such is Alfī's account.

The death of the Chingiz Khān took place on the 4th of Ramazān, 624 H., in the Turkish year of Tungūz or the Hog, which was the year of his birth, his ascending the throne, and of his decease, which last date is equivalent to the 16th of August, 1227 A.D. A few writers say 623 H. He had reigned 25 years, and his age was 75: some authors say 73, but, as he was born on the 20th of Zī-Ka'dah, 549 H. [See note, page 398], he was exactly 75 years, 1 month, and 10 days old [our author says he was 65 when he came into Khurāsān. See page 1077], whatever Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, or Father Gaubil have said to the contrary; and he was certainly too old to have

Khān returned from the land of 'Ajam, and the countries

"coveted" the wife of the so-called "Shidurgho," as we are told he did in "*Mongols Proper*."

Having carried out their father's last instructions, the sons of the deceased Khān proceeded to perform the funeral ceremonies according to the custom of their people. There was no secrecy whatever after Shīdarkū had been put to death, and his capital secured; and there was no killing every one they met.

Bentinck censures Marco Polo for relating, that, "in his time, the Tartars were accustomed, at the funerals of their Khâns, to slay all those they met in the way, and that they slew all whom they met on the way to the place appointed for the sepulchre of Jenghîz Khân; and that, a little before [true. a *little before*] his arrival in Grand Tartary, there had been 20,000 persons massacred in that manner, at the interment of Mangu Khân, grandson of the conqueror." Bentinck further remarks, and quite correctly too, that none of the Eastern authors, who have written on the Tartars [Mughals?], charge them with "such an abominable custom." He adds, that "in Grand Tartary"—he means Mughalistān and the Mughals—the inhabitants live so dispersed in their khargāhs or huts, that one might travel several hundred leagues without meeting a thousand. Polo too kills the Chingiz Khān six years only after his defeat of the "Um" Khān, as he styles the Āwang Khān, and asserts that he was shot in the knee by an arrow before the castle of Thaigin!

Pétis de la Croix who often quotes "the great Raschid," very correctly says [page 382] "There is no likelihood that the barbarous custom, which has *since* been practised amongst the *Tartars* and *Moguls*, to kill those they meet in the way, when they are carrying to the grave the body of a Grand Can, was at this time observed; for the historians *mention no such thing*, and, besides, this custom is not countenanced by the law." The custom of burial among the Mughals is given in detail by our author farther on.

After performing the funeral ceremonies—the preliminary mourning—the bier of the Great Khān was taken up, and his army set out on their return homeward, and the bier was in due time conveyed to his *urdūs* in the locality of his ancient *yūrat*, which was "within the limits of," not *at*, Karā-Kuram. The corpse was finally buried at the foot of a large and solitary tree, under which, one day, when following the chase—not when he was "ill"—he had rested, and at which time he remarked. "This place is suitable for my sepulchre." The place in question is called Būlkān Kāldūn, according to some authorities, and Būrkān Kāldūn by others, including Abū-ul-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, which is merely the change of *l* for *r*. After the burial, the place was proscribed against intrusion from one generation to another, the word used to denote it is قروق or قرق—an 'Arabic word signifying "confiscated," "prohibited," "embargo," "ban," etc., and it was called the يكه قروق—"the exclusive or especially prohibited place," which words appear to be the translation of Būrkān Kāldūn. The Tā-īshī, Yasū Būkā, the Ūhūd Ūrmāngkūt of the race of Kaiān, was the Korchī or guardian of the spot, which guardianship appertained exclusively to his tribe, who were, in consequence, exempted from all other duties and services.

It is likewise stated, as a wonderful fact, that, in that same year, that plain —صحرا—thus showing that it was a plain, and neither "a mountain" nor "a cave"—became totally destitute of grass on account of the numerous trees of various kinds which grew up therein, and soon became such a dense forest

**of Islām, this Tingrī Khān held counsel with his Maliks**

that one could not pass through it; and, the place being alike inaccessible and interdicted from curiosity, the exact whereabouts of the burial-place of the Chingiz Khān became wholly unknown. Tūlī his son, who died about four years after, was also buried there. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar distinctly states that the Chingiz Khān's body was taken back to Ḳarā-Ḳuram and buried in that neighbourhood, and that no human being was permitted to invade the spot; and this agrees with what other authors state, as given above, and the burial customs of the Mughals.

It is amusing to read, in the face of the statements of authors who wrote their histories in the territories of the Mughal sovereigns, with the best means of obtaining information on such a point, and about which there is absolutely nothing to conceal, the various theories of European writers. Pétis de la Croix, after stating that the spot was proscribed from the visitation of any one, says: "They buried him there [under the tree] with all the pompous ceremonies of the *Mogul* religion, and afterwards erected a *most noble monument* in this Place upon his Grave"! Where is the native historian who ever said so, or whoever once mentioned such things as "the pompous ceremonies of the Mogul religion"? All this is purely imaginary. Again he says: "The people, who came to visit the Tomb, planted other Trees round it, which so artfully covered it, and in such beautiful Order, as rendered it in time *one of the finest Monuments in the World*"! He, however, quotes no authorities for these highly-coloured statements, and, moreover, buries him in "*Tangut*," which is totally incorrect.

Gaubil says he was buried "in the cave of Ki-nyen, in a mountain to the north of the sandy desert, and that his posterity were also buried there. Several Mughal lords of his posterity, whom he met at Pekin, he says, informed him that the Chingiz Khān was buried on the mountain of Han, in Lat. 47° 54′, Long. 9° 3′ W. of Pekin. Another writer, not named, says the place of his burial was called Sah-chwen, and that the Chinese word *chwen* denotes "the Sah to have been a place full of fountains [springs?], lakes, and hills." The statement of Erdmann, p. 444, agrees nearest with the Oriental writers, but D'Ohsson's, vol. I. p. 381, seems purely mythical.

But why need I mention all this? Has not Professor Forbes himself discovered not only the place of burial, but even the tomb in which the corpse was enclosed? I wonder he did not discover Tūlī's tomb also, for he was buried there too. In a paper read before the British Association in September, 1876, he asserts [but what are the *proofs*?] that it lies "almost a day's journey from Urga, viz. from twenty to twenty five miles, and that "the tomb consists of a stone structure which is now level with the ground; there is a circle of stone ten feet thick, and one hundred yards in diameter, and in the centre of this there is a circle which has once been a covered building, some fifteen yards in diameter," etc., etc. Did not he "discover" an inscription too? If it is a Mughal tomb, look *below* ground, not above, seeing what our author and others say with regard to Mughal modes of sepulture.

I must say a few words respecting the wives and children of the Chingiz Khān before closing the notice of him, as European writers have rendered the names of them even more unintelligible than those of his four famous sons.

He is said to have had 500 Khātūns [wives] and concubines, every one of whom was taken from some tribe or other after he had reduced or conquered it. Some were married to him according to the Mughal rites and customs,

and Amīrs, saying: "The Chingiz Khān is come. On

but most of them were such as had been carried off, and were kept in his *haram*. Those who were held in the highest respect and esteem were the following five :—

1. Būrtah Kūchīn—بورته كوچين She was neither called "*Burte Judshin*" nor "*Burte Fudshin*," and consequently, whether "*Fudshin*" or "*Fougin*" was the title given by the Chinese Emperors to those of their wives who ranked "immediately *after* the Empress," or whether not, these names and titles do not appertain to Būrtah Kūchīn, who was the Chingiz Khān's *chief* wife. She was the daughter of the Nū-yīn, Dāe, the Bādshāh, as he is styled, of the Kungkur-āt Mughals, which was one of the most numerous, and distinguished for valour, as well as one of the proudest of the whole of the Nairūn tribes, one reason for which is stated to have been that, in issuing from Irgānah-Kūn, they led the way, and such was their celerity in doing so, that they burnt their feet on the ironstone not yet become cool

They are Nairūn Mughals beyond the shadow of a doubt, and yet the author of the "*Mongols Proper*" informs us, at p 703, "*I have small doubt that they were Turks*, for although small *clans* still survive among the Mongols who are called Khongkiras (i e Kunkurat), by Ssanang Setzen, there is no *tribe* among them which bears the name, while we find that one of the four main divisions of the Uzbegs is called Kiat Kungrat," etc , etc. The author has made a very delightful muddle here. The Kungkur-āts are truly Turks of the Mughal ī-māk, but Nairūn Mughals, of which Kaiāt is one of the two great divisions, and perhaps he is not aware that the Ūzbaks are Mughals, whence the term Kaiāt-Kungkur-āt There are Kungkur-āts, Kankulis, and many other tribes mentioned in these notes, still to be found in Turkistān and Mughalistān. Mīr 'Abd-ul-Karīm, Bukhārī, who wrote in 1222 H —1807 A D —continually refers to them in his work , and some of the Kāshghar Mission actually met a "Kirghiz who was a Naymán," and "Yuldúz Kalmák who are Turgut and Koshot !"

When the Chingiz Khān was defeated by the Makrīts, his Kungkur-āt wife was taken captive, and made over by them to the Āwang Khān, their *sovereign*. She is said to have been pregnant of Jūjī at the time , and the Āwang Khān, out of his former friendship for the husband, treated her with respect, and sent her back when the Chingiz Khān demanded her. Jūjī was born on the way home , and his appearance on the scene appears to have been unexpected, for his name, given in consequence, signifies "the unexpected guest " I may have to refer to this circumstance again, farther on

Būrtah Kūchīn subsequently bore three other sons—Chaghatāe, Uktāe, and Tūlī, and five daughters, who were, in due time, married to different Mughal and other chiefs, who, with a single exception, are styled Gūrgān, signifying, in the Turkī language—not the "Chinese," I believe—son-in-law One of these sons-in-law, a son of the chief of the Kungkur-āt, had previously borne the title of Gūrgān, but I have not space for much detail.

2 Kūlān Khātūn, daughter of Tā'īr Asūn, the chief of the Ūrhār Makrīt tribe. Her father submitted to the sway of the Chingiz Khān, and brought his daughter, and presented her as an offering to him. Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, ignores her altogether, in his History, and substitutes Kor-Bāsū, the widow of the Tayanak Khān, who is mentioned as one of his wives of lesser degree farther on Kūlān Khātūn had a son by the Chingiz Khān named Kūlakān—كولكان—or Kūlākān—كولاكان—who was assigned rank, in

several previous occasions we have fought with him and

every way, equal to the other sons of the Chingiz Khān. He died early, leaving several sons, and one of them, Kūchah, succeeded to his father's rank and position, and the command of the 6000 men, which the Chingiz Khān had conferred upon him

3 YASSŪKĀN, a Tāttār lady, whose name, in some Histories, is written Tassūkān, but it appears that the two points of the first letter ي—in this instance have been carelessly written ت with the points over instead of under She bore a son, who was named Ūjār, but he died in his youth

4 KONJŪ KHĀTŪN, daughter of the Āltān Khān of Khiṭāe She was by no means good-looking, but, as her father was the greatest sovereign of that age, she was treated with respect accordingly She bore no children, and was still living, in her own *urdū*, in the time of Artū or Artūḳ Būkā

5. YASSŪLŪN, sister of Yassūkān the third wife, but married to the Chingiz Khān after the death of her sister

Besides these were other Khātūns, who, although not considered so high in rank or position, were nevertheless treated with great reverence, and sometimes would monopolize the company of their husband One of these was ANĪḲAH—انيقه—Khātūn, daughter of the Jākambū also written Jānkabū, the brother of the Āwang Khān His name is said to have been Badae—بداى After the overthrow and death of his brother, he took shelter in Tingḳūt, where he obtained protection, and was treated with honour The Bādshāh of that country gave him the title of Jākambū, equivalent to "Dsāmbū," in "Degum Dsāmbū," and "Mathi Dsāmbū," etc, in Tibbatī titles Jākambū signifies "Amīr-i-Mu'aẓẓam," and "Buzurg-i-Mamlakat" The Chingiz Khān espoused her, and married one of her sisters, named Biḳtūmish Kūchīn, to his son, Jūjī, and another, Sīūr Ḳūḳībī Bīgī, to Tūlī, and all four sons of Tūlī Khān were by her After the Chingiz Khān had married Anīḳah a few days only, in consequence of a dream which he had, he gave her in marriage to one of his Amīrs, the Nū yīn, Gahtī, also called Gatī, the Ūrā-ūt [he is turned into "a *dyer* on the borders of China," in the "*Mongols Proper*" !], who happened to be the Amīr in waiting that night

Another of the Chingiz Khān's Khātūns was KOR-BĀSŪ the widow and chief Khātūn of the Tayānak Khān, Bādshāh of the Nāemāns She was brought to him sometime after the Tayānak Khān's death, and, according to the Mughal custom, the Chingiz Khān entered into bonds of marriage with her

Besides these Khātūns he had many others, the daughters of Sulṭāns [Mughal and Tāttār Chiefs ?] and Amīrs, and he also had a son named Jūrjīn, by a lady of the Nāemān tribe, who died before any other of his children; and another son named Jifān or Arjifān, who died in childhood. His mother was of the Tāttār Ī-māḳ.

The Great Khān likewise adopted a boy of the Tingḳūt tribe, in his eleventh year, and brought him up; and was wont to style him his fifth son. He was the Nū-yān, Jifān, who had a great name for valour, and was the Bāsh-līgh or Chief of the Khāṣ or Personal Ming—in the Tājzīk language signifying Hazārah—of the Chingiz Khān, which was limited to 1000 persons; and from it many of the chief officials and leaders were chosen In Uktāe Ḳā'ān's reign, when he was despatched into Khiṭāe, Jifān adopted a son himself, who was also a Tingḳūt, named Būrah, taken captive as a child of three years, who was from the *urdū* of Būrtah Ḳūchīn, as were many other

**defeated him. Now he has returned, and his forces have**

eminent officers serving in the Khās Ming or Hazārah as Sadhahs—leaders of hundreds—but I have not space to mention more than one—the Bāwūrchī, Būrkī, of the Dūrbān tribe, who was the grandfather of Fūlād Āḳā, from whom the Khwājah, Rashīd-ud-Dīn, the Hamadānī, obtained information respecting his account of the Mughals compiled from the Āltān Daftar, or Golden Record, and verified its contents. Alfī says, quoting other authorities, that Jifān was held in such high esteem and honour, that, in Uktāe's reign, he used to sit higher, on public occasions, than his brother Mangū, afterwards supreme ruler of the Mughal empire.

The Chingiz Khān had yet another adopted son, a Tāttār. When his tribe was attacked and plundered by the hostile Mughal tribes, a little boy was found by them weeping in his cradle. Būrtah Kūchīn, at that time, had borne her husband no children, and she adopted the child, and brought him up. He subsequently rose to high rank. his correct name was Shīkī Kutūḳū, commander of the Tāttār Ming or Hazārah. He is one of the leaders who was overthrown by Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn. See page 289.

The total number of the Chingiz Khān's children was thirteen—eight sons and five daughters—and yet Pétis de la Croix says he had "a prodigious number of children."

I intended to have given here a list of the whole of the Chingiz Khān's Mings or Hazārahs, but I have not space for them.

The Contingents instituted by the Chingiz Khān, which were all cavalry, consisted of a Khās or Personal Ming, or Hazārah, a Ḳol or Centre, a Burānghār, or Right Wing, so styled, and a Juwānghār, or Left Wing, also called the Jūḳ. The word Hazārah, which is Tājzīk or Persian, must not be supposed to be the actual name by which these Contingents were called by the Mughals, for it is not—nor is it the name of a tribe, as Mr. Dowson, in ELLIOT'S HISTORIANS [vol. vi., page 368] imagines—"the famous tribe of Hazarah," as he styles them. The word is the mere translation of the Turkī word *ming*, a thousand. The number, too, was but nominal in many instances, since there were two Hazārahs of 10,000 men each, one of 8000, and several others of a higher number than a thousand. See note, page 984.

The Burānghār contained 30,000 men in 22 Hazārahs. Out of these there was one of Ūirāt Mughals [vul. Virats], 4000; one of Bārīn Mughals, 2000; another of Ungḳūt Turks, 4000, and one of various Ḳarāt tribes, 10,000. The Nū-yīn, Burjī or Būjīn, the Arlāt, was its head.

The Juwānghār, consisted of 25 Hazārahs, among which was the Ūrūt Hazārah, 4000 men, the Angīrās Ḳungḳur-āts, 3000; the Ḳungḳur-āts, 5000; the Bārīns, 3000, and another of Ḳungḳur-āts, of 4000. Besides the other Mughal Hazārahs, there was one Hazārah of Ḳarā-Khitā-īs of 10,000 men, and another styled the Khūrjah Hazārah of 10,000 men. Its head was the Nū-yīn Mūḳalī, the Jalā-īr, surnamed The Ko-yāng, signifying in the language of Khitāe, the Great Khān.

The contingents assigned to the Chingiz Khān's sons and brothers, and their sons, his mother, and other relatives, amounted to 28,000. His eldest son Jūjī's contingent numbered 4000 in four Hazārahs, consisting of the tribes of Sujīūt, Kangīt, Hoshīn, also called Ūshīn, and Suntāe [?]. The contingent of his second son, Chaghatāe, amounted to the same number, also consisting of four Hazārahs, of the tribes of Barlās, Karāyat, Sūnīat, and Sūldūs.

Some recent Indian history compilers have made sad errors in connexion

become very numerous, and he is proceeding against the

with these four tribes assigned to Chaghatāe Khān—Chaghatāe's tribes. These writers have assumed that there was a great and distinct tribe called "Chagtae," or "Chugtar," as a recent author writes it, and a "Chagtae language"! Some have even gone so far [see "*The Turks in India*," by Henry George Keene, M R A S, Judge of Agra, etc London 1879] as to assert that Bābar, who founded the Mughal empire in India, was not a Mughal, but a "Chugtae Turk" He was a Barlās Mughal [see note, page 898] pure and simple, of the race of Ḳaiāt. It is quite time such fallacies should be given to the winds

The contingent of his third son, Uktāe, formed four Hazārahs of the same number as those of his other two brothers, consisting of the Hazārahs of Jalā-īr Yamḳālīn or Bamḳālīn [بملين ?] a branch of the Sūldūs, Mangḳūt, and Sūnīat After Uktāe came to the throne, the whole of his personal troops consisted of men of these four tribes

The share of Kūlakān, another son of the Chingiz Khān, and to whom he was greatly attached, numbered 4000, in four Hazārahs, consisting of men of the Birlās, and other tribes.

These four Mings or Contingents in all numbered 16,000 horse.

The Chingiz Khān conferred a contingent to the number of 5000 upon his younger brother, Ū-Tigīn, or Aw-Tigīn, as it is also spelt, consisting of Ūrad Kalangḳūts, Busūts, Jūrī-āts, also called Jājar-āts, and small numbers of many of the other tribes not included in the previously mentioned Hazārahs The contingent of the sons of Jūjī Kasār, another brother of the Chingiz Khān, consisted of 1000 men drawn from several tribes, and that of Ilchīdāe, or Ilchikdāe, son of Kājbūn, a third brother of the Chingiz Khān, who died in his youth, numbered 3000 horse, consisting of Nāemāns, Urī-angḳut, and some other scattered tribes The contingent of his mother, Ūlūn Ānkah, numbered 3000 Ḳūrlās and Ūlḳūnūts

At the time of his decease the Chingiz Khān assigned the whole of his Khāṣah, or personal troops, and all the Hazārahs of the Centre, Right, and Left, consisting of 101,000 men, and his *yūrats*, to his youngest son, Tūlūe or Tūlī, who always continued with him, and who, in his lifetime, commanded them, under himself, hence no separate contingent appertained to him, and, after Tūlī's decease, they fell to the share of his sons, Mangū, Ḳūbilāe, and others

It must be understood that these were contingents always kept up by the Princes, Nū-yīns, Juzbīs, and Bahādurs, to whom they were assigned, and not as being the entire amount, by any means, of the Chingiz Khān's forces They were capable of being expanded at any time That such was usual, we have sufficient proof in the number of troops which Hulākū led into Ī-rān-Zamīn, drawn from a portion of these contingents, some of which subsequently increased very much, and we are told that one of Chaghatāe's Hazārahs, in a short period of time, had increased to the number of 100,000

I have been particular in mentioning these Hazārahs because, to judge from one of the questions propounded at the Oriental Congress of 1876, great doubt appears to have arisen in the minds of some persons on the subject, and some have even asserted that the real Mughal element in the Chingiz Khān's armies was very small, and that Mughal is "nothing more than a dynastic name adopted by Ghengis to denote the empire which he founded," but, from what I have here given, those who know Turks from Tāttārs, and

Altūn Khān of Tamghāj. It is advisable that we should make peace with him, and enter into alliance with him, and that, in concert, we should proceed into the country of Khiṭā, and overthrow the Altūn Khān." His opinion and that of his Maliks agreeing, this was determined upon, and peace was made by the Tingrī Khān with the Chingiz Khān, and a firm treaty was entered into between them.

When the Tingrī Khān's heart became tranquil on this union, he came to the Chingiz Khān, and united with him; and the forces of the Tingrī Khān combined with the Mughal army, and they turned their faces towards the countries of Chīn and Khitā. There was a river the name of which is Ḳarā-Mūr [Mūr-ān ?],[4] and they crossed it with the intention of devastating the country of Khitā A number of Nū-īns and [other] Mughals represented to the Chingiz Khān, saying: "Our army is moving towards Khiṭā: if we should sustain a defeat, the troops of the Tingrī Khān are likewise our enemies. His territory will be in our rear, and not one of us will reach our own country in safety. It is advisable, since the Tingrī Khān is among us, that we should slay him, and set our minds at ease respecting him, so that there will not be an enemy behind us, and, with our hearts at rest, we can turn our faces towards the Khitā country." The Chingiz Khān resolved to act upon this

Mughals, and who understand the difference between Badz-ūḳīs, and Udz-uḳīs, Ḳaiāts and Nagūz, Durāl-gīns and Nairūns, will perceive how greatly the Mughāl element predominated, and how fallacious such a statement is.

To sum up:—

| | |
|---|---|
| The Khāṣ Ming or Hazārah | 1,000 |
| The Ming or Hazārah of the Nū-yān Būrjī, also called the Ḳol | 8,000 |
| The Right, or Burānghār | 30,000 |
| The Left, or Juwānghār | 62,000 |
| The Mings or Hazārahs of the sons | 16,000 |
| The Mings or Hazārahs of the brothers, nephews, and mother | 12,000 |
| | 129,000 |

In the "*Mongols Proper*," on the authority apparently of M. Erdmann, the 101,000 men, including all the Hazārahs here given, with the exception of the contingents of Tūlī's brothers, mother, and kinsmen, 28,000 in all, which appertained to Tūlī, after his father's death—have been mistaken for, and *added* as, a *separate force*, and styled the "Centre *under* Tului," thus swelling the 129,000 to 230,000, which is not correct. The 8000 Arlāts, too, have been left out.

counsel, and he seized the Tingrī Khān, and gave orders to kill him. On the Tingrī Khān becoming certain that they would slay him, he said: "Convey a single message from me to the Chingiz Khān, and that message is this: 'I have not shown any perfidy towards thee. I came to thee under treaty. Thou art acting perfidiously towards me, and art going to act contrary to the covenant entered into with me. Now give ear. When thou slayest me, if from me issues blood white in colour like unto milk, know that three days after me thou diest.'" When they conveyed this message to the Chingiz Khān, he laughed, and said: "This man has become mad: blood like milk never issues from the wound of a slain person, nor has any one ever seen white blood. It behoveth the more speedily to put him to death."

When the executioner struck the Tingrī Khān with his sword, white blood like unto milk issued from the wound; and he perished. When the tidings of this astonishing circumstance reached the Chingiz Khān, the accursed, he quickly arose, and came to the spot; and, when he saw that the occurrence was actually so, it struck his heart, and his strength forsook him, and, on the third day, his heart broke, and he went to hell.

He had made his last request, saying: "It is incumbent that ye slay the whole of the Tingrī Khān's people, both male and female, small and great, young and old, and not leave a single person alive." When the Chingiz Khān was departing to hell he had devised the sovereignty to his son Uktāe, and Uktāe turned back, and massacred all the people of the city and territory[4] of the Tingrī Khān.

## II. TŪSHĪ, SON OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN

Tūshī[5] was the eldest of the Chingiz Khān's sons, and was exceedingly energetic, intrepid, manly, and warlike; and his greatness was to that degree that his father used to stand in awe of him.

In the year 615 H., when Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, had gone forth to devastate the tribes of Ḳadr Khān

[4] One of the best copies of the text omits the words "of the city and territory."

[5] See note [6], page 1026.

of Turkistān, who was the son of Ṣafaḳtān-i-Yamak,[6] Tūshī likewise, from the side of Ṭamghāj had advanced [with an army] in that direction, and had been engaged in a conflict with the army of the Khwārazm Shāh for a night and a day, as has been previously mentioned in the account of the Khwārazm Shāh. At this time, when Sulṭān Muḥammad fled from the banks of the Jīḥūn and the neighbourhood of Balkh, the Chingiz Khān despatched his sons Tūshī and Chaghatāe, with a great army, towards Khwārazm.

He [Tūshī] proceeded thither with that army, and appeared before the gate of [the capital city of] Khwārazm, and the fighting commenced. For a period of four months[7]

[6] This name is clearly written in the different copies of the text with but slight variation. Every one of the best copies have the 'Arabic ث—s as the first letter, used, of course, to express or represent some Turkish letter. Thus seven copies have ثمقتان يمك one copy ثعقتان يمك three others ثمال يمك and one ثقال يمك

The difficulty is to decide who this person is, but, at the same time, it is necessary to point out that this affair is in no way connected with Tūḳ-Tughān, the Makrīt, although it is mentioned by our author, at page 267, as immediately preceding the latter affair, which he refers to without mentioning any name as here. The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh also refers to this affair very briefly, but mentions no name.

At the end of this work, in the lines addressed to the Ulugh Khān, he is styled "Khān of the Ilbarī and Shāh of the Yamak," and these Ilbarī are again plainly stated to be Turks at page 800, and at page 796 it is mentioned that that tribe had to remove from their accustomed place of abode, which is not specified, but Khifchāḳ is implied, when the Mughals became predominant over Turkistān and the tribes of Khifchāḳ. See also pages 599 and 791.

In an old geographical work Yamak is briefly referred to as the name of a city or town and a territory or country famous for its beautiful females, and that it is also said to be the name assigned to the sovereign of the Ī-ghūrs, whoever he might be. But, as I have previously mentioned, in note at page 951, the Bāshlīghs, or Chiefs of the Ūn-Ī-ghūrs, were in ancient times styled Īl-Īltār and those of the Tuḳūz-Ī-ghūrs, Kol-Īrkīn, or, according to Abū-l-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, Īl-Irkīn, and, in after years, Yīddī-Ḳūt.

[7] The Khwārazmīs made a much more gallant defence than our author has given them credit for.

After the Chingiz Khān had effected the capture of Samrḳand and had become established in Māwarā-un-Nahr, he, towards the close of 617 H., despatched his sons Jūjī, Chaghatāe, and Uktāe, to reduce the Khwārazm territory at the head of a great army, which one author states amounted to about 100,000 men, and they set out by way of Bukhārā. The capital city of Khwārazm was named Jurjānīah by 'Arabs, but was called Ūrganj and Urgānj by the Turks and the great men thereof. The 'Ajamīs call it Gurgānj.

The author of the "*Mongols Proper*" tells us twice (pp. 83 and 85) that "Urgendj" is "the modern Khiva," but subsequently, in his additional

the people of Khwārazm continued to resist the Mughals,

notes, that "old Urgendj was the capital of Khuarezm," in which he is tolerably correct, but its site is not so very near "the modern capital—Khiva," being only ninety-two miles distant from it as the crow flies. In Col. J. C Walker's last map [1879], notwithstanding the various "authorities" mentioned on the margin of it, "Khiva" duly figures under the name of *Kharezm*, while in the same map, as the name indicates, "Kunia"—an error for Kuhnah, or old—"Urganj" is the site. Such an error is to be lamented, but I fear I shall have to refer to many others. Khwārazm is the name of the territory, and the words "the city of Khwārazm" merely refer to *the city which is the capital of* Khwārazm, and this mode of terming a capital by the name of the country was not uncommon. I do not agree with Pétis de la Croix that the city was ever called Khwārazm, except in the sense mentioned. What is erroneously styled *Khiva* in maps is KHĪWAK—خیوق—of the people of the country.

Among the number of great men present in the territory of Khwārazm at this time, there was no one, in the absence of the members of the late Sulṭān's family, whom they could better choose under the circumstances than the Amīr, Khumār-Tigīn, the chief of the Kanḳulīs [Pétis de la Croix's "*Himartequen*"—the point of the kh having been omitted by the scribe, he read it as *h*], who was a kinsman of the late Sulṭān's mother, the unfortunate Turkān Khātūn, and also held the office of Ḥājib-i-Dar, or War-Būkā, and they chose him to direct the administration. In the exigency of affairs, they accorded him the title of Sulṭān. There was besides, at the capital, the Pahlawān, 'Alī, the Darghamī.

After these measures had been adopted, one day, a small body of horse appeared before one of the gates, and began to drive off the cattle. Not knowing what calamity was lurking behind these horsemen, a number of imprudent and short-sighted persons led out a large force, both horse and foot, from the Khalḳī gate towards them, thinking to capture them. The Mughal horsemen, for such they were, pretended flight, but took care occasionally to give their pursuers hope of overtaking them, until they had drawn them to a place called the Bāgh-i-Khurram—the Pleasant or Delightful Garden [turned into a "Town called Baghe-Firum," by Pétis de la Croix, who has made some terrible errors in his account of these operations, and has interwoven his own observations so much with the authors he quotes, that one is not to be distinguished from the other]—about a farsang from the city, where was the van of the Mughal army in ambuscade. These rushed upon the Khwārazmīs, and assailed them on all sides. The latter fought from early morning till noon, but the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr says, from noon to the setting of the sun, when, having sustained great loss, they retreated precipitately towards the city. The Mughals pursued, and, in the confusion which ensued, succeeded in entering along with the fugitives by one of the gates, and penetrated as far as the Tanūrah quarter. This, however, could only have been a suburb, as the Mughals were stopped by Farīdūn, the Ghūrī, an old officer in the late Sulṭān's service, and his soldiers, and the Mughals thought fit to retire. The Tārīkh just named states, that the Khwārazmīs lost 100,000 men on this occasion, but this is impossible, and seems a mere confusion of events, and refers to the upshot of the siege, or is altogether an exaggeration.

Next day, the Mughals again appeared before one of the gates, but, finding Farīdūn there posted with 500 men, did not make any attack during the whole

and to fight against those infidels. At last, they took the

of that day, and withdrew at night Next day, when Jūjī and his brothers arrived with the remainder of the great host, they made a perambulation of the city, and a person was despatched to summon the defenders to submit to the yoke of the Mughals, and open the gates. This was refused, upon which the Mughals completely invested the city, and made preparations for besieging it. As there was no stone in those parts, the Mughals had to use blocks of wood for their catapults, cut from the timber of the mulberry-trees; but I do not see how blocks of that, even though "hardened by being soaked in water," as a European writer states, could have had much effect upon walls of burnt brick; but some say wood blocks were only used towards the close of the siege when the stones had all been expended The Mughals, as was usual with them, made the men of the conquered cities do the hard work in sieges, and so they obtained assistance from Jund and other conquered places, in the shape of men, tools, and materials, including loads of stone which were brought in carts. When all had been prepared, and the missiles and battering apparatus were ready, they opened the siege, and carried on their operations with vigour, but the defenders were as active and determined in the defence.

After a considerable time, the Mughals sent a force of 3000 men to divert the stream or branch of the river Jīḥūn, which flowed past the city, and supplied the people with water, and there effect an entrance [the aqueduct apparently mentioned at page 474, which proved an effectual barrier to the Ghūrīs], but the garrison made a sally to prevent it, and slew every one of the detachment Here again P de la C. has fallen into error, and makes the Mughals dig a canal to drain the ditch! Great part of the city was reduced to ashes by the discharges of flasks of naphtha and other inflammable ingredients; but, now, quarrels, which had been going on for some time between Jūjī and Chaghatāe, became so serious—Fasiḥ-ī says severe fighting ensued as the upshot of these quarrels, and that a great number of Mughals were killed—that the matter was brought to the hearing of their father, then engaged in the siege of Ṯāl-ḳān He was not at Samrḳand, as P. de la C. states: he had, in the meantime, left it, and had taken Tirmid also previous to this Five months had already passed in the siege of the Khwārazmī capital, and great loss had been sustained, and the Chingiz Khān, in his rage, directed Uktāe, the younger brother of the two there present, to take the command, and that all should pay him implicit obedience He accordingly carried on the siege with fresh vigour; but it took another two months before the Mughals succeeded, by filling up the ditch with brushwood and rubbish—they may have drained the ditch to do this—in effecting a lodgment, and planting their standards on the walls. Even then the people fought hand to hand with them, from street to street, and door to door, for several days, while the Mughals discharged flasks of naphtha among them Vast numbers were slain on both sides, including the brave Khumār-Tigīn, indeed, one author says "the city became a sea of blood," and the siege altogether is said to have cost the Mughals nearly 100,000 men, including the unfortunate Musalmān people compelled to work for their own people's destruction.

The loss sustained by the defenders is computed at about the same amount, but round numbers are often doubtful, still it must have been very great. The whole of the remaining people were driven out into the plain without the city, and after 100,000 artisans, mechanics, and tradespeople, had been selected, to be carried off with them and transported into Mughalistān, or to assist in

city, and martyred the whole of the people, and destroyed all the buildings with the exception of two places—one the Kūshk-i-Akhjak[8] [the Castle of Akhjak], the other, the mausoleum of Sulṭān Muhammad-i-Takish

Some have stated on this wise, that, when the Mughals captured the city of Khwārazm, and brought the inhabitants out of the city into the plain, he [Tūshī] commanded that the women should be separated from the men, and such of the women as they cared for the Mughals retained The remainder were directed to form into two bodies, and they caused the whole of them to be stripped naked, and round about them Mughal Turks [Turkān-i-Mughal],[9] with drawn swords, were stationed The two parties were then commanded, thus: 'The women of your city are good pugilists, therefore, the order is that both sides should set on each other with their fists" Those unfortunate Musalmān females they caused, thus ignominiously, to attack each other with hands clenched, and, for the space of a whole watch of the day, all those women continued to deal

the destruction of their own people, and the young women and children, and young men, had been sent into slavery [they were transported into the farther East, and several towns and villages were peopled by them and their descendants], the remainder were all butchered [This reads like the doings at Eski Saghra and Kasanlik in 1877 A D] The number was so great that it was computed that each Mughal soldier had some twenty-four to put to death, but, before we compute the number at 2,400,000, because the Mughals numbered 100,000 at the commencement of the siege, we must allow for their loss during that operation, and also leave out the Musalmān auxiliaries, but we may safely assume that more than a million perished Alfī says the Mughals numbered 100,000 at this time, and that the number said to have been butchered passes almost all belief

It is said that the Chingiz Khān, before sending his hordes against the city, despatched a message to the celebrated Khwārazmī saint, the Shaikh, Najm-ud-Dīn, the Kubrī, otherwise Al Kīwaḳī—or of Kīwak, which Europeans have turned into *Khiva*—advising him to leave the place, since the upshot might be its plunder, and the slaughter of the people, but the Shaikh refused, saying: "For eighty years have I dwelt here in its prosperity, and should not leave it in the day of its misfortune I will take my chance with others, await my fate, whatever it may be, and not fly from the Almighty's decree" He perished with the rest

After the fall of the capital, the other towns and cities of Khwārazm submitted.

[8] In one copy, Akhchak

[9] From the way in which our author here writes Turkān-i-Mughal, i e. Mughal Turks—Turks of the Mughal *Ulūs*—he was evidently well informed as to the accounts of their descent See note at pages 874 and 875

blows upon, and to receive the blows of, each other, until, at length, the Mughals fell upon them with their swords and martyred the whole of them—the Almighty reward them!

When Tūshī, and Chaghatāe, the sons of the Chingiz Khān, had finished their work at Khwārazm, they[1] turned their faces towards Khifchāk, and the forces and tribes of Khifchāk they continued to subdue one by one, and make captive; and they brought the whole of the tribes under subjection. Tūshī, who was the eldest son of the Chingiz Khān [as already stated], when he became acquainted with the climate of the land of Khifchāk, considered that, in the whole universe, there could not be a more delightful land, a pleasanter climate, softer water, meads more verdant, and pasture-lands more extensive; and repugnance towards his father began to enter into his mind. He said to his confidants. "The Chingiz Khān has become mad, as he massacres so many people, and desolates so many countries! It thus seems meritorious on my part that, in some hunting-ground, I should slay my father, enter into an alliance with Sultān Muhammad, [Khwārazm Shāh], render this country flourishing, and give help and assistance to the Musalmāns"[2] His brother, Chaghatāe, gained intimation of this idea [of his brother's], and made known this perfidious notion and design to his father. When the Chingiz Khān became aware of it, he despatched his own confidential agents, so that they administered poison to Tūshī, and killed him.[3]

[1] This is an error. The brothers never agreed together, as I shall presently show, and they had quarrelled at Khwārazm only recently. After the capture of Ūrgang, Jūjī, with the *ulūs* (armed men of the tribe) of the Yiddī-Kūt of the Ī-ghūrs, returned towards Karā-Kuram, but subsequently Jūjī retired into the Dasht-i-Kibchāk; and Chaghatāe and Uktāe proceeded, by way of Hazār-asp, to rejoin their father's camp before Tāl-kān They captured Hazār-asp in the course of two days, and massacred its inhabitants, the number of whom, according to some writers, was so great that they did not deem it advisable even to record it These events happened in 618 H

Although our author wrote soon after these events took place, and was living at the time they happened, he was seemingly unaware that Uktāe was present at Ūrganj, and that he, after the quarrels between the brothers, was put in command over them, a fact which is beyond a doubt. Such being the case, and from what he himself says was the cause of his father's enmity towards him, it is probable that Jūjī had no hand in these brutal cruelties.

[2] The Sultān had died some time previous to this, in 617 H

[3] Jūjī was but thirty years old when he died. He left behind him fifteen

Tūshī likewise had fourteen sons, the eldest of whom was named Bātū, the second Chaghatāe, the third Shaibān,

sons, but some say, fourteen The eldest was Ūrdah, whose mother was Sūrtāḳ Khātūn, daughter of the sovereign of the Kungḳur-āt tribes, and that son was wont to lead the left of his army, while Bātū, his second son, led the right Another was named Barkah, our author's Barkā, who turned Musalmān, being the first of that family who did so. The remaining sons, except Tūghāe-Tīmūr, who also turned Musalmān, are not so well known to history and need scarcely be mentioned here. Jūjī's death took place in Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 624 H., not in 626 H, as P de la C says, for he died before his father. Bātū succeeded to his father's dominions, whose reign will be found farther on The Khāns of Krim [the Krimīā] were lineally descended from Jūjī Khān, whose descendants reigned longer as independent sovereigns than any others of the race.

Our author has exaggerated a little here, probably, but there is evidently some truth in what he says There is plenty of evidence to prove that his father stood in some awe of Jūjī, for, undoubtedly, he was a great and high-minded prince, and this, together with the occurrences attending his birth, appear to have alienated the heart of the Chingiz Khān from him When the Makrīt tribe plundered the *urdū* of Tamur-chī, they carried off Būrtah Ḳūchīn, his wife, who is said to have been pregnant at the time, and brought her to the Āwang Khān, their chief P de la C, although he afterwards says Jūjī was the eldest son, says this lady was then "big with her second child," and makes out "Aunghcan" to be "*her father*"! He treated her with great reverence and respect, and, after some time, sent her back to her husband, and, on the way, she gave birth to a son. No preparations having been made for the occasion, there was nothing available to swaddle the babe with · therefore the messenger of Tamur-chī, who had been sent to demand her release, mixed some flour and water together, and swaddled the boy in the dough, and thus managed to convey him safely, with his mother, to the *urdū* of Tamur-chī The boy being unexpected—it would seem indeed that Tamur-chī was unaware of his wife's pregnancy, hence the doubts respecting the paternity of the child—was named Jūjī, or Tūshī, which, in the dialect of the Mughals, signifies *the unexpected guest* It is not correct, as related in "The *Mongols Proper*," that the mother gave birth to Jūjī "after her return from captivity." he was born on the road

His brothers, particularly Chaghatāe and Uktāe, used constantly to taunt Jūjī respecting his birth, and they seem to have been jealous of him; but his father had great faith in his ability and valour, and entrusted him, previous to the invasion of Islām, with the command of an army, which army was overtaken by Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and brought to action, as related at page 269, and his father had since conferred upon him the government of the whole of the *ulūses* or tribes and territories within the limits of Ardīsh and the Altāe mountains. Subsequently, the Chingiz Khān added thereto the territories of Khwārazm, the Dasht-i-Ḳibchāḳ or Khifchāḳ, and such conquests as Jūjī might effect over the countries of Khurz, Bulghār, Ālān, Ās, and Rūs.

After the capture of the capital city of Khwārazm, that is to say, Ūrganj, Jūjī separated from his brothers, and withdrew into [towards?] the Dasht-i-Ḳibchāḳ; and, when Jabah [Yamah] and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] returned from their three years' expedition, and reached the Dasht-i-Ḳibchāḳ, they had to obtain aid from him, as already narrated, before they could proceed farther on

and the fourth Barkā; and trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that the birth of this Barkā took place at the time of the conquests in the territories of Islām. When his mother gave him birth, Tūshī, his father, com-

their way. When the Chingiz Khān retired from Nangrahār, and set out on his return into Mughalistān, and reached Ḳulān Yāzī, Jūjī presented himself, as already mentioned in the account of his father, but another writer, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, states, and his statement is, without doubt, correct, that, after the disagreement with his brothers before Ūrganj, subsequent to its capture, Chaghatāe and Uktāe set out with their troops to rejoin their father, and reached his camp at Ṭāl-ḳān, but Jūjī set out towards Ardīsh, where were his wives and families, and joined his own *urdūs*. As his father, previous to this, had commanded him to invade the countries to the north and west, such as the territories of Būlār [sic, بولار], of the Bāsh-ghird, the Rūs, and the Jarkas [the Cheremis?], the Dasht-i-Ḳibchāḳ, and other parts in that direction, and to hold possession of them, when Jūjī set out toward Ardīsh, his father, at first, imagined that he did not intend to obey his commands, respecting that expedition, and that he had, consequently, returned to his home and given himself up to pleasure and jollity instead of carrying out his instructions The Chingiz Khān was, in consequence, exceedingly incensed, and commanded that it would be necessary to put him to death without looking upon his face again The real cause however was that Jūjī, at the period in question, had become prostrated by disease, and, on that account, when the Chingiz Khān returned from the territory of the Tājzīks, and took up his residence in his own *urdū*, Jūjī was unable to present himself in his father's presence, but he despatched several loads of game, and made known his illness. Subsequently, he was again summoned to appear, but he made apologies, and stated his inability to attend on account of sickness.

Shortly after that, a person having set out from Jūjī's *yūrats* to proceed to the presence of the Chingiz Khān, coming along the road, noticed that Jūjī had gone forth, and was proceeding from *yūrat* to *yūrat*. By the way, Jūjī had to pass a place where he had been wont to follow the chase, and, being incapable himself, through weakness, he despatched his Amīrs to hunt This person, who was on his way to the camp of his father, noticed, from a distance, a considerable gathering assembled engaged in hunting, and made sure to himself that it was Jūjī; and, when he reached the presence of the Chingiz Khān, and the latter inquired of him respecting Jūjī's illness, he replied. "As to his illness I know naught, but, at the time of coming hither, near the skirts of a certain mountain range, he was engaged in hunting" At these words the wrath of the Chingiz Khān was roused to such degree as cannot be narrated, and, in his mind, he felt certain that Jūjī had become disloyal, and paid no regard to his father's words, and so he said "Jūjī has gone mad, and, in consequence, is acting the part of a fool It is necessary to send troops against him; and it is advisable to despatch Chaghadāe and Ūkdāe in advance, and follow in person myself" At this crisis, news arrived that Jūjī was dead, and the Chingiz Khān was greatly grieved at his loss What that person had stated respecting Jūjī hunting was entirely false and fictitious, and the Khān gave orders to put him to death, but he had got some inkling of what he might expect, when he heard of the decease of Jūjī, and made his escape from the *urdū*, and the wrath of Jūjī's father.

manded, saying: "Give ye this boy to a nurse of the Musalmāns, in order that his navel string may be severed by a Musalmān, that he may imbibe Musalmān milk, and turn out a Musalmān; for I intend that this son of mine shall be brought up in the Musalmān faith" If this statement is veracious, the Almighty mitigate his torment [in hell]! Undoubtedly, through the blessing attending this intention, when Barkā grew up, he became a scion of Islām. Up to this period of time, the date of the completion of this History, the year 658 H., of the sons of Tūshī, that one Musalmān sovereign is still left.

May Almighty God continue the Sultān of Islām, NĀṢIR-UD-DĪN WA UD-DUNYĀ, MAḤMŪD SHĀH, upon the throne of sovereignty to the day of resurrection!

III UKTĀE, SON OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN.

When the Chingiz Khān died, he devised the sovereignty to Uktāe,[4] although Chaghatāe was older than he; but Chaghatāe was a butcher and a tyrant.

Uktāe, when he ascended the throne, and carried out the last command of his father, the Chingiz Khān, and massacred all the people of Tingit, both females and males, returned from thence towards Turkistān.[5] Having brought

[4] The name of this sovereign is also written Ūktāe, and Ūkdāe, *t* and *d* being interchangeable, signifying "ascent," "height," "loftiness," "sublimity," and the like, but *Ogotai* is absurd, and could only have occurred to a person who had never been in the East, and who was unacquainted with the pronunciation of the name as written in the original, and the value of the letters of the alphabet

[5] This is incorrect. Ūktāe did not ascend the throne until *two years* and more after the decease of his father. I have already given an account of the events which happened after the death of the Chingiz Khān in a previous note

I must notice the events of Ūktāe's reign in order to correct some erroneous accounts respecting him, but I must do so very briefly, because the events of his father's life, which were necessary to rectify incorrect accounts respecting him, have occupied much space I must mention that "Tului," youngest son of the Chingiz Khān, did not "act as regent" at all · it would have been totally contrary to the custom of the Mughals, and the Chingiz Khān had himself named one, as already related. There are other equally erroneous statements respecting Ūktāe which may be seen from the following

Ūktāe is the first of the sovereigns who reigned in the Ulugh Yūrat, also

that territory under his authority, he nominated armies to march into various parts of Khurāsān and 'Irāḳ, and

styled the Aṣal or Original or Chief Yūrat, which words refer to Kalūr-ān and Ḳarā-Ḳuram, and which last is also celebrated as the Urdūe-Bālīgh.

After having performed the funeral ceremonies over their father and sovereign, the sons, Nū-yīns, and Amīrs, each retired to his respective *yūrat*; and, for a period of two years, the mother of Ūkdāe and his brothers, Būrtah Ḳūchīn, administered the affairs: she *may be styled* "Regent."

After two years, and the period of mourning had expired, this Khātūn, Būrtah Ḳūchīn, lest any untoward event might happen in the empire, summoned the sons of the deceased, and the great Amīrs, to assemble at the Ulugh Yūrat, which the Chinese style Ho-lin, and hold a ḳūrīltāe or diet; and, in the beginning of the spring of 626 H., they arrived. From Ī-mil and Ḳū-Tāḳ came Ūktāe and his sons; from the Dasht-i-Ḳibchāḳ came Bātū, Barkah, Shaibān, Tingḳūt, and two other sons of Jūjī Khān; from the eastern parts of the empire [i. e. east of Kalūr-ān] came the Nū-yīns, Ū-Tigīn or Aw-Tigīn—also written Ūnjī and Ūnchī-Tigīn—and Bilkūtī, the brothers of the Chingiz Khān; Chaghatāe Khān came from Bīsh-Bālīgh, and the Nū-yīn, Ḳarachār, from his *yūrat*, besides numbers of other personages from all parts of the empire.

The Ulugh Nū-yīn, Tūlī Khān, and other brothers younger than he, who were already present at the Ulugh Yūrat, and his Amīrs, also attended; and, after all the Princes, Nū-yīns, and Amīrs, had assembled, a mighty feast was given, during which the matter which brought them together there was discussed. After this, the testament of the Chingiz Khān, nominating Ūktāe as his successor, and the covenant entered into between the sons, confirming that nomination, were read out before all, in the presence of the troops then in the Urdū, in order that they also should confirm it. All, with one accord, now addressed Ūktāe, saying: "In accordance with the will of the Chingiz Khān it behoveth thee to take thy seat on the throne of sovereignty," but Ūktāe made excuses, saying: "There are others older than I am, my uncles and my brother Chaghatāe: let one of them be raised to the throne; moreover, my younger brother Tūlī is more worthy than I am, and, according to the customs and usages of the Mughals, the *youngest* son of the greatest of the Khātūns, and who is in possession of the Yūrat and place of abode, should succeed the father." For forty days was this feasting continued, during which discussion went on, and daily did Ūktāe continue to make excuses, but, on the forty-first day, all the Princes and Nū-yīns came before him and said: "This sovereignty was assigned to thee from among the rest of the brothers and sons of the Chingiz Khān: how then is it possible to contravene it?" Then the whole of the assembly, according to ancient [Turkish] custom, having taken goblets, removed their caps, unloosed their girdles, and thrown them over their shoulders, Chaghatāe, as the elder brother, seized the right hand of Ūktāe, and Tūlī his left, while his uncle, Ū-Tigīn, seized him round the waist, and, with the approval of the Astrologers and Diviners, seated him on the throne, and hailed him by the title of Ḳā'ān—قاان

Ḳā'ān, I would observe, cannot be "a contraction" for Khāḳān—خاقان—because the metre of both words is precisely the same, and there is no kh in the former; further, that it was not "borne by all Ogotai's successors," for Kyūk did not bear it, neither was it "new," for Bū-zanjar, the ninth ancestor of the Chingiz Khān, bore that title. One writer indeed says that, "as the

towards Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and began to administer the affairs of the country according to justice and equity, to keep his forces under subordination, and to cherish his subjects.

By nature, Uktāe was exceedingly beneficent and of excellent disposition, and a great friend to the Musalmāns. During his reign the Muhammadans in his dominions were tranquil and prosperous in condition, and treated with respect. He used to strive greatly to show honour to the Musalmān people, and to render them flourishing and contented. In his reign, *masjids* were founded in all the cities of Tingit, Tamghāj, Tibbat, and the countries of Chīn, and all the forts and strongholds of the region

Mughūls do not use much ceremony respecting titles, they style a Pādshāh, Kā'ān or Khān indiscriminately."

After Ūkdae had been placed on the throne, gold and gems were poured over him, and, Tūlī having held the bowl to him, the Princes, Nū-yīns Amīrs, and all who were both within and without the assembly, and all keeping exact time, bowed the knee to him nine times, the lucky number of the Mughals. No author with whom I am acquainted refers, in the most remote manner, to "*prostrating* themselves nine times," whatever "ancient Chinese ceremonial might have been," and he was not a Chinese.

Surgeon-Major Bellew, in the "*Description of Kāshghar*" (REPORT, page 61), says with reference to this number nine: "Similarly the presents given by the father to the bride must be in the same number or its multiple of each kind, as nine frocks, nine mantles, nine carpets &c., and the presents made by friends too must be in the same number, as nine pieces of silk, nine veils, nine caps, &c. The origin of the selection of this particular number, called *toḳūz, is not known*, but the custom is observed by all the Turk and Tartar tribes of Central Asia." He might have said, more correctly, "Mughal." Tuḳūz stands for *nine* in the Turkish language, and I may add that the origin of the custom *is* known, and it will be found by referring to the note at page 875, which see, and is referred to in several other places.

A volume almost might be written on the subject of presenting the cup or bowl. It was not peculiar to the Mughals, but was usual among all the descendants of Turk. It would be interesting to compare their customs in this respect with those of the Scandinavians. The presentation of the cup was the highest mark of consideration and homage, and all present on such occasions bent the knee. It was likewise the highest honour a sovereign could show towards a vassal or subject. Ambassadors whom it was intended greatly to honour were presented with the cup, and it was necessary on the occasion of making a treaty, or confirming an oath. Kumiz or fermented mare's milk was generally used, but they also made drinks from millet, honey, and rice. Wine was used on special occasions, and by the Khāns.

This ceremony took place in the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 626 H. [Feby. 1228 A.D.—which is but eighteen months from Ramaẓān, 624 H., but, as previously stated, some contend that the Chingiz Khān died in Ramaẓān, 623 H.], just two years and six months after the death of his father.

of the east he gave in charge to a number of Musalmān Amirs. Such Amirs as they [the Mughals] had removed from the countries of Ī-rān and Tūrān he located in the cities of Upper Turkistān, and in the land of Chīn and Tamghāj, and in Tingit, and commanded that they [the Mughals] should address Musalmāns by the terms "friend," and "brother." He also directed the Mughals that they should give their daughters [in marriage] to Musalmāns, and that if they [the Musalmāns] should evince a desire to demand their children [in marriage for their sons] they should not deny them.

Throughout the whole of the eastern countries [under the sway of the Mughals], the Friday's religious services [of the Muḥammadans] were established; and Musalmāns took up their abode in those parts, and they founded towns and cities of their own, and built places according to the manner of their own [native] cities[6]

Of the friendliness of Uktāe towards Musalmāns the author has heard an anecdote which is here related.[7]

ANECDOTE.

Trustworthy persons have related that Chaghatāe used to regard Musalmāns with hostility, and his mind constantly contemplated the shedding of Musalmān blood, and not leaving one of that faith alive. Now the Chingiz Khān had instituted certain ordinances, the punishment for the infringement of some of which laws used to be death. For example: adultery and crimes of lust in general, theft, lying, and embezzlement, and the act of seizing a morsel from another's mouth, were punishable with death, and whosoever should enter a piece of water, whether large or small, they were to kill him also, and likewise any one who should wash his face at the edge of any water, so that the water from the washed face of such person should enter that water.[8] The punishment of any

[6] The Jesuits in their accounts of the Chinese empire refer to some of these places See also note at page 1100, first para.

[7] All writers agree respecting his showing a preference towards the Muḥammadan religion He excelled his brothers and contemporaries in impartiality, grace, and bounty.

[8] See note [9], page 1109, for the reasons of this prohibition

one who might be guilty of an offence less than one of all these was to be three or five, or ten, or more, stripes with a rod, but with the stipulation that, while punishment was being administered, the offender should be entirely stripped, and that the rod should be wielded with force and severity. To these ordinances[9] they have applied the name of *Yasah*, in the Mughalī language, that is to say, command, mandate, decree.

One day, both the brothers—Uktāe and Chaghatāe—were proceeding along a track into the open country. Uktāe was in advance, and Chaghatāe behind him, at the distance of a quarter of a *farsang* [league]. Suddenly, Uktāe reached the head of a reservoir of water, and perceived therein a Musalmān who was washing his head and body. When the eyes of Uktāe fell upon that Musalmān, he turned his face towards his personal attendants, and said: "Alas! this unfortunate Musalmān will be forthwith put to death by the hand of my brother Chaghatāe: what is advisable?" After that he inquired: "Hath any person among you an ingot of gold or of silver[1] ready at hand?" One of his attendants bowed and said: "I have an ingot of silver with me." Uktāe said: "Give it to that Musalmān, and tell him to throw it into the reservoir; and that, when my brother Chaghatāe reaches this spot and sees him, and questions him, he must say: 'An ingot of silver of mine hath fallen into the water, and I have entered the reservoir in order to search for it,' so that he may escape being put to death." Uktāe's attendants gave the ingot of silver to that Musalmān, and he threw it into the water; and Uktāe urged his horse onwards.

When Chaghatāe reached the spot, he perceived that Musalmān in the water, and commanded his attendants to

[9] And a great many more forming the Code of the Chingiz Khān entitled Yāsā, or Yāsah.

[1] In all these histories which I have gone through, strange to say, I have never met with the slightest allusion to coined money in any shape with the exception of the *bālish* or ingot.

Thomas, in his "Pathan Kings," gives the description of a coin bearing the name of "Chingiz Khān," and the Khalīfah un-Nāṣir's title, and he considers it genuine. It must therefore be a coin of one of the subjected Musalmān rulers of Ghūr or Karmān, or parts adjacent, such as Ḥasan, the Karlūgh Turk, and others mentioned in these pages, and not a Mughal coin. It bears no date.

seize him. He demanded of him, saying: "Since it is the *yasah* of the Khān that no living being should go into the water, why hast thou acted to the contrary? we must kill thee." The Musalmān represented: "An ingot of silver of mine hath fallen into this reservoir, and I have got into the water in order to seek for it." Chaghatāe directed so that a number of Mughals entered the water, and made search for the ingot, and having found it brought it, and by the expedient and kindness of that just and beneficent sovereign, Uktāe, the Musalmān escaped.[2] May the Almighty lighten his punishment hereafter!

Through his efforts, numerous Musalmāns escaped from the hands of the accursed tyrant, Chaghatāe. A number of trustworthy persons have related after this manner, that, judging from the ancient chronicles of bygone times, and of past ages, that, in the states of Turkistān, and the countries of Chīn, Tingit, and Ṭamghāj, no sovereign more beneficent nor of better disposition than Uktāe ever placed foot in stirrup When he became firmly established in the dominions of his father, and his brothers and the Nū-yīns and Khāns of Turkistān, submitted to his authority, he girded up his loins, and organized and equipped his armies, and despatched them towards different countries. The Mughal Nū-yin, Jurmāghūn, was despatched[3] into 'Irāk in the year 626 H, and the Nū-yin, Mangūtah was sent towards Ghaznīn, and, in the before-mentioned year, Uktāe made over to his charge Ṭukhāristān, Ḳunduz, and Ṭāl-kān,[4] and the Maliks of Khurāsān, Ghūr, Kirmān,

[2] Our author does not appear to have known the reason why, in the ideas of the Tāttārs and Mughals, bathing in such a way required to be strictly prohibited The prohibition was that "during the seasons of spring and summer no one should immerse himself in running water [one writer says, "in the day-time"], nor wash his hands in streams, nor wash his garments, and afterwards spread them in the open country to dry, and that water should not be taken from running streams in vessels of gold or of silver, because, in the belief of these people, such acts are the cause of increase of thunder and lightning, which, in their localities, from the beginning of spring to the end of summer, while rain used continually to fall, prevailed to such a degree, that the lightning was fearful, and the roaring of the thunder tremendous."

[3] Nominated to proceed, probably, but not despatched until the following year in which he crossed the Jīḥūn or Āmūīah He was a Mangḳūt, or, as it is also written, Manghūt Mughal

[4] One or two modern copies of the text have Tāe-ḳān here, but all the rest

and Fārs, and those, who still continued in [possession of] different forts and strongholds, all proceeded to Ḳarā-Ḳuram,[5] to the presence of Uktāe, and requested that Shaḥnahs [Intendants] might be sent to them; and different parts of Khurāsān began to thrive again.[6]

Another anecdote of Uktāe's countenance of Musalmāns is apposite, and is [here] inserted.

ANECDOTE.

Trustworthy persons have related that Chaghatāe, the accursed, was, at all times, striving to oppress the Muḥammadans, and devising means to bring trouble and calamity upon the people of Islām, and bringing ruin upon those that remained of them and causing their extirpation, so that no sign or trace of them might anywhere be found. In the diffusion of that iniquity he was wont to machinate and to labour, and was in the habit of instigating a party of Mughals—Nū-yīns and Bahādurs—in such a manner that they used to bring to Uktāe's notice words and acts on the part of Musalmāns such as used to be the source of trouble and injury to the people of Islām, and the cause of their ruin and destruction, until, on one occasion, Chaghatāe incited one of the priests of the idol-worshippers, which sect, in the Turkī language, they style Tūnīān[7] [Tūnīs], on such wise, that he came before Uktāe

are as above. As Tāe-kān is in Tukhāristān, which is first mentioned, as well as Ḳunduz, Tāl-ḳān of Khurāsān is undoubtedly referred to.

[5] Which is always mentioned as the *asal* or original *yūrat* of the Chingiz Khān, and known also as the Urdūe-Bāligh. It was not a city, but an encampment.

[6] Ūktāe is said, by the Pro-Mughal Historians, to have poured balm into the wounds inflicted by his father. There was certainly much balm wanted, but many of the wounds have never been healed to this day, witness numbers of the once most flourishing cities of Asia, which still lie in ruins. Ūktāe bears the character of a just ruler, and his liberality was excessive. When the records of his gifts and grants were made up, it was found that he had expended not less than 100,000 *tomāns* of gold *bālish*, some say 60,000; but the statements respecting the value of each bālish varies. Some compute a bālish of gold at 500 *miskāls*, others at 60 *dirhams* and 2 *dāngs*, some, 8 *dīnārs* and 2 *dāngs*, and others 8 *dirhams* and 2 *dāngs*.

[7] In some copies of the text it is Tū-īnān—توینان—as in RUBRUQUIS, who calls them "Tuinans," and says they were idolaters. This word has sorely puzzled some of the copyists of the different *MSS.* of the text collated; but, in the Printed "Official" Text, it is invariably mistaken for the plural form of

and stated, saying: "I have seen the Chingiz Khān in a dream, and he has given me a command to convey unto thee, and thou, who art Uktāe, his son, and installed by him, in his place, shouldst neither neglect, in any way, to carry out that command, nor deviate from, or fail to comply with, that *yasah* [ordinance]; and let it not be that thou receive not the Chingiz Khān's approbation. The mandate is this that the Chingiz Khān has commanded, saying: 'The Musalmāns have grown exceedingly numerous, and, in the end, the downfall of the Mughal empire will be brought about by the Musalmāns, therefore it is necessary that the whole of them that are in our whole dominions, to wit, from the countries of Chīn, Tamghāj, Tingit, and Turkistān, as far as the land of Ī-rān and 'Ajam, you should put to death, and not leave name nor vestige of them to remain.' I have now delivered unto thee the command of the Chingiz Khān, thy father, and have removed that obligation from my neck. It behoveth thee to comply with it, and show obedience thereto, and not grant respite of life to the Musalmān peoples, so that the empire may not sustain deterioration."

When he [the priest] conveyed this command to Uktāe, who was a just, wise, prudent, and sagacious monarch, and friendly towards the Musalmān people, he, of his princely penetration, perceived that this statement was false and a lie, that, from the utterance thereof, the odour of fabrication pervaded the smelling sense of discrimination, and that it appeared to have been hatched by his brother, Chaghatāe—the Almighty's curse upon him! Uktāe presently commanded that, for the Tūnī idol-worshipper, a grand place should be got ready, with due preparation and arrangement for his accommodation, and provided with all things requisite and befitting for him, and said to him: "This command is a very serious and awful one, and it

the Turkish title, Nū-īn, Nū-yīn, or Nū-yān, which so often occurs, namely, Nū-īnān—نوینان—or Nū-yīnān—نوئیان The Editors of the Calcutta Text probably imagined that ی was an error for ن The same errors occur in the printed text in the account of Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār, the Khalj ruler of Lakhanawaṭī See note [3], page 567.

Farther on, our author styles them "the idol-worshippers of Tingut and Tamghāj" The singular form of the word above referred to is Tūnī or Tūīnī

will be necessary to shed the blood of a vast number of people. There is not a person among the Maliks, Nū-yīns, Bahādurs, and Juzbīs, that has not a great number of Musalmān captives, and they [the Maliks, etc.] are dispersed in various parts of the territories of Chīn, Ṭamghāj, Turkistān, Ī-rān, and 'Ajam. It is absolutely necessary that this command should be communicated to them, in order that the whole of them may act according to its precept; and therefore it is now necessary for thee to wait so that this mandate may be sent out into the whole of the Mughal dominions, in order that the Nū-yīns, Juzbīs, and Bahādurs, and other Maliks, may assemble, and this awful command may be communicated to them, in such wise that all of them may be required to comply with it." Uktāe consequently issued directions so that they lodged this Tūnī idol-worshipper at the place which had been fixed upon, in such a manner that he was treated with honour and reverence, and not a tittle of the minutiæ of due attention was left unobserved, because that accursed Gabr[9] had some name and reputation in the region of Turkistān, and in Ṭamghāj and Chīn.

As soon as the prescribed period expired, and the grandees of the Mughal dominions assembled, Uktāe commanded so that they convoked a great assembly, attended with princely ceremony, such as was the established custom of that people [the Mughals], and all with befitting formality, and observance of the prescribed duties. After this, Uktāe ascended the throne; and the whole of the grandees of the empire were present, with loins girded,

[8] This word is spelt in three different ways, as mentioned in the preceding note. It is applied by the Ḳarghīz nomads, and other tribes erroneously supposed to be Ḳarghīz, to their chiefs or the heads of tribes, in the present day.

As these Maliks are immediately after styled 'the Maliks of Turkistān,' it would seem to infer that they held Musalmāns of 'Ajam in bondage, while they, as in the case of Arsalān Khān of Ḳaiālīḳ, mentioned at page 1023, were Musalmān Turks.

[9] I have previously mentioned that this term is not solely applied to Pārsīs or Fire Worshippers, any more than *tarsā* is to Christians. Our author uses the last word with respect to Christians in several places. It does not follow, therefore, that the person above mentioned was a Fire-Worshipper, nor need I write an essay on fire-worship in Mughalistān for the occasion. Our author here simply means to say that he was an infidel, or unbeliever.

before the throne; and those among them who were permitted to sit came down on the knees of homage. He then commanded that that Tūnī should be conducted into his place of audience with all honour and reverence. When he arrived, and sat down[1] before the throne, Uktāe said: "Now is the time that thou shouldst pronounce the command of the Chingiz Khān, and declare what that command is, in order that all may obey it." That Tūnī stood up, and pronounced the command of the Chingiz Khān in the manner he pretended he had received it, and delivered it. All present bowed their heads to the ground, and, with one accord, said: "We have heard the command, and we bend our necks thereto What is the will of Uktāe, the sovereign of the time, with respect to the mode in which it is necessary to obey this command, and how it behoveth to proceed, in order that we may all of us act accordingly?" Uktāe replied "Every claim requires proof and demonstration, in order that truth from falsehood, and right from wrong, may be distinguished; and this statement requires the testimony of witnesses of the circumstances, because, if it turns out correct that it is the command of the Chingiz Khān, it will be necessary for all to obey that command; and, if it is false and a fabrication, or is the invention of this person, or invented at the instigation of an insidious person, the blood of people, subjects, and servants, must not be shed for a lie."

On Uktāe's concluding this speech, those present bowed their heads to the ground [saying] "This which the Khān speaks, the whole of the sages of the world, the discriminating and the exalted in intellect, cannot add to, for it is a princely speech and a noble saying, which excellency of understanding and sovereignty indeed demands, and no created being is able to place the hand of objection to the forehead of this command, but it behoveth that Uktāe should direct and point out in what manner the truth or falsehood, veracity or falsity thereof, may be demonstrated and made known." Uktāe turned his face towards that Tūnī idol-worshipper, saying: "Dost thou understand the Mughalī language, or the Turkī language,

[1] This shows that he was of high rank and position.

or dost thou know both those tongues?"[1] The Tūnī idol-worshipper replied: "I understand the Turkī language, and I do not understand the Mughalī tongue." Uktāe turned his face towards the hereditary Mughal grandees, whose lineage and descent were from pure Mughals, and said: "Unto ye it is certain and clear, that the Chingiz Khān used not to understand any language whatever save the Mughalī language." They all bent their heads to the ground, and, with one accord, replied: "Indeed, such is the case, that the Chingiz Khān understood no other language than the Mughalī." Uktāe, turning his face towards that Tūnī, asked: "In what language did the Chingiz Khān deliver this command unto thee in the Mughalī or the Turkī language? If he spoke in Mughalī, seeing thou dost not understand it, in what manner didst thou comprehend what he was saying; and, if he spoke in Turkī, since he used not to understand Turkī, how did he communicate the order? Give an answer from which an odour of truth may come, in order that action may be taken thereon"

That impious, malevolent, cursed, Tūnī remained silent and confounded, on such wise that the breath did not issue from that infernal one, and he became completely shamed All the Mughal grandees and the Maliks of Turkistān bowed their heads to the ground, and with one accord said. "This command [from the Chingiz Khān] is false, and is devoid of truth" Uktāe said to the Tūnī: "For the sake of my own dignity, and that of my brother Chaghatāe, I do not inflict punishment upon thee. Return to thy abode, and say unto Chaghatāe, and to his dependents, that they must draw back their hands from afflicting and oppressing Musalmāns, as they are our brothers and friends; in them the strength of our dominion is evident, and, with their assistance, many peoples have been subdued by us"[2] May Almighty God mitigate his torments [in hell]!

[1] Here is an indication that the dialects must have been, at this period, very different from each other

[2] Some of the Historians of the Mughal sovereigns, who give this anecdote in half a dozen lines, state that Ūktāe ordered this Tūnī to be put to death, but they do not say who or what he was, merely "a person" A similar plot,

Some persons, whose statements are worthy of reliance, have so stated that such-like favours and reverence were a proof of this, that Uktāe, secretly, had become a Musalmān ;[4] but God knows the truth.

## ACCOUNT OF THE NOMINATION OF ARMIES FROM TURKISTĀN TO PROCEED INTO THE TERRITORY OF 'IRĀḲ.

When Uktāe despatched an army towards Khurāsān and 'Irāḳ, he made the Nū-īn Jurmāghūn[5] the com-

in which the then Yīddī-Ḳūt of the Ī-ghūrs was concerned, is mentioned farther on.

[4] "The wish" here is evidently "parent to the thought."

[5] Considerable convulsions arose in the territories overrun and partially subdued by the Mughals, after the death of the Chingiz Khān. I say partially, for such was the fact, wherever troops were not stationed for the purpose of holding possession. These convulsions extended, on one side, as far as Khifchāḳ, Saḳsīn, and Bulghār, and, on the other, as far as Khutan, Chīn, and Khitā ; while the countries west of the Āmūīah had been devastated and ruined, but not subdued.

It appears that soon after the decease of the Chingiz Khān, on the borders of Tingḳūt, Tūlī Khān, who was in possession of the Ulugh or Great *Yūrat* of his father, in accord with, and at the advice of, the great nobles present there, thought it advisable to despatch the Nū-yīn, Iljidāe [the Īlchīkdāe of others. See page 1049], and Kyuk Khān, son of Ūktāe, with troops, towards the frontiers of the country of Ḳolghān [قولغان], or Ḳolḳān [قولقان]. After slaughtering the people and devastating the country, according to the fashion of modern Christian warriors, they reduced it ; and an Amīr of Tingḳūt, named Bahādur [بهادر], with a strong force, was left to hold it.

I notice that Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.B., in his Gazetteer entitled "*Central Asia : Afghānistān*," Part II., in his article on "Kūram," has been led into an unfortunate error respecting the death of the Chingiz Khān, on the authority of one of the writers he quotes . viz., "Wood, Burns, Moorcroft," but which of the three does not appear. He says, page 573, "It is said that Jangez Khān [this is the "popular" way of writing the name] died here from the effects of a melon sent to him from Balkh, in which there was a little pernicious insect" ! This place is but 113 miles in a direct line N N.W. from Kābul. Where Kābul ? Where Tingḳūt ? See page 1085, and note at page 1088.

To remedy the state of affairs just mentioned was Ūktāe's first object after he ascended the throne, and he prepared to despatch bodies of troops into various parts. Alfī says that as soon as he was established he despatched Koktāe and Swīdāe [Sahūdah] with three *tomāns* of troops—according to the pro-Mughal accounts three *tomāns* is the maximum strength of their armies, and is, of course, wholly incorrect—into Ḳibchāḳ—or Khifchāḳ, as our author writes it—Bulghār, and Saḳsīn. This is probably the reason why some European writers have mixed up this expedition with the former one in which

mander of it; and on that army marching towards that territory it consisted of about 50,000 Mug͟hals, and other

Swīdāe [Sahūdah] and Jabah [Yamah] were engaged, already described in the note at page 1000

In 628 H., the Nū-yīn, Jurmāg͟hūn or Jūrmāg͟hūn, of the Mangḳūt tribe, was despatched at the head of three *tomāns* of horse [the "three" *tomāns* again], which, as I have previously stated, nominally consisted of 1000 men to each *ming* or *hazārah*, ten of which constituted a *tomān*, but really the *ming*, instead of merely numbering 1000 men, was often double and quadruple that number, as shown in note at page 1093. Our author's estimate of the strength of Jūrmāg͟hūn's army is, I believe, nearest the truth

Another object, and the principal one, in despatching Jūrmāg͟hūn, was to operate against Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, K͟hwārazm S͟hāh, and, at the time of giving orders for the despatch of this army, Ūktāe turned his face towards one of the leaders named Itītmās—ايتيتماس—or Itmās—ايتماس—as it is also written, and said "If any one among ye is able to finish the affair of the Sulṭān it is thou," and so it happened, according to the Tārīk͟h-i-Jahān-gīr, for, when Jūrmāg͟hūn reached the vicinity of Iṣfahān, he detached Itītmās, with a body of troops, in advance, to operate against the Sulṭān.

It is necessary here to go back a little. After the capture of Ūrganj of K͟hwārazm, the C͟hingiz K͟hān installed in that territory, as S͟haḥnah or Intendant, C͟hīn-Tīmūr, sometimes called Jai-Tīmūr, who belonged to one of the tribes of the Ḳarā-K͟hiṭā-ī, and this person is probably one of the family of the Gūr K͟hān, mentioned in the note on that dynasty, page 934 He had remained Intendant in K͟hwārazm up to this period [he had never, as yet, been governor of K͟hurāsān, but he became so shortly after], and, when Ūktāe, before setting out towards K͟hiṭāe, despatched the Nū-yīn, Jūrmāg͟hūn, into Īrān Zamīr, he confirmed C͟hīn-Tīmūr in his former appointment [Faṣīḥ-ī says Ūktāe nominated him Hākim of all Īrān-Zamīn in 628 H ], and commanded that all the Intendants in those parts should proceed, in person, to Jūrmāg͟hūn's camp, and render him all possible aid Jūrmāg͟hūn crossed the Āmūīah in 627 H.

On receipt of this mandate, C͟hīn-Tīmūr set out by way of S͟hahristānah for Jūrmāg͟hūn's camp; and the different Princes of the family of the C͟hingiz K͟hān, located in the parts lying nearest to K͟hurāsān, were directed to despatch Amīrs of their own, with their contingents, to join Jūrmāg͟hūn's army His force of three *tomāns* was thereby increased by 50,000 additional troops, thus showing that our author's estimation of the number was pretty correct. The number of followers with Jūrmāg͟hūn's whole force is said to have been innumerable.

After that leader had, as he supposed, arranged the affairs of K͟hurāsān, and commenced his march westward, two Amīrs of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Ḳarāc͟hah and Ṭug͟hān-i-Sunḳar, who were *at* Nīs͟hābūr [*sic* in *MSS.*], commenced attacking and making raids into the parts around, and slew the Intendants left in K͟hurāsān by Jūrmāg͟hūn; and other "rebels" and "disaffected people" [all are rebels and disaffected people who prefer their former independence to a foreign yoke in these enlightened days, as in the dark ages, so called] were daily creating sedition in that quarter Such being the case, Jūrmāg͟hūn sent back C͟hīn-Tīmūr, along with his deputy, Kalbād, with troops, against these K͟hwārazmī Amīrs [they were, as their names indicate, Turks of K͟hwārazm] in

races of Turkistān, and captives of Khurāsān; and the number, which turned their faces towards 'Irāķ, amounted, in all, to about 100,000 horse.

On reaching that country in the year 628 H.,[6] they massacred so many of the people of that territory and parts adjacent that the pen hath not the power of recording them; and all the cities of 'Irāķ, and the Jibāl [of 'Irāķ-i-'Ajam], of Arān, of Āzarbāījān, Gīlān, the territory of Rustam-dār, which is on the shores of the Baḥr-i-Khurz [the Caspian sea], as far as the Dar-band-i-Rūm [the Caspian Gates], and Ṭabaristān, the whole were ravaged, pillaged, and laid waste, with the single exception of the city of Ṣafahān [Iṣfahān], which was not taken for a period of fifteen years after the first irruption of the Chingiz Khān, the Mughal, and the entry of his forces into the country of 'Irāķ, as will be subsequently recorded in its proper place.

That army of Mughals [under Jurmāghūn] entered through the Ḥulwān Pass, and ravaged the country up to the neighbourhood of the metropolis of Islām—the city of Baghdād. On several occasions, from the Court of the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Mustanṣir B'illah, the Maliks of Islām, with the troops of 'Ajam, and Turks,[7] Kurds, and 'Arabs [in his service], were despatched to repel the Mughals and the infidel hosts. They [the troops of the Khalīfah] frequently engaged in holy warfare against the infidels, and encountered them in many conflicts; and, upon all occasions, the troops of Islām were triumphant and victorious.[8] During that period, in no way, could the infidels seize upon any of the parts adjacent to, and [immediately] round about, the Dār-ul-Khilāfat, Baghdād.

the direction of Nīshābūr and Ṭūs, and, after the rout of one of them—Ķarā-chah—Kalbād returned to Jūrmāghūn's army again, and Chīn-Tīmūr appears, from what followed, to have returned to his post in Khwārazm and Māzandarān, which events will be found referred to at page 1120, note [2].

[6] All the copies of the text have 623 H., which, of course, is a great error, since the Chingiz Khān only died in 624 H., and Ūktāe succeeded in the third month of 626 H. 623 is evidently a mistake of ثلث for ثمان and, besides, at page 1109 he states that Jūrmāghūn was *despatched* in 626 H.

[7] Turks had been entertained in the service of the Khalīfahs for three centuries previous to this period.

[8] See note [5], page 711.

The accursed Jurmāghūn, who was the commander of the infidel Mughals, pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Ķum and Kāshān, and some [of his forces] he despatched on incursions into Fārs and Kirmān. The Atā-Bak, Abū-Bikr of Fārs, who is the sovereign of that territory, and likewise the brother of the Ḥājib, Burāķ,[9]

[9] There is a mistake here: it is his brother's son who is meant. Burāķ, the Ḥājib, is the traitor who managed to obtain possession of Kirmān, and who afterwards murdered Malik Ghiyāș-ud-Dīn, Āķ Sulṭān, brother of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn. To make interest with the Mughals, and get confirmed in his usurpations, he sent the head of that Prince to Ūktāe Ķā'ān, and he was confirmed in the rulership of Kirmān. This "illustrious man," *par excellence*, came into Khwārazm, along with his brother, Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Ḥamīd-i-Būr, in the reign of Sulṭān Takish, along with others, to collect the tribute for the Gūr Khān of Ķarā-Khiṭāe, and they were induced to remain in Khwārazm, and there turned Musalmāns. Some say they were not permitted to return; but this seems improbable, as they are said to have been brothers of Jai-Tīmūr-i-Tānīko, or Bānīko, son of Kaldūz, chief of Ṭarāz, the leader of the Gūr Khān's army; and others, again, that they came *after the defeat* of their elder brother, Bānīko. Whether they were detained or not, or came after or before Bānīko's defeat, they rose in the service of Sulṭān Takish and his successor; and Kiwak Khān, son of Ḥamīd-i-Būr, became the commander of a body of troops, and was killed at Bukhārā when the Chingiz Khān appeared before it, and Burāķ, Ḥamīd's brother, became one of the Sulṭān's chamberlains. Another brother was styled Āghūz Malik. See page 282, note [7], page 283, and note to page 934.

This "illustrious man"—illustrious for the murder of his master and benefactor's son, and treachery towards another, to whom he presented a daughter for his *haram*—received from Sulṭān Ghiyāș-ud-Dīn, Pīr Shāh, the title of Ķutlūgh Sulṭān, and from the Mughal Ķā'ān, to whom he sent Ghiyāș-ud-Dīn's head, the title of Ķutlūgh Khān, Ṣāḥib [i.e. Lord] of Kirmān." Burāķ died in 632 H., and Ķuṭb-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Fatḥ, son of Jai-Tīmūr-i-Bānīko, or Tānīko, who stood in the position of nephew, step-son, and son-in-law to Burāķ, assumed the authority, according to the latter's will.

In the same year, several of the Khwārazmī Amīrs, who, on the arrival of the Mughal army at Ūrganj, had fled from thence, and had come to Shīrāz, to the Court of Salghur Sulṭān, Abū-Bikr-i-Sa'd, from thence came [with their followers] to Jiraft of Kirmān. They were Aor Khān, Sūnj Khān, and Tīmūr Malik, that second Rustam and second Isfandiyār, the defender of Khujand [See note at page 972, para. 3], and from Jiraft they unexpectedly made a dash upon this same Ķuṭb-ud-Dīn, son of Jai-Tīmūr-i-Tānīko, but he encountered and overthrew them. Some of the party, which appears to have been not very numerous, were killed in the encounter, some were taken prisoners, and some took to flight. After the victory, Ķuṭb-ud-Dīn treated his captives with favour, gave them dresses of honour, and sent them back to Shīrāz; and the Atā-Bak, Abū-Bikr, son of Sa'd, sent, and made apologies to Ķuṭb-ud-Dīn, and stated that he had been totally unaware of their intention. These Ķuṭb-ud-Dīn accepted, and declared himself satisfied. In 633 H. he proceeded to the *Urdū* of Ūktāe Ķā'ān, in order to get his accession to the sovereignty of Kirmān acknowledged and confirmed, but the Ķā'ān directed that

the Khitā-ī, who had become ruler of Gawāshīr and Kirmān, entered into an accommodation with the Mughal forces, and agreed upon a fixed sum as tribute which they should pay them yearly.[1] The territories of Fārs and Kirmān, through that conclusion of peace, became tranquillized, and remained safe from the molestation of the forces of the Mughal infidels. The whole of the remainder of the cities of 'Irāḳ, Āzarbāījān, and Ṭabaristān, were ruined and destroyed.

At this period, likewise, armies of Mughals were nominated to march from the side of Turkistān into the territories of Kābul, Ghaznīn, and Zāwulistān; and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh—the Almighty's mercy be upon him!—when he saw, on several occasions, that he could not resist the power of the infidel Mughals except in the way of enduring vassalage, submitted to be dependent on them, and consented to receive Shaḥnahs [Intendants]; and the Maliks of Ghūr and Khurāsān likewise all obtained Shaḥnahs

The Bahādur, Ṭā-īr, was appointed to proceed into the territory of Hirāt from Turkistān, and Mughal forces advanced towards the country of Nīm-roz. These events came to pass in Sijistān and Nīm-roz, on the second occasion, during the time of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, the Khwārazmī, who, in Sīstān, had acquired strength, and had laid in abundant stores and munitions of war. In

Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn should be sent away into Khiṭāe to serve under the Ṣāḥib Wazīr, Maḥmūd, Yalwāj, and the vassal sovereignty over Kirmān was given to the late Burāḳ's son, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Mubārak-i-Khwājah Jūḳ, and he was installed on the 28th of Sha'bān, 633 H.

Rukn-ud-Dīn ruled sixteen years, and was afterwards deposed by command of Mangū Ḳā'ān, in 650 H.; and Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, son of Jai-Tīmūr-i-Bānīko, was restored. Subsequently, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, by the Ḳā'ān's command, put the deposed Rukn-ud-Dīn to death.

This Jīraft is the same well-known city, two miles in extent, which, in a work entitled "*Eastern Persia*," "with an Introduction by Maj.-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, K.S.I.," one of the contributors, Major O. B. St. John, R. E., says was "not a town, but a district"!

Tavernier, who visited it, says "Girefte," as he spells it, "is one of the biggest cities in the province of Kerman," and that its trade is "hones and wheat."

[1] See page 180. There our author says that Abū-Bikr brought dishonour and reproach upon himself through becoming tributary to the infidels. See also note [5] to the same page

the year 625 H., a Mughal army entered the territory of Nīm-roz and invested the fortress of Ūk of Sijistān, which lies in the direction of north-east from the Shahristān of Sistān.[3] For a period of nineteen months that army sat

[3] When intimation reached Ūktāe Ḳā'ān of the agitated state of affairs in the provinces of Khurāsān, he directed that the Bahādur, Ṭā-īr, who, as stated by our author farther on, at this time was located in the territory of Hirāt, and stationed at Bādghais, which is a dependency of Hirāt, should move from that place, with his troops, against Ḳarāchah, one of the two Amīrs of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, referred to in the note at page 1116, who was still fighting against the Mughals. Bādghais, the chief place of this district, I beg leave to say, is not and never was called *Bādkhīs* or *Badghess*. It is the place before which Tūḳchār, one of the sons-in-law of the Chingiz Khān, was killed, as mentioned in note at page 989. There is no kh in the word: it is written بادغيس

Tā-īr was directed to crush Ḳarāchah, according to the Fanākatī, and put down the outbreak with the utmost severity. He began his march accordingly, but, on the way, heard of the reduction and rout of Ḳarāchah having been already effected by Kalbād, and that the former had taken refuge within the fortress of Ūk of Sijistān or Zāwulistān. On this, the Bahādur, Tā-īr, marched against it, invested it for a period of two years; and at length, the walls having been mined, the fortress was taken.

After the Bahādur, Tā-īr, had gained possession of the fortress of Ūk of Sijistān, he despatched an agent to Chīn-Tīmūr saying, that, by virtue of the mandate received from the Court of the Ḳā'ān, the government of Khurāsān had been assigned to him, Tā'īr, and requested that Chīn-Tīmūr would refrain from exercising any authority therein. He replied that the statement that the people of Khurāsān were rebellious was false, and that therefore he could not see why such an extensive tract of territory, and so many subjects, should be ruined on account of the misdeeds of Ḳarāchah, no doubt referring t[o] what had already taken place in Sijistān and Khurāsān. Chīn-Tīmūr further stated that he would transmit a statement of the case to the Ḳā'ān, and act as he might be instructed.

This reply was not palatable to the agent of Tā-īr, and he left the presence of Chīn-Tīmūr in a rage. Subsequently, at Tā-īr's request, probably, the Nū-yīn, Jūrmāghūn, sent to Chīn-Tīmūr, requesting that he, along with the Amīrs despatched by the Princes [mentioned in the previous note] to reinforce him, would return to Khwārazm and Māzandarān, where he had been Intendant, and leave the affairs of Khurāsān in Amīr Tā-īr's hands.

Chīn-Tīmūr had nominated Kalbād, one of his principal retainers, to accompany the Amīrs of the Princes on their return from Khurāsān to the presence of the Ḳā'ān, to do homage, and give an account of these affairs. At this juncture, Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṣ[u]'lūk, on the stipulation that he should be allowed to proceed to the presence of the Ḳā'ān, came down from his stronghold in Māzandarān, and submitted. Chīn-Tīmūr returned from Māzandarān, whither he appears to have gone; and the holders of most of the strong fortresses of Khurāsān, on the report of Bahā-ud-Dīn having submitted, tendered submission likewise. On the arrival of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Chīn-Tīmūr treated him with the utmost consideration; and another Malik, at this time, also came from Māzandarān for the purpose of proceeding to the presence of the Ḳā'ān to do

down before the fortress; but, notwithstanding all the efforts and exertions which the Mughal infidels used to

homage, namely, the Aṣfahed [see note ¹, page 262, para. 4], 'Alā ud-Dīn of the Kabūd Jāmah—in one copy of the Fanākatī's work styled Nuṣrat ud-Dīn—he having been approved of by his people and kinsmen for that purpose.

These two Maliks set out for the Urdūe-Bāligh, accompanied by Kalbād, in 630 H. As, previous to this occasion, not one of the great Amīrs or Maliks of Māzandarān had presented himself before a Mughal sovereign, Ūktāe Ḳā'ān was exceeding well pleased thereat, and he ordered entertainments to be given in their honour, and showed them great favour. Chīn-Tīmūr and Kalbād, in consequence, were distinguished by the Ḳā'ān with various favours and benefits; and Ūktāe observed: "During the period that Jūrmāghūn has been away, and has gained possession of such an extent of territory, he has never yet sent a single Malik to me, while Chīn-Tīmūr, with such a small following and slender means, has done such good service. I therefore appoint him to the government of Khurāsān [as well as Khwārazm and Māzandarān which he then held], and no other Amīrs shall have aught whatever to do with those parts." Kalbād was also associated with Chīn-Tīmūr [subordinate to him]; and the Ḳā'ān conferred, in fief, upon the Aṣfahed of the Kabūd Jāmah, the tract extending from the limits of the Kabūd Jāmah territory to Astar-ābād, and, upon Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṣa'lūk, the districts of Isfarāīn, Jū-īn, Baihaḳ, Jā-jurm, Khūrand, and Arghaiān, and, to each of them, the Ḳā'ān presented a commission written in gold, and gave a *yarlīgh*, or patent, to Chīn-Tīmūr.

When Chīn-Tīmūr became duly installed, in accordance with the *yarlīgh* of the Ḳā'ān, he appointed Sharaf-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Yazdī, to be the Wazīr of his government, and Bahā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, the Jū-īnī, the Ṣāḥib-i-Dīwānī, or Head of the Revenue Department, and that department under him assumed order and lustre. Not long after this, Chīn-Tīmūr was about to despatch an official, named Kūrkūz, also written Kurkūz, on a mission to the presence of the Ḳā'ān, but Kalbād strongly objected to it, saying: "He is an Ī-ghūr, and will take care to make matters subservient to his own interests only, and therefore it is not advisable to send him." Chīn-Tīmūr, however, did not alter his determination, and Kūrkūz was despatched. Contrary to Kalbād's expectations, when he reached the presence of the Ḳā'ān, and the latter inquired of him respecting the state of the people, and the territory of Khurāsān, and other provinces under the control of Chīn-Tīmūr, he gave such details and information as greatly pleased the Ḳā'ān, and made him well satisfied, and he expressed himself accordingly. Kūrkūz was sent back again, having fulfilled his mission in the manner desired, and, the requests made having been granted, he returned, and, shortly after [in 633 H.], Chīn-Tīmūr died.

D'Ohsson has made a muddle of these affairs, if the extract contained in the "*Mongols Proper*" [pp. 133, 134] be from his work, and he could scarcely have understood the passage, or else he had an incorrect manuscript before him, whereby a good man, and an efficient administrator, is turned into a tyrant, torturer, and extortioner, and a causer of disaffection through his exactions. His co-partner, Kalbād, figures under the name of *Kelulat*, and as the "general of Chin Timur:" and such is history!

Amīr Chīn Tīmūr having died in 633 H., Amīr Tūsāl—تُوسال—whom some style Ūsāl—اوسال was nominated to succeed him in the government of Īrān-

make, in no way did they succeed in gaining possession of that fortress and city, until pestilence overcame the

Zamīn [as much of it as was under Mughal sway at that period], but the executive authority was administered by his Deputy, Kūrkūz, already referred to. Tūsāl or Ūsāl died in 638 H., and Amīr Arghūn, the Ūīr-āt, was nominated to succeed him, after he had acquired the requisite acquaintance with the duties of the office of Bakhshī-gar, and proficiency in the duties of the Batak-chīān department. He was first despatched to make a report on the manner in which Kūrkūz had administered the government, and, subsequently, held it himself for ten years. The fate of Kūrkūz will be related subsequently.

This is stated differently in Alfī, wherein it is mentioned that in the year 627 H., Tāj-ud-Dīn, Binăl-Tigīn, the Khwārazmī, having raised the banner of sovereignty in Sijistān, an army of Mughals was sent against him, but under what leader is not mentioned, and that the fortress of Ūk [اوک], which is situated in the north-east part of that territory, was invested. The investment was carried on for a period of nineteen months; and all the efforts of the Mughals to take the fortress were of no avail, until pestilence arose, and then it fell. Our author may have mistaken the year, or perhaps it is the mistake of a scribe; and, taking into consideration the date of Ūktāe's accession, Alfī appears to be correct.

This is the affair related by our author above. He was resident in the neighbourhood, was moving about those parts just before these events took place—as has been related, and will be again mentioned farther on—and was personally acquainted with the defender of this fortress, and therefore is worthy of credit. Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Binal-Tigīn, must have been the person referred to by the Fanākatī as Ḳarāchah, or the latter joined him. That author, however, gives no further account of these proceedings, and the two Khwārazmī Amīrs are not again referred to by him, and, such being the case, our author's account is evidently the correct one. For some account of Binăl-Tigīn and his fate, see pages 199 to 202.

Ūk, which is a well-known place in history, was never called "Oke" nor "Hok," as it appears in a recent compilation, unless such can be made out of اوک which would be rather difficult. It has been in ruins for many years; and Afghāns have often brought me Bakhtrīān and Sasānīān coins from it. Its site is between Farāh and Zaranj, or the city of Sīstān or Sijistān, as it is also called.

Ūk is also the place referred to at pages 34 and 201, but regarding which the different copyists, with scarcely an exception, from its similarity to ارگ—*arg*, a citadel—and from its being mentioned in connexion with قلعه—*kala'h*, a fortress—have jumped at the conclusion that *arg* must be meant. I find an example of great sagacity of this kind in the *Ro. As. Society's* copy of the Fanākatī's work. The word was correctly written with و but someone *partly erased* the letter to make an ر of it!

The fortress of Ūk is again mentioned, nearly three centuries after, when, in 908 H., Sulṭān 'Alī, the Arghūn, brother of the Amīr, Ẕū-un-Nūn, Arghūn, was governor or feudatory of the territory of Sijistān, at which time, at the instigation of Khudā Ḳulī, governor of the fort of Lāgh, Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā despatched a force against Sulṭān 'Alī.

The word Shahristān signifies the walls round a city, also a kūshk with many gardens; but this place is one of the very few old sites, the names of which exist unaltered to the present day. The Shahristān stands upon or

Musalmāns of the fortress, and until matters reached such a pitch among the people thereof, that one or two hundred men, who would be collected together in one place, would suddenly—Be the readers preserved from such a fate!—pass to the Almighty's mercy.

Trustworthy persons have related that, one night, the people of the fortress projected the formation of an ambuscade during the night, for the purpose of repelling the Mughal troops, and that they should conceal themselves among some of the kilns outside the northern gate. It was determined that, when the morning dawned, [a body of] fighting men should issue from the eastern gate of the citadel, and engage in holy warfare [with the enemy], and, when the Mughal troops should turn their faces towards that body of holy-warriors which should issue from the eastern gate, the kettle drums should be sounded on the summit of the fort. Then the body of men in ambush outside the northern gate should, on hearing the sound of the kettle drums, disclose the ambuscade, and should advance on the rear of the infidel army, and fight for the faith as by the tenets thereof enjoined. According to this determination, about 700 men, Tūlakīs,[3] in complete panoply, issued from the fortress at midnight, and proceeded to the spot fixed upon for the place of ambuscade, and there took up their position. At daybreak the next morning, after having performed their religious duties, the people of the fortress donned their arms and issued forth from the eastern gate, and began the attack upon the infidels. The Mughals, from their camp, turned their faces towards those Musalmāns, the champions of the faith, and a severe action commenced; and, when the

close to the ruins of the place here referred to. As I have before mentioned, Zaranj was the capital city of the territory called Sijistān by 'Arabs, and by the people Sigistān and Zāwulistān; and the name of "city of Sīstān" or "Sijistān," applied to that city, is after the same fashion as styling Ūrganj, Khwārazm. The MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK says that an ancient city of Sīstān was called Rām Shahristān, and that Zaranj was founded by people from that place. There would be nothing easier than to take it for granted that the fortress here referred to is the citadel of the city of Sīstān, but Zaranj is not referred to. The fortress in question is a totally different place, and in a different situation.

[3] It is explained at page 1062 how the Tūlakīs got there.

forces on both sides mingled together at close quarters, with sword, spear, and arrow, according to the previous night's arrangement, they beat the kettle drums within the fortress for the purpose of unmasking the ambuscade. Once, twice, the drums sounded, but not a man issued from the ambuscade; and, of that whole body, not a trace could be discovered. Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Binal-Tigīn, despatched confidential persons, saying: "Go ye and see what is the cause of this delay of the ambuscade party." When those sent came to the spot they found the whole 700 men dead, for they had surrendered their lives to God; and there was no sign of life in any one of them. God preserve us from the like!

This catastrophe has been recorded here in order that those who look into these pages may know, for certain, that, when the wrath of God, the Most High, ariseth, such like marks of punishment are manifested.

Trustworthy persons have related that the most common and violent manner in which the pestilence affected the people of the fort of Ūk of Sīstān was this, that their mouths would begin to ache, and their teeth to become loose, and, on the third day, they used to resign their lives to their Creator. The state of the people of the fortress continued in this way until, suddenly, a woman among the inhabitants thereof became attacked with the aching of the mouth, and, on the second day, her teeth became loose. She had a little daughter, and, on the third night,[4] she called her unto her, seated her by her, and said: "My dear! to-night I will anoint thy hands and feet with *ḥinnā* with mine own hands, for to-morrow is the third day, and the hour of thy mother's decease." With this view she applied *ḥinnā* to the hands and feet of her little daughter. It is usual with women that, when they apply *ḥinnā* to the hands and feet of any one, they apply the fingers to the tongue in order that the fingers may be moistened with the saliva of their mouths, and then they apply the *ḥinnā* to the part to be dyed. Having applied the *ḥinnā* to her little daughter's hands and feet, she resigned her heart to death, and went to sleep. In the morning, the

[4] It must be remembered that the night precedes the day in the computation of Oriental peoples.

woman's teeth had become firmly fixed at the roots, and the aching of the mouth had entirely passed away. When the third day came and passed, the neighbours and acquaintances found her recovered, and, on the fourth day, she had become quite well again.

People were astonished, and they made inquiry of her about it, saying: "How has it come about, and by what means, that thou art still alive, the disease of the mouth gone, and thy teeth firm? What medicine didst thou take, and what remedy apply?" The woman replied: "I had no medicine whatever, and took none: Almighty God restored me to health." They said. "He is the Author of all things, but, really, what act didst thou put in practice, and what operation was performed by thee?" The woman mentioned the application of *ḥinnā* to her daughter's hands and feet, the incident of wetting her fingers, and, by that action, of the *ḥinnā* reaching her mouth. The whole [of the neighbours and acquaintances] concurred together that the cure for this disease was *ḥinnā*, and it so happened that this circumstance reached the [hearing of the] people of the fort, and the incident became diffused, and matters came to such a state, that every one who was attacked with this disorder they used to put *ḥinnā* in the mouth of, and such person would recover. A *mann* of *ḥinnā* reached the price of two hundred and fifty golden *dīnārs*, and whoever possessed any acquired great wealth by disposing of it.

Almighty God hath many favours for His servants, but for death there is no antidote!

At last, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Binăl-Tigīn, was struck in the eye by an arrow, and that eye was lost; and, subsequent to that accident, he was directing the defence of the fortress from the top of one of the towers, when, suddenly, he lost his footing and fell from the top of the fort to the ground, and was taken prisoner. He was made a martyr of, and the fortress of Ūk of Sijistān fell into the hands of the Mughals; and the inhabitants were martyred, after a great number of the infidels had gone to hell, as has been previously recorded herein

May God, the Most High, continue the Sulṭān of Islām, NĀSIR-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN, MAḤMŪD SHĀH, who is

the Bādsh̲āh of the present time, upon the throne of sovereignty, victorious and triumphant!

ACCOUNT OF THE DESPATCHING OF MUGH̲AL FORCES TOWARDS GH̲AZNĪN AND LUHĀWAR.[5]

When Uktāe ascended the throne, he [likewise] gave orders for forces to proceed towards Gh̲ūr and Gh̲aznīn, and the Bahādur, Ṯā-īr, who had displayed great zeal and energy during the fighting in Sijistān under the standard of one of the great Nū-īns, was made their commander. This great Mugh̲al Nū-īn [Ṯā-īr's leader] in the fighting before Ūk of Sijistān had gone to hell, and Uktāe commanded that the Bahādur, Ṯā-īr, should become the head and commander of that Mugh̲al army, in his place.[6]

[5] Written here, as elsewhere, Luhāwar and Lohor.

[6] Who this great Nū-yīn was does not appear, and he is not referred to by others. Ṯā-īr was in these parts, according to the Histories quoted, previous to the accession of Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, as early as Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 626 H., and, as already narrated, he was subsequently ordered to aid in putting down the outbreak of Ḳarāch̲ah, so called, in the districts dependent on Nīsh̲ābūr. After that, Ṯā-īr invested the fortress of Ūk of Sijistān. Our author says it held out nineteen months, but some of the Histories, quoted in the previous notes, say it occupied Ṯā-īr two years, and, under these circumstances, the fortress could not have fallen before the close of the year 628 H., or beginning of 629 H., and not in 625 H., as our author states at page 201. Lāhor was not taken until upwards of *ten years* after the affair of Ūk.

The Tārīkh-i-Alfī states that, in 633 H., Ūktāe despatched armies into various parts, including an army, under a leader named Mukānū [موکانو]—in some copies, Mukātū [موکاتو]—towards Hind and Kash̲mīr, and that, after ravaging many tracts of country, he returned again [into his own territory].

This is an important item of information, for it clears up a very obscure part of our author's account of Sulṭān I yal-timish̲'s reign, at page 623, when he set out towards Banīān, and had to return through the illness of which he afterwards died; for our author has not stated whom he marched against, but it is evident, from the direction there indicated, and the year, that he must have been marching against this very Mukātū, when sickness obliged him to return. There is nothing mentioned in the Histories of Kash̲mīr, of which there are several, of any such invasion.

The Nū-yīn, Mangūtah, we first hear of in Indian History, in 643 H. Mukātū must be a different person.

The capture and ruin of Hirāt by the Nū-yīn, Iljidāe, or Īlch̲īkdāe, nephew of the Chingiz Kh̲ān, in 620 H., and the massacre of its inhabitants, all but eighteen persons, has been already described. Of these survivors seven remained hidden among its ruins, while eleven were at Kalah-i-Koh, and the Kh̲aṭīb, the Maulānā, Sh̲araf-ud-Dīn, was included among them.

## When they [the Mughal troops] from Sijistān entered

After the infidel Mughals, and Tāttārs, had taken their departure from Hirāt and its territory, these sixteen persons—all men, it appears—issued from their places of concealment, and assembled before the shop of a certain ḥalwā-' or confectioner, and began to look about them in all directions. Seeing no one, they stroked their faces and exclaimed "Thanks be unto God, that during our existence we can once more breathe freely!" After this, these sixteen, the unfortunate remnant of the inhabitants of Hirāt, were joined by twenty-four others from the places adjacent to that city; and, for sixteen years it is said, "there were no other inhabitants in Khurāsān; and, for some time from the banks of the Jiḥūn or Āmūīah to the territory of Astar-ābād, if there were any people who had escaped with their lives in some out-of-the-way place, they must have existed upon such things as the dead left unconsumed."

These forty persons passed their time in the tomb of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn Muḥammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī, which had not been destroyed by the infidels. A full account of the matter of these persons, and their names, is recorded in the History of Hirāt.

In the year 635 H.—but Alfī says in 634 H.—Ūktāe Ḳā'ān gave orders that the cities of Khurāsān destroyed by the Mughals should be restored, and among them was Hirāt; and those people of the weaver class, who had been removed from Hirāt when that city surrendered to Tūlī Khān in 618 H., and had been located in Turkistān and Mughalistān by him, were made the instruments in commencing this good work. The chief men and heads of families among these weavers were the Muḳaddam [he is also styled Amīr and Peshwā but not signifying a chief, a noble, or a leader here, but Provost] of the Guild of Weavers of Hirāt, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Hirawī [from Hirī or Hirāt], Jalāl-ud-Dīn Mālānī; Sā'īd, Bādghaisī; and five others. It had been mentioned to the Ḳā'ān that one of the cities in question was Hirāt, and he had been told much respecting its former populousness, wealth, and prosperity; so he was the more desirous of re-peopling it. 'Izz-ud-Dīn, the Provost, with his family and kinsmen, had been located at Bīsh-Bāligh; and he had obtained access to the Ḳā'ān's presence, and used, every year, to manufacture a thousand suits [pieces, probably] of clothes of excellent quality for his use. He was now summoned to the presence of Ūktāe, who said: "I am going to send thee for the purpose of re-peopling and restoring Hirāt. Art thou able to do so quickly, thinkest thou, so that people may be able to say that Hirāt is something like itself again?" 'Izz-ud-Dīn replied that, under favour of such a great monarch, he could do so, and that every year he would send, for the Ḳā'ān's use, 2000 suits of clothes of various delicate colours, such as, in the atmosphere of those northern parts, it was impossible to produce, equal in colours and texture to those of Khurāsān. Ūktāe, accordingly, despatched him; and he was allowed to take fifty of his people along with him, and was also furnished with a mandate to collect people from all parts of Khurāsān and locate them at Hirāt.

'Izz-ud-Dīn set out; and, on the arrival of the exiles in the neighbourhood of Hirāt, the Khaṭīb, Sharaf-ud-Dīn, and the others, who had been living in concealment, came forth to meet them, and conducted them into Hirāt, and they set about its restoration. Having made some progress, in the following year [636 H.], the Provost, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, set out for the *urdū* of the Ḳā'ān to arrange certain matters in connexion with the restoration of the city, and made a request that he might be permitted to remove to Hirāt his own family, and

Khurāsān, the Nū-īn, Anbān,[7] and the Nū-īn, Nikū-dar, and the troops which were in the territory of Ghūr and Khurāsān, marched towards Ghaznīn. Previous to this, they had driven[8] from Baniān Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh, and had entered into a stipulation with him for payment of tribute, but, notwithstanding this, they were desirous of getting Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh, into their hands, and they had been unable to

also the two hundred other families located in Turkistān and Mughalistān. His request was so far complied with that he was allowed to take away with him his own family, and one hundred—some say fifty—other families; but, on reaching Fāryāb, death overtook him. On this, his son, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, who then succeeded to his father's office and title of Provost, conducted the families to Hirāt, after which he retraced his steps to the presence of Ūktāe. This was in the year in which Maḥmūd, the Tārānī, broke out in Bukhārā. Having reached the Ḳā'ān's *Urdū*, he solicited that a Shaḥnah or Intendant should be appointed to Hirāt, and a Dārōghah [Warden, Provost, etc.]. A Ḳārlūgh Turk, but whose name is not mentioned, unfortunately, was nominated to the first-mentioned office, and a Mughal named Mangasāe to the last. The former was of the same tribe—but, probably, of the other branch—as Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Hasan, the Ḳārlūgh, referred to in the text above. See note [1], next page.

Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, and the Ḳārlūgh, reached Hirāt together, but the control of the civil affairs was left, as before, in the Provost's hands. In a short time the Jū-e Injīl—a canal so called—was opened and brought into Hirāt, and the Burj-i-Ḳārlūgh built, and named after the Intendant in question. In 638 H. Malik Majd-ud-Dīn, the Kāl-yūnī, was made governor of Hirāt, by command of Bātū Khān [this must have been at the time Ūktāe, from his excessive inebriety, had to be looked after, as stated in note [2], page 1142, and Bātū Khān did so by virtue of his position as head of the family. He subsequently exercised authority after Ūktāe's decease, and again during the interregnum after Kyūk Khān's death, as will be noticed farther on] and the Muḳaddam, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, was relieved of his duties. Majd-ud-Dīn, in concert with the Ḳārlūgh Intendant, opened the Alanjān canal, which became the source of such great prosperity to the Hirāt district.

Majd-ud-Dīn was put to death, after the decease of Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, in 640 H., by command of the Nū-yīn, Kūrkūz, and his head was brought to him at Tūs; but, in the following year, Prince Bātū, as my authority styles him, made Majd-ud-Dīn's son, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Kāl-yūnī, governor of Hirāt, but he died from the effects of poison in the following year.

[7] This name is somewhat doubtful. It is written Anbān—انبان—as above, Ināن—اينان—and Anīān—انيان—also Ī-tān—ايتان—Abtān—ابتان—and Astān—استان. I do not find the name among the great Nū-yīns of the Chingiz Khān. Anbān is also a title of rank.

[8] The word used in the text—مستاصل—means "extirpated," "rooted out," "driven out," etc.; but, had such been the case, he could not have been made a tributary. He had been already reduced to subjection and made tributary, as already stated at page 1119.

effect their object. In the year 636 H., however, they suddenly and unexpectedly attacked Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, and he fled discomfited from Karmān,[9] Ghaznīn, and Banīān, and came towards the Multān territory, and the country of Sind. At that period the throne of Hindūstān was adorned by the Sulṭān Raẓiyyat—May she rest in peace!—the daughter of the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish; and the eldest son of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh, presented himself before the Dihlī Court, and, by way of beneficence, the territory [fief] of Baran was assigned to him.[1] Some time passed, when,

[9] See note [7], page 498, para. 4

[1] Sulṭān Raẓiyyat reached Dihlī, from Lāhor, on the 19th of Sha'bān, the eighth month of 637 H.

This favour was shown towards him because he was a Turk, as Raẓiyyat's father was, and also because a great number of the principal nobles were Turks also. His name and title are Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad. See page 861. Had he been a Mughal he would probably have been put to death, or kept in durance until he died, as Barkā Khān's agents were, as will be found mentioned farther on, although their sovereign was a Musalmān.

The Ḳārlūghs or Ḳarlughs, or Ḳārlūks or Ḳarluḳs, as the name is also written, here referred to, belong to that portion of the tribe mentioned in note [5], page 374, but I may add that there is no tribe of "Koorloogh (*properly* [?] *called Kharlokh or Qarluk*)" known to history. See *Journal Ro. Geogr. Soc.*, 1872, note to page 509.

Thomas ["*Pathán Kings*"], noticing the coins of those Turkish chiefs, says that "Saif ud din Hasan Ḳarlagh," as he styles him, "*was one of the leading generals of Jalál ud din Mankbarnin*," but where is the authority for that statement? This chief has been mistaken for Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāḳ, a totally different person, who deserted the Sulṭān, after his victory over the Mughals near Barwān; but *he and all his followers were destroyed within a few months* of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's defeat on the Indus in 618 H., as mentioned in Yāfa'-ī, in the Jahān-Kushā, and others, and detailed at the end of note [8], page 1021. Ḥasan, the Ḳārlūgh, does not appear on the scene, east of the Indus, until many years after this event. See the preceding page, and page 720.

At page 96 of his work, Thomas quotes Major-General A. Cunningham's "*Archæological Report to the Government of India*," for 1863-4, to show who the "Ḳarlaghs" were, but that statement is equally erroneous. Cunningham makes them out to be Indo-Scythians, and subjects or dependents of the rulers of Dihlī, which they *never* were, the bestowal of Baran upon Ḥasan's son, notwithstanding, since he left the Dihlī frontier very soon after, and, probably, never went to Baran at all. His going thither, moreover, would not have made his family and tribe, west of the Indus, dependents upon the Dihlī empire.

In order to dispel this very erroneous supposition, and to throw some light upon the matter, it will be well to give, in the first place, a short extract from the "*Report*" quoted by Thomas. Major-General Cunningham says:—

**unexpectedly, he left it; and, without the permission of the Sulṭān, returned to the presence of his father.**

"The first invasion of the *Indo-Scythians* must have caused a very general displacement of the ruling races. . . . . The vanquished would naturally have sought refuge in the less accessible districts around, and to this period, therefore, I would refer the settlement of the *Awáns* and *Janjuhas* in the Salt Range to the south, and the *Gakars* in the hilly tracts of Pharwála and Dángali to the south-east" [but what have they to do with the ḲĀRLŪGH TURKS?].

"Of their subsequent history but little is recorded, *we* know only that they were divided into several branches, and that they all became Muhammadans. [When, or in what year?] In the time of Báber, the ruling tribe, called the *Karluki Hazáras*, held the districts on both banks of the lower Suhán river, under the chiefs Sangar Khán *Karluki* and Mirza Malvi *Karluki*. At a still earlier period the chiefs of this tribe [!], Hasan Karluk and his son Muhammad, had asserted their independence [of whom? and what history says so?], by striking coins in their own names. The coins of the father are of the well known 'Bull and Horseman' type, with the legend in Nágari letters, '*Sri Hasan Karluk.*' The coins of the son are of three different kinds, two with Persian characters only, and the third with Persian on one side and Nágari on the other. On the last coin there is a rude figure of a horse surrounded by the chief's name, *Náser* [sic] *ud dunid wa ud din*, in Persian letters, and on the reverse his name in three lines of Nágari letters, *Sri Muhammad Karluk*. On one of the Persian coins this chief calls himself *Muhammad bin Hasan* Karluk (قرلغ), and on the other he takes the title of *ul-Malik ul-Mua'zam bin Hasan*. From the types and general appearance of these coins their date may be fixed with certainty as coeval with those of Altamish [I-yal-timish?] and his sons, or from A D 1210 to 1265 The accuracy of this date is strongly confirmed by Ferishtah's account [Dow's or Briggs's Ferishtah?] of the first campaign of Náser-ud-dín Mahmúd, the youngest son of Altamish In July, A.D. 1247, Mahmúd proceeded to Multán [This is quite a mistake See this Translation, pages 677, 678, 679, 814, and 815 Multān is a blunder in the Calcutta Printed Text for Banīān—بنیان—and, moreover, the expedition was against "the infidels of Chīn"—the Mughals—and "the Rānah of the Jūd Hills"—"Jas-Pāl, Sīhrā," and the Khokhars, not the Ḳārlūgh Turks, who had been expelled from their own territory by the Mughals. Maḥmūd left the capital, not in July—the height of the *hot* season, but in Rajab, 644 H., about 15th November, 1247 A D., and advanced to the Sūdharah and the Jhilam, not the "Chenáb"], from whence he sent his Vazer towards the mountains of Júd and the provinces [Whose provinces?] on the Indus . . . According to this account, the rebellion [against whom was this rebellion, and what History says so?] lasted for about twelve years, from the death of Altamish, in A.D. 1235, until the close of Mahmúd's campaign in the end of 1247 [Did the rebellion end then?]. It is to this period that I refer the assumption of independence [of whom?] by Hasan Karluk and his son Muhammad. The age of these coins, as I have observed, corresponds exactly with the date of this rebellion, and the coins themselves before [sic] are found in greatest number in the rebellious districts of the mountains of Jud."

The remarks *on these coins*, and their correctness, are such as we might expect from Major-General Cunningham's knowledge of the subject, but the

## On Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh, entering the country of Sind, the territory of Ghaznīn, and Kaṛ-

historical, as shown by our author, in various places in his History, and by many other writers, are entirely erroneous, and are further proofs of the danger of trusting to translations of "Ferishtah."

For what "can be made of the Indo-Scythian theory" in the "*Report*" in question, see the very pertinent remarks of Beames in his edition of Elliot's "*Memoirs on the History, Folk-lore, and Distribution of the Races of the North Western Provinces of India*," London, 1869, pages 112, 113, 136, and 137; but *Tājīks*, as well as *Turks*, have been brought under the "Indo-Scythian" system lately, as I have noticed in another place.

General Cunningham connects the Ḳārlūghs with his "*Indo-Scythians*" of the Salt Range, and makes Ḥasan, the Ḳārlūgh, and his son, Awāns and Janjhūhīs, and subjects of the Dihlī kingdom, as he alludes to their "rebellion" They were, in no wise, connected with the Awāns or Janjhūhīs, for the very cogent reason that the Ḳārlūghs, who are constantly mentioned in the account of the Mughals, are Turks, and were *never subject* to Dihlī Neither Ī-bak nor I yal-timish held any part of the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah, which, as well as the country as far east as the Rāwī, for some time was held by I-yal-dūz, and the southern part of that Do-ābah by Ḳabā-jah That portion of the Ghūrī empire held by I-yal-dūz, consequent on his captivity and subsequent death, fell under the sway of the Sultān of Khwārazm, to whom the Ḳārlūgh Turks were subject, and, in the time of the Chingiz Khān's advance to the Indus, Ḳamr-ud-Dīn, the Kaṛmānī, had only shortly before been ousted from the fortress of NANDANAH, by the Khwārazmī Amīrs [See note [1], page 534, para 7, and page 750] Ḥasan, the Ḳārlūgh, may have been connected with this Kamr-ud-Dīn, and he may even have been Ḥasan's father, for it is certain that Ḥasan, the Kārlūgh, did hold Kaṛmān, as our author states above There were a number of Turkish tribes settled between Kābul and the Indus The reason why these coins are found in the parts indicated by General Cunningham is, either that they formed part of the district or province of Banīān, or adjoined it, and Banīān was held by the Ḳārlūghs. Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, of Dihlī, never held any territory west of the Jhilam, although Ulugh Khān, his lieutenant, did, on one occasion, penetrate into it as far as the Indus, and, soon after, Maḥmūd's territory extended no farther west than the Bīāh, as already stated See also note [8], page 862

Bābar says—I quote from his Memoirs translated into Persian, of which there are two versions, and have compared them with the Turkish original—"In the Zafar Nāmah, and some other books, this range [the Jūd Mountains] is called and written, Koh-i Jūd Why it received this appellation was not discovered at first, but, afterwards, it was found that Jūd and Janjhūhah were two septs descended from one original . In one half of this range are the Jūd, and in the other the Janjhūhah [or Janjhūhī]. The greatest of them receives the name of Rāe, and his brothers and sons receive that of Malik. The Malik of the *īls* and *ulūsis* round about the river Sūhān was Malik Haibat. . . . As these few districts, such as Bharah, Khūsh āb, etc., had previously been held *by the Turks*, I was desirous of getting possession of them. . Sankar or Sangar Khān, the Janjhūhah, came in the same day . . There are Balūchīs in the Bharah district There are Jaṭs and Gūjars as far as the mountains of Kashmīr, and among these are numerous other

mān,[2] remained in the hands of the Mug͟hal S͟haḥnahs [Intendants], until the year 639 H., when the Mug͟hal forces, and the troops of G͟hūr,[3] were directed to advance to Lohor. The Bahādur, Ṭā ir, who was in possession of Hirāt and Bādg͟hais, and other Nū-ins who were holding

peoples" Bābar, of course, does not mean that these peoples were Turks. They had been settled in these parts long before the Turks, even if we go as far back as Maḥmūd of G͟haznīn, the "*Pathān*" Turk of Dow, BRIGGS, etc. The peoples which Bābar refers to are Awān kār, Gahep, Jat, Janjhūhī, Ḥālup, Bhanchr, Bhaghial, Kahūn Jaṭ, Mālir Jat, Kassur Jat, Kahtar, Gakhar, Tatrī, also called Rāthh, Gahrāl, besides Khokhars immediately south of the Jūd Mountains in the Bharah and K͟hūs͟h-āb districts, and a few others

Bābar also mentions giving "Nīl-ab and the Hazārah-i-Ḳārlūḳ or Ḳārlūg͟h Humāyūn," and "Sunkar or Sungar, Ḳārlūḳ, Mirzāe Malawī [ملوی], Ḳārlūḳ, with some thirty or forty chief men of Ḳārlūk" coming in, and making "over the *īls* and *ulūsīs*, such as Ḳārlūḳ, Hazārah, Hālī, Dāl, etc."

Because Bābar uses the Turkish words *īl* and *ulūs* for tribe and clan, in writing of them in his work, it must not be supposed that all the people must be Turks on that account.

We commonly hear of this tract of country referred to as C͟hac͟h Hazārah, and Taḥt Hazārah, but, according to fact, C͟hac͟hc͟h is separate from Hazārah-i-Ḳarlūg͟h, and the former lies nearer the Indus—along its banks really. It is probable that some Ḳārlūg͟hs may have been permanently located in this part, as well as its being subject to the Kārlūg͟hs, as previously referred to, but how it became styled Hazārah is very difficult to say, because, among all the *mings* or *hazārahs* of the C͟hingiz K͟hān, there was not one of Kārlūg͟h Turks, but a Ḳarlūg͟h contingent of that portion of the tribe which continued in its old seats did serve with the armies of the C͟hingiz K͟hān, in Khurāsān and G͟hūr, under their chief, Arsalān K͟hān of Ḳaiālīḳ, previously mentioned in several places in this Translation.

What makes the matter still more complex is, that, in the original Memoirs of Bābar, I find, referring to the habitation of Tātār, the Gakhar, that it was situated much lower down than the Ḳarlīḳ or Ḳārlūḳ [it is written both ways in the original, and with g͟h for ḳ for the final letter] Tāg͟h—قارلیق داغیدین خیلی قوئی راق ایدی—which, in one of the Persian versions, is translated as "much lower down than the *koh-i-Ḳārlī'*," thus retaining the Turkish word, while the other version gives the proper translation, "the *koh-i-barf-dār*, or Snowy Mountains, which is to say, the Pīr Pinjāl Mountains" It strikes me, therefore, that the non-translation of the word *kārlīk* or *kārlūgh*, signifying "snowy," or "pertaining to snow" [See the note on the Descent of the Turks, and the term Ḳārlīḳ or Ḳārlūg͟h, page 877]—the origin of the name of the tribe—in the Persian version referred to, has had something to do with this district having been styled "Hazārah i-Ḳārlūḳ," and "Ḳārlūḳ Hazārah," as well as from the probability of Ḳārlūg͟h Turks having been once stationed therein, but who had no blood connexion whatever with the so-called "Indo-Scythians"

[2] There were no Afg͟hān tribes, at this period, dwelling in Kaṛmān, they were located farther south, and south-west, and their power was not great.

[3] Troops raised in those parts, or rather the contingents of those Musalmān chiefs and petty rulers who had submitted to the Mug͟hal yoke

possession of the territories of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, the Garmsīr, and Ṭukhāristān, the whole of them, with their troops, arrived on the banks of the river Sind. At this time, Malik Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz was the feudatory of Multān, and Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Ḳarā-Ḳush, was feudatory of Lohor, and the throne of sovereignty had devolved upon Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh.[4]

When the news of the arrival of the Mughal forces reached Multān, Malik Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, for the sake of his own dignity, assumed a canopy of state, assembled troops, and made ready to do battle with the infidels.[5] On information of the number of his followers reaching the Mughal camp, those infidels came to the determination of advancing towards Lohor, and they appeared before the gate of that city. The Ḥiṣār of Lohor was unprepared with either stores, provisions, arms, or war materials; and the people of Lohor were not united, and did not harmonize together. Most of the inhabitants of the city were merchants and traders, and had undertaken journeys, during the time of the Mughals, into the upper parts, into Khurāsān and Turkistān, and, by way of precaution, every one of them had obtained a pass[6] from the Mughal, and a safe conduct, and, knowing this, in defending and fighting for the safety of the Ḥiṣār[7] of Lohor, they used not to act in unison with Malik Ḳarā-Ḳush, and would neither render assistance nor make resistance, nor encounter the enemy. The troops of Islām did not assemble together, on this account, that the Turk and Ghūrī Maliks were distrustful of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, and, consequently, the army did not speedily set out from Dihlī for the purpose of repelling the Mughals.[8]

For some time fighting went on before the gate of the city of Lohor, and the Mughal army planted a great number of catapults[9] round about the fortifications of that

[4] See page 655

[5] See the account of Malik Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz at page 727, and page 730

[6] The Printed Text uses فايده—profit, advantage, etc., instead of [illegible] —exemption, immunity, and the like.

[7] A walled city with a castle or citadel

[8] For the causes which led to the delay in relieving Lāhor, see pages 655, 656, and 657.

[9] The manjanīk, or ḳirā—the catapult or mangonel, which, under the name

city, and destroyed the walls; and, to such degree as Malik Ḳarā-Ḳush was able, he remained and resisted the infidels. On becoming aware of the disunion and discordant inclinations of the inhabitants, and, as the Ḳāẓī and chief personages used to show great misconduct in keeping guard on the walls of the city, Malik Ḳarā-Ḳush knew that the upshot of affairs would be disastrous, and that the preservation of that city was beyond his power and capability. He therefore came out of it with the troops his followers, under the pretext of a night attack, made a dash upon the camp of the infidels, and, in one charge, broke through the ranks of the Mughal army, and set out for Dihlī. In that charge some of the principal females of his *ḥaram* and of his retinue got separated from him. A number of his people were slain and made martyrs of, and some, in the darkness of night, and in the tumult, threw themselves off the backs of the horses and hid themselves among the ruins and grave-yards. During that tumult likewise, the females of the Malik's *ḥaram* managed to conceal themselves somewhere.

The following day, when the inhabitants of the city and fortress of Lohor, and the Mughal forces, became aware of Malik Ḳarā-Ḳush's evacuation of the place, and of his flight, the hearts of the former entirely broke, and the Mughals became still more bold, and they captured the city. Conflicts arose in every quarter of it, and the Musalmāns fought continuously with the infidels; but two bands of Musalmāns, in that disaster, girded up their lives like their waists, and firmly grasped the sword, and, up to the latest moment that a single pulsation remained in their dear bodies, and they could move, they continued to wield the sword and to send Mughals to hell, until the time when both bodies, after fighting gallantly for a long period against the infidels, attained the felicity of martyrdom. One of that [band of] heroes was Āḳ-Sunḳar,[1] the sene-

of trebuchet, will be found in FROISSART, and engraved in GROSE'S *Military Antiquities*—was a kind of mechanical sling for casting stones, earth, and fire against an enemy. Balista is not a correct rendering of the word, for a balista or balister is a cross-bow.

[1] He was a Turk. His name signifies the white sunḳar, or gerfalcon, as is supposed, referred to at page 752, note [4].

schal of Lohor, who, with his dependents, in combat, and in conflict, surpassed, a thousand times, Rustam-i-Dastān;[2] and the other hero was Dīn-dār Muḥammad, the Amīr-i-Ākhur [of Lohor], who, along with his sons and dependents—May the Almighty reward them!—on that day, waged holy-warfare, as by the tenets of the faith enjoined, and fought against the unbelievers in such manner as if the purified soul of 'Alī-i-Murtaẓā—May God be gracious to him!—in concert with the whole of the prophets and apostles, were showering blessings upon him from the garden of paradise.

When the Mughal forces captured the city,[3] they martyred all the inhabitants or made captives of them; but such a number of Mughals went to hell as cannot be computed or numbered—about 30,000 or 40,000 Mughal horsemen, with 80,000 horses, indeed more than they. There was not a person among the infidel army that did not bear the wound of arrow, sword, or *nāwak*.[4] The greater number of the Mughal Nū-īns and Bahādurs also departed to hell, and among them was the Bahādur, Ṭā-īr.[5] He had encountered Āḳ-Sunkar, lance to lance, and they had wounded each other with those weapons. Ṭā-īr, the Bahādur, went to hell, and Ak-Sunḳar, the lion-hearted,

[2] See note [7], page 422.

[3] The Mughals obtained possession of the city on Monday, the 16th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 639 H.

The Tārīkh-i-Alfī says this happened in 628 of the Riḥlat = 638 H. Quoting Pro-Mughal Histories, it says, an army of Mughals and Tāttārs crossed the river Sind, and invested Luhāwūr—لہاوور—soon captured it, and made the younger part of the inhabitants, and the children, captive. Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ghūrī, was sent with an army from Dihlī against them, but he was too late. By the time he reached these parts the invaders had gone off. This is a specimen how history is falsified to suit certain purposes. No notice of the resistance made, nor of the losses sustained by the invaders, is even hinted at.

[4] An arrow discharged through a tube—probably a cross-bow or balista, or something similar.

[5] It is scarcely probable that our author is correct as to Ṭā-īr having been killed on this occasion, for the Pro-Mughal writers mention him after this affair, and state that when, in 651 H., Ḳubīlīe, brother of Mangū Ḳā'ān, was despatched into Ḳarā Jāng, Tā-īr was sent with an army into Kashmīr and Hindūstān, and that, when he *died*, the Nū-yīn, Sālī, referred to at pages 711 and 862, got the command. Sā'ī, Sārī, or Sālīn, as it is also written, was of one of the Tāttār tribes.

passed into paradise—"One company to heaven: one to the flaming fire."[6]

After the Mughal forces had destroyed Lohor, and retired, Malik Ḳarā-Ḳush turned back again towards the city from the vicinity of the river Bīāh, for, on the night of his flight from thence, his Jāmah-dārs [wardrobe keepers] had abandoned property of great value, consisting of pure gold, and other valuables, and, they having marked the spot, he returned to search for and recover the property. On reaching the city of Lohor he recovered it, for it had not fallen into the hands of the Mughals.

On the departure of the Mughal infidels, the Hindū Khokhars and Gabr[7] wretches had come to Lohor, and were committing destruction. Malik Ḳarā-Ḳush discovered them, despatched the whole of them to hell,[8] and afterwards reached the Court of Dihlī in safety.

May Almighty God accord victory to the lords and chiefs of the government of the Sulṭān of the Sulṭāns of Islām, and overthrow the foes of his kingdom! Amīn!

## ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF UKTĀE,[9] SON OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN

A tradition to this effect had been handed down from the ancients—May God reward them!—that, when the

[6] ḲUR'ĀN. Chap. XLII., verse 5.

[7] Not mentioned under the events of Sulṭan Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh's reign. Khokhars are not Gakhars, I beg leave to say, although the latter are constantly confounded with them by writers who do not know of the former. See note at page 484.

[8] If so, what prevented him from taking possession of Lāhor again?

[9] The Āltān Khān, Shūdaī-Shū-o-sū—شودی شو و سو—the "Ninkiassu" of some European writers, had withdrawn, as previously narrated under the reign of the Chingiz Khān, from his capital, Chūng-dū, Chung-dū, or Chingtū, to Taiming, or, as the Fanākatī writes it, Tāyāng fū, the "Pian kin" of Europeans, said to be "the present Kai-fong-fu;" and the Mughals had become predominant over a great part of the territory of Khiṭā, or northern empire of the Kin, as they are termed by the Chinese. The other dynasty of the Song as the Chinese style them, ruled what the Muhammadan Historians and Hindūs call Mahā-Chīn, or Southern China. See note on the Ḳarā-Khitā-īs, page 912, and what our author states respecting the fall of the Āltān Khāns at pages 963 to 966, which differs considerably.

outbreak of the Turks should arise, and the narrow-eyed should seize upon the universe, and they should devastate

This was but a very partial conquest however on the part of the Mughals, for, during the absence of the Chingiz Khān in Māwarā-un-Nahr and Mādūn-un-Nahr, the Mughals had been exceedingly hard pressed, and he hastened his return on that account. Soon after his death, during the two and a half years' interregnum, the Āltān Khān's forces had twice defeated the Mughals towards the end of 625 H and in 627 H

It has been already mentioned in note [8], page 1115, that Tūlī, during the interregnum which arose after his father's death, and before Ūktāe was raised to the throne, despatched troops into the territory of Ḳolghān or Ḳolḳān, under the Nū-yīn, Iljidāe or Īlchīkdāe [of Hirāt atrocities], and that it was reduced, and a Tingḳūt Amīr left to hold it.

Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, therefore, as soon as he had settled the government of the empire, provided for making other conquests in the west, securing what had already been partially acquired, and prepared for the final conquest of Khiṭāe. Some writers say he set out in 629 H —this seems merely to be an error, which is confirmed by several others, of تسع nine for سبع seven—but he set out in Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 627 H [about March, 1230 A D ], accompanied by his brother Tūlī, and some say Chaghatāe also went, but this, apparently, is a mistake—the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā says Kyūk was present as well as Chaghatāe. Having reached the N W parts of the Khiṭāe empire, several strong cities, and a large tract of country were subdued.

These successes, however, were not so great as expected, and, in the autumn following, Tūlī Khān, accompanied by the Juzbī, Tūkūlḳū or Tūḳūlḳūchī, as it is also written, was despatched with an army, consisting of two tumāns, to enter Khiṭāe by the southern route through Tibbat, and near the northern frontier of the empire of Mahā-Chīn, while Ūktāe Ḳā'ān took the more direct route from the spot where he had passed the summer, north of the Great Barrier or Wall On his way he had reached the territory of the Holāḳ and Kulīān [هولاق و کلیان]—that is to say, a people whose garments and caps were all red—and reduced it to subjection Tūlī's force, on the other hand, was nearly perishing of famine, so that his men were reduced to eating human flesh and dry grass, and his further progress was stopped until aid was sent him This was in 628 H He subsequently renewed operations, and advanced over mountains and through plains like the ocean until he reached a city styled Jūjāhū Kasḳīn—[جوجاهو کسقین]—the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā has Sīning—سینگ—on the banks of the Karā-Mūr-ān. After an investment of forty days the city surrendered, but 12,000 men of the troops stationed there succeeded in getting on board vessels and escaping down the river, and, on this account, the inhabitants were massacred, and their women and children were made captives Tūlī, after this, proceeded onwards, with the object of reaching the Āltān Khān's capital, Ching-dū or Tāyāng-fū, when he reached the Ḳahluḳah [قهلقه] or Pass called Ḳongḳahān [کونکهان], which was a most difficult Pass, between two lofty mountains, and the only route in that direction Tūlī was in hopes of finding it open, but he beheld it occupied by a host of Khiṭā-ī troops, under two generals named Ḳadāc Ranko or Rango and Ḳamar Takodar or Tagodar, occupying fortifications within, and drawn up in the plain [without or in front ?] To enable him to get out of this insurmountable difficulty, and prevent pursuit, tradition says he had recourse to a Ḳanḳulī conjurer, who, by

the countries of 'Ajam and kingdoms of Ī-rān, whenever an army of them should reach Lohor, the dominion of that

means of the Yadah-Tāsh or Rain Stone, mentioned in my account of the descent of the Turks, raised such a storm of wind, rain, and snow, and thick mist, that, while its effects completely impeded the Khiṭā-īs, it enabled Tūlī and his army, under its cover, to escape without being pursued, with the intention of pushing northwards, in order to effect a junction with the main army under Ūktāe Ḳā'ān When he reached the banks of the Ḳarā-Mūr-ān [again? The map shows the locality, where the Hoang-ho, after making a bend of several hundred miles nearly due S, turns to the E again, in about Lat 34° N., and Long 110° 21′ E ] he sent out the Nū-yīn, Jifān, the Tingḳūt, the adopted son of the Chingiz Khān, by some called Jifā Būḳā Khān, with a party, along its banks to search for a place practicable for crossing. It so happened that the river had been greatly flooded some time before, and vast quantities of stones and sand had been brought down, which had accumulated at a certain point not far from the place where Tūlī then was, and had caused the river to separate into a number of channels, and the water, being thereby greatly spread out, more than a league in breadth, became much less in depth. The identical place, after some search, was found, and Tūlī and his whole army passed over without much difficulty The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā says no one had ever crossed the Ḳarā-Mūr-ān before this occasion—by fording, probably, he means

Ūktāe had received alarming news of Tūlī's situation, and was in a state of great anxiety respecting him When he arrived, therefore, his delight was great, and he received him with much affection and great honour This was in 628 H, according to Alfī, but the Fanākatī says it was in 629 H Some successes are said to have followed after this, but the Āltān Khān's capital still remained to be reduced The Ḳā'ān now determined to return to his own royal place of residence, the Ulugh Yūrat, taking Tūlī along with him, and to leave the Juzbī, Tuḳūlḳū or Tūḳūlkūe, with several great Amīrs, and a numerous army, to remain in Khiṭāe to carry out the conquest of the Āltān Khān's dominions, leisurely and deliberately, and the 'Azīz, Yalwāj, was left to administer the civil and revenue affairs of the conquered territory, and such as might be subdued Tūlī asked permission to be allowed to return in advance, which was granted, but the Ḳā'ān passed the following hot season at a place in Khiṭāe, which is known as Altā-karā, and only reached the Ulugh Yūrat in the beginning of the following winter [628—629 H ] Tūlī died on the way homewards. This was the same year that Jūrmāghūn crossed the Āmūīah.

In the following year, the Juzbī, Tūḳūlḳū, fought a great battle with the Khiṭā-īs, before the capital of the Āltān Khān, and, after making great efforts to overcome them, was totally defeated and routed, and had to fall back some distance. He despatched swift messengers, and asked for aid from the Ḳā'ān, who directed that a large army should forthwith march to his assistance; and, as there was enmity of long standing between the sovereign of Mahā-Chīn and the Āltān Khān of Khiṭāe, Ūktāe Ḳā'ān sent to ask the former to join him in attacking the Khiṭā-īs at this juncture, and to send his troops to operate from the south, while the Mughals, from the opposite direction, should again march on Tamkīng [تمكينك], the Taiming of others The Bādshāh of Mahā-Chīn agreed to this, and despatched an army for the pur-

**race would begin to decline, and the power of the infidels to diminish.**

pose. Such being the case, when the reinforcements despatched by the Ḳā'ān joined him, the Juzbī, Tūḳūlḳū, was enabled to resume the offensive; and the Khiṭī-īs, having been beaten in the open field, took shelter within the walls of the capital, which was soon after closely invested, by the Mughals on one side, and the Mahā-Chīnīs on the other.

For some time the Khiṭā-ī commanders concealed the position of affairs from the Āltān Khān, but, at length, the true state of the case having reached him through some of the ladies of his *haram*, as it appeared certain that the place must soon fall, he determined to go out on the walls and see for himself. He found that the report was too true, and resolved to fly; and, having embarked, with his wives and other females of his family, his personal attendants and household slaves, on board vessels, by means of the canal which had been cut from the Ḳarā-Mūr-ān, and brought into the midst of the capital, Tamkīng, he made his escape He was again pursued by the Mughals, upon which he fled to another city, and was again followed At length he reached a third city, but the Mughals, like fate, still pursued him At last, when they had succeeded in investing the third city, which is called Baltāe —بلتای—in the Tārīkh-i-Jahān gīr, and had set it on fire on all sides, the Āltān Khān summoned his chief men around him, and, telling them that he could not bear the idea of falling into the hands of the enemy, placed the diadem on the brow of one of his Ḳorchīs, or guards, caused him to don the royal robes, and seated him in his own seat upon the throne He then went out from among them, and hung himself to a tree He was found in this position, taken down, and buried.

There is considerable discrepancy respecting the fate of the last Āltān Khān. Some say that he donned the dress of an ascetic, and was never heard of more, others again assert, that, when the city of Baltāe was taken, he fled and disappeared, and some say that he fled to a fortress on the frontiers of his territory, and, having caused a funeral pyre to be prepared, when the Mughals attacked the place, mounted it with his wife and child, fired it, and perished. The Khiṭā-īs, however, affirm that, when the Mughals set fire to the city of Baltāe in all directions, the Āltān Khān perished in the flames; but the previous statement is notorious that he hung himself to a tree, and, two days after he left the Ḳorchī disguised in his robes, the Mughals captured the city This event happened in Jamādī-ul Awwal, the fifth month of 631 H, about March, 1233 A D. Thus fell the empire of the Āltān Khāns, and thus perished the last ruler of the thirty six dynasties which had reigned over Khiṭāe

From the time of the investment of his capital, and his flight from city to city, two years passed away, and, after the Altān Khān's death, the whole of his dominions, by degrees, were reduced under the sway of the Mughals.

Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, after reaching his own *urdū*, on his return from the campaign in Khiṭāe, founded a *ḳaṣr* or castellated palace [see note [2], page 331, where *kasr* is described] near Ḳarā-Ḳuram, and "they style it Ḳarshī" *It* was not called "Ordu Balik," neither was *it* "the great city," nor "a celebrated city," nor "had he fixed his court" there It was a *ḳaṣr* [whatever it might subsequently have become], and it was surrounded by tents of felt, for the Mughals, be it remembered, did not dwell in houses In course of time some of the Princes and great Amīrs began to erect dwellings for themselves, and, as I

At the time that the writer of these words, Minhāj-i-Sarāj—May God direct him aright!—was about seven

have before mentioned, on the authority of authors who were servants of the Mughal sovereigns, the Ulugh Yūrat, also styled the Aṣal Yūrat, or original Yūrat of the Chingīz Khān, where he had fixed his dwelling, refers to Kalūrān and Ḳarā Kuram, which, subsequently, became known as the Urdūe-Bālīgh. Alfī, on the contrary, says it was styled Targhū-Bālīgh. The latter word is the same precisely as contained in Bīsh Bālīgh This ḳaṣr is said to have been two leagues distant from Karā-Ḳuram

His ḳishlaḳ was enclosed on four sides with a wall or fence of wood and mud mortar, two days' journey in length, and there were entrances at various points When Uktāe was desirous of following the chase, his Towachīs were despatched into the countries within the distance of a month's journey, to drive the game before them into this enclosure After the Ḳā'ān had hunted the game, and killed as much as he felt disposed to kill, he would take rest in a place erected for him within the enclosure I have already referred to the Ī-ghūr country in the note at page 889, as lying between two ranges of mountains, and shown that the *koh* or mountain of Karā-Kuram is in the midst It is stated that this place, where the *urdū* was, was called Ḳarā-Ḳuram after this *koh*.

The felt tents, or portable houses, as they may be called, of the Mughals, from the Great Khān down to the lowest of his subjects, which were mounted on carts, appear to have given rise to the idea that the Mughals and other descendants of Turk dwelt in cities and towns, and that Ḳarā-Ḳuram was a city in its fullest sense Rubruquis tells us what one of the great *urdūs* was like He was astonished at the sight of Bātū's, the houses or tents [*khargahs*] of which appeared like a vast city, and the people were ranging about for leagues The Court was always in the middle, and was, therefore, he says, called "curiaorda," and the houses [*khargahs*], when taken off the carts, were ranged on all sides except the south facing the Court entrance.

The friar also describes Surtāḳ's *urdū* as being very great, and says that the women of his family had each a great house [*khargah*] and 200 waggons, and, from his description of the first interview with Mangū Ḳā'ān, the Court, so called, was an extensive range of *khargahs* or portable houses, some of large size, and ornamented within These, and those of other people of the camp, were ranged in streets The probability is, that, in time, as the great camp near Ḳarā-Kuram was the seat of government, as being near the original *yūrat* of the Chingīz Khān, mud walls were thrown up around it for greater comfort and security, and around the Ḳā'ān's *urdū*, and, the camp thus assuming a more permanent appearance, it was magnified into a city by Polo and others.

Kircher, in after times, writing of the Kāl-imāḳ, says, that *in certain seasons they settle on the banks of the rivers with their* "portable cities"

*It may be* mentioned here that the Mughal sovereign, Abūl-Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, never mentions the words Karā-Ḳuram in his History, but always refers to the great *yūrat* as being at Ḳarā-Ḳūm—قرا قوم—but the probability is that the و is an error for ر

The country all round Ḳarā-Kuram was not sufficiently cultivated to furnish provisions and drinkables for the Ḳā'ān's use, and that of his *urdū*, and 500 cart-loads used to arrive daily from other parts of the empire nearest to it, particularly from Kara-bāsh in Tingkūt

years old, he used to come to the presence of the eminent teacher and Imām, 'Alī, the Ghaznawī—on whom be

Under the reign of Mangū Ḳā'ān, according to Chinese accounts, Ḳarā-Ḳuram ceased to be the seat of government, and a city was founded, east of Whan-chew, styled Kay-ping-fū, afterwards called Shang-tū. Perhaps this city has been mixed up with Ḳarā-Ḳuram.

With respect to the country around Ḳarā-Ḳuram it is related that, "on account of the excessive cold, there used to be no cultivation there whatever in the olden time" [at the period when our author wrote]. When Ūktāe took up his residence there, people began to erect buildings or dwellings, and to cultivate. A certain person planted some radishes, and, when they were ready to be drawn, he brought a few and presented them to the Ḳā'ān, who was much pleased thereat. He commanded that the leaves should be counted, and they were found to number 100: the Ḳā'ān directed that the man should be presented with 100 *bālish* [of silver?]. When the Ḳā'ān built the *kushk* [the same meaning as *kasr* before referred to] in the vicinity of Ḳarā-Ḳuram—the work was carried out by Khiṭā-ī workmen—a person planted some willows and almond trees, but, on account of the extreme cold, trees absolutely would not grow there. These young trees, however, did sprout, and become green, and the Ḳā'ān was so pleased—trees never having been seen there before—that he ordered the person a reward of one *bālish* for every young tree planted. The absurd idea of "hunting parks," "fish ponds," "flower gardens," "music halls," and "a palace which covered several square miles of surface," is merely derived from a misunderstood passage in the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, the translator of which made up his want of knowledge by adding his own exaggerations out of the mud wall enclosures I have mentioned.

In the year 633 H., Ūktāe Ḳā'ān despatched, from the Ṣaḥrā or Steppe of Asjānk [اسجانك] or Sajāng [سجانك], his son, Kochū, along with the Shāh-zadah, Ḳūtūḳū, with an army, towards Mahā-Chīn, which they also call Tingnāsh [تنكاش], which is written in various ways. See note at pages 1086 and 1087. Of the cities of that country they took Sindlīm-yū [سندليمو] or Sindlim-yū [سندليمو] and Karīm-yū [كريمو], and plundered the country on the routes bordering on the territory of Tibbat.

The civil and revenue administration of the whole of the conquered parts of Khiṭāe was in the hands of the 'Azīz and Ṣāḥib-i-A'ẓam, Maḥmūd, Yalwāj, the Bukhār, while his son, Mas'ūd Bak, was in similar charge of all the countries and territories from Bish-Bāligh and Ḳarā-Khwājah [this is the place where the Yīddī-Ḳūt of the Ī-ghūrs slew the Intendant of the Gūr Khān. See note at page 952], that is to say, the territories depending on them, constituting the country of Ī-ghūristān, and the territories of Khutan, Kāshghar, Ālmālīgh, Ḳaiālīgh or Ḳaiālīḳ, Samrḳand, and Bukhārā, as far as the Jīḥūn or Amūīah. From Khurāsān to the frontiers of Rūm and the Diyār-i-Bakr, all was under the administration of Amīr Kūrkūz [after Chīn-Tīmūr's death, as the Deputy of Tūsāl or Ūsāl], and the revenues of all these countries were collected by these three persons, and transmitted to the Ḳā'ān's treasury.

Ūktāe Ḳā'ān had four Khātūns, and sixty concubines. The Khātūns were:

1. Būrā Ḳūchīn, who was his first, and therefore held in great respect.
2. Tūrā-Kīnah, a Ūhāt—or Ūrhāt, as it is also written—Makrīt, said to have been the widow of Ta-ir Asūn, the head of the Ūhāts. When he was slain,

peace!—for the purpose of acquiring the Ḳur'ān by heart; and, from him, he heard the tradition, namely, that "A number of trustworthy persons have related, on this wise, from the Imām, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, the Bustājī[1]—on whom be peace!—that, whilst he filled the seat in the pulpit [of the *masjid-i-jāmi'*] in the city of Bu<u>kh</u>ārā, during the reign of Uktāe, he would often say in the sermon: 'Oh God! speedily transport a Mu<u>gh</u>al army to Lohor that they may reach it,'" and the sense of this became manifest when the Mu<u>gh</u>al army took Lohor in the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, in the year 639 H. A number of narrators among the merchants and traders of <u>Kh</u>urāsān and Māwarā-un-Nahr [subsequently] stated, that Uktāe died, and was removed from the world, on the second day after the capture of Lohor[2].

she was carried off, and brought to Ūktāe, who kept her for himself, and married her. Previous to this, Tā-īr Asūn had given his daughter, Ḳūlān <u>Kh</u>ātūn, to the <u>Ch</u>ingiz <u>Kh</u>ān. Some say Tūrā Kīnah was not Tā-īr Asūn's widow, but merely one of his tribe. She was not possessed of beauty, but in her disposition there was greatness and talent for command, and she ruled for some time after Ūktāe's death; but, through not respecting the precepts of the <u>Ch</u>ingiz <u>Kh</u>ān, she caused sedition and discord among his descendants, as will be mentioned farther on. She was the mother of five out of Ūktāe's seven sons—Kyūk, Kūtān, also called Kūtā Mangū, Ko<u>ch</u>ū, or Ko<u>ch</u>ūe, Ḳarā-<u>ch</u>ār, and Ḳā<u>sh</u>ī, so called because Ḳā<u>sh</u>ī or Ḳā<u>sh</u>īn, "subsequently," it is said, "styled Tingkūt," was subdued at the time of his birth. 3. MUKĀ or MUKĀF, of the Katrīn [كترين] tribe ["who are neither Ī-<u>gh</u>ūrs nor Mu<u>gh</u>als"], who, at first, was a wife of his father, and the son married her after his decease! 4. The fourth wife was named JĀJŪR, of the Ḳungḳūrāt tribe.

The other two sons of Ūktāe were by a Ḳūmāī concubine named Arkanah or Irkanah, or Azkanah or Izkanah—Abū-l-<u>Gh</u>āzī, Bahādur, calls her Ḳamī<u>sh</u>. They were named Kadān A<u>gh</u>ūl, and Malik.

[1] This name is doubtful, but in the best copies it is as above. In others it is Bastā<u>kh</u>ī, Bastāḳī, Astājī, and Satāḳī.

[2] Our author does not appear to have known, or was not inclined to state, that Ūktāe killed himself by drunkenness. All the expostulations of his friends and confidants were of no avail to break him of his excess, but rather tended to make him drink the more. At last, his brother, <u>Ch</u>a<u>gh</u>atāe, sent one of his Amīrs, in accord with the Princes of the family of the <u>Ch</u>ingiz <u>Kh</u>ān, under the name of a <u>Sh</u>ahnah or Intendant, to look after Ūktāe, who was now unable to take care of himself, and he was only permitted to have a certain quantity of intoxicating liquor by <u>Ch</u>a<u>gh</u>atāe's command. Ūktāe, however, succeeded in making his Intendant his boon companion, who, unable, or afraid, to allow of his exceeding the *number* of cups, permitted him to increase their *size*, and therefore the Intendant's continuance with him was useless. In the thirteenth year of his reign, however, Anīḳah Bigī, sister of Sīūr-

After the death of Uktāe, the Mughal tribes drew the sword upon each other several times, and the accursed chief men [among them] generally, and for the most part, went to hell; and division arose among their tribes. The brother's sons of the Chingiz Khān, who are the sons of

Kūkībī Bīgī, Tūlī Khān's chief Khātūn, whom the Chingiz Khān gave [in marriage] to the Nū-yīn, Ghatī, or Mīrghatī, the Ūrā-ūt, after his dream referred to in the account of his wives and concubines, used to come every year from Khitāe to see her sister, and banquets used to be given in her honour, and the cups to circulate In the thirteenth year of Ūktāe's reign, according to her usual custom, Aunīkah [often written Abīkah] Bīgī arrived, and the usual entertainments were given, a' I she, with her son, who held the high office of Bāwarchī—that is to say, a Comptroller of the Royal Kitchen, and one of the Intendants of the Purveyor's Department [in India, bāwarchī now signifies *a cook*], supplied the Kā'ān with his favourite beverage,-and he drank deeply. He soon went off to sleep, and never woke again , consequently, some of the Amīrs and Khātūns began to reproach Anīkah Bīgī and her son, and vowed they had administered poison to the Kā'ān The Nū-yīn Iljidāe [Īlchīkdāe, nephew of the Chingiz Khān, of Hirāt atrocities], who held the office of Kokal-tāsh, and was an Amīr held in great veneration among the Jalāīr tribe, when he heard these words, scouted the idea of such a thing, and said: "What insensate words are these? when ye all know to what excess the Kā'ān used to drink, and when ye know, too, that his fate only has overtaken him It behoveth that no such words as these should be again uttered."

The bones of Ūktāe Kā'ān, and his *kuriūk*, or *kūrūk*, signifying a place enclosed and prohibited from access, lie in a mountain range exceedingly lofty, called Būldān Kā-īr, which is always covered with snow, two days' journey from Ardīsh, and which, in more recent times, they style Yakah Wandūr; and from those mountains issue the rivers Yasūn Mur-ān, Tarkān, and Ūsūn, which fall into the river of Ardīsh, in the vicinity of which river the Chāpār tribe take up their *kishlāks* or winter stations

The author of the "*Mongols Proper*," p 725, quoting some foreign translation of Persian writers, evidently derived from a source similar to that whence I draw information, but probably misunderstood in the original, says "Abika had been married to a *dyer* on the borders of China," *after* the Chingiz Khān's *death*—an exceeding high position truly for Ūktāe's chief Khātūn to "envy" because the other "had married so well—and went every year *with* her son, *who was dressed as a cupbearer*, to pay her respects at the court," etc. The errors here are plainly disclosed from the above account The same writer, quoting some other foreign translation of Persian histories, says, "*Ogotai* Khan was buried in the *valley* of Kinien, i. e another name for the Imperial cemetery, whose site we have already described *sub voce*, *Jingis* Khan;" but it so happens that they were totally different places

Ūktāe promulgated a code of his own, which, under the name of *tūrah*—a Turkish word signifying, institute, system, code, etc.—was, like the *yāsā* of his father, observed among the Mughal people. In 633 H. new regulations were promulgated respecting taxes on cattle, and on grain for the poor, and other matters for which I have no space here

Ū-Tigīn,[3] went to the presence of the Altūn Khān of Chīn,[4] and Chaghatāe, and his sons, commenced acting in a refractory manner; and a great number were killed by the hands of each other—God's curse upon them!

The reign of Uktāe, son of the Chingiz Khān, extended over a period of nine[5] years, and, after his decease, for a period of one year and a half, no one of that cursed seed ascended the throne.[6] It is the custom among the Mughals that when a sovereign among them dies another should not mount the throne for one year and a half, and this period they call three years—one year and half of days and one year and half of nights.

When the reign of Uktāe came to an end, his wife, Turakīnah Khātūn, ruled over the Mughal empire for a period of four years, and during this time she displayed woman's ways, such as proceed from deficiency of intellect, and excess of sensuality. The Mughal grandees took cognizance of that conduct, and sought a firm ruler. They sent Turakīnah Khātūn to join Uktāe, and raised his son [Kyuk] to the throne of sovereignty, but God knows the truth.

## IV. CHAGHATĀE, SON OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN—MAY GOD'S CURSE BE UPON HIM!

Chaghatāe, the accursed, was the second son of the Chingiz Khān, the Mughal.[7] He was a tyrannical man,

[3] Or Ūtchkīn. See page 899. This circumstance is not mentioned by the Pro-Mughal writers, but there is truth in it, as may be seen from the conduct of Ū-Tigīn himself during the troubles which ushered in Kyūk's reign, mentioned farther on [in note 7, p. 1149, para. 3].

[4] Previously, the Āltān Khān is generally styled "of Tamghāj" by our author.

[5] This is incorrect. Ūktāe Ḳā'ān reigned from the *third* month of 626 H., to the 5th of the *sixth* [Guzīdah says Jamādī-ul-Awwal, the *fifth*, and the Fanākatī says in the year 638 H.] month of 639 H., exactly thirteen years, two months, and a few days, although authors, in round numbers, say thirteen years, and some fourteen.

[6] Not in our author's time, but Kāīdū, the grandson of Ūktāe, ruled nearly fifty years over the territory of Haytāl, and Kābul, and some parts of Hind [east of the Indus—the western parts of the present Panjāb], and his descendants continued to rule therein for a long period after.

[7] Chaghatāe or Chaghadāe—the name is written both ways, but *Jagatae* is

cruel, sanguinary, and an evil-doer; and among the Mughal rulers there was not one who was a greater enemy

as incorrect as it is impossible from the letters in which it is written—چغتای or چغتای—the second son of the Chingiz Khān, is said to have been a monarch of great dignity, pomp, and magnificence, open-hearted, valiant, and hospitable; and, according to the wishes of his father, did not object to pay obedience to his younger brother, Ūktāe, as his sovereign. At the time that his father divided his empire among his sons, he assigned Tūrān-Zamīn, from the Nāemān country to the banks of the Jīhūn to Chaghatāe Another author describes his territory as including the Ī-ghūr country and Māwarā-un-Nahr, and part of Mādun-un-Nahr, viz., Kāshghar, Khwārazm, Samrkand, Bukhārā, Badakhshān, Balkh, and Ghaznīn, as far as the banks of the Sind or Indus. His minister and counsellor was his kinsman, the Nū-yīn, Ḳarāchār, the famous counsellor and deputy of the Chingiz Khān, and who is constantly mentioned in connexion with him from his earliest youth onwards. Ḳarāchār is also the ancestor of the Gurgān or Son-in-law, Amīr Tīmūr, and, from the benefit derived from that veteran statesman's counsels, Chaghatāe Khān became one of the wisest, manliest, and most energetic rulers of his time

The capital, or seat of government, of his dominions was Bīsh-Bālīgh, and, in carrying out the provisions contained in the *yāsā* or code promulgated by his father, he passed not over the slightest thing, but carried them out to the letter, and hence arose the circumstance related in the anecdote at page 1107 Such was the efficiency of his administration, that the routes, in every part of his territory, were safe, and neither guards nor escorts were required

During the time of their father, the sons of the Chingiz Khān did not get on well together, as was but too apparent during the investment of Ūrganj of Khwārazm, but now, through the wise measures of Ḳarāchār, Chaghatāe got on with his younger brother Ūktāe better than previously Chaghatāe was passionately fond of the chase, and in following that pastime, and in jollity, he passed most of his time, while Ḳarāchār carried on the government

During Chaghatāe's reign occurred the outbreak of Maḥmūd, the Tārānī, so called from his native place, Tārān, a village within three *farsakhs* of Bukhārā, who, in 630 H, broke out into rebellion, whereby many thousands of persons perished.

Among other fictions related by Marco Polo is that respecting "Zagatay," as he styles Chaghatāe, whom he makes to reign about one hundred years before his own time—1272 A D [671 H] According to the same traveller's statements, "Zagatay" was persuaded to allow himself to be baptized, and the Christians built a church at Bukhārā, whose roof was supported by one pillar, that stood on a square stone, taken by "Zagatay's" favour, from a building of the Muḥammadans!

The Mughal dynasty founded at Dihlī, by Bābar Bādshāh, is constantly styled the Chaghatāe dynasty, and its Princes, the Chaghatāe Princes, but these designations are not correct, for the only connexion between Bābar and the descendants of the Chingiz Khān was that his mother was the sister of a descendant of Chaghatāe, the head of that branch of his house, but this is not a valid reason for styling the house of Bābar, Chaghatāes, but it would be, and is, correct to style it the Tīmūrīah dynasty Although Bābar was a Mughal, both on the father's and mother's side, he was himself not much attached to the Mughals of the Chingiz family

of the Musalmāns He used to require that no created being should, in his presence, take the name of Musalmān on his tongue, except with evil intent; and, throughout the whole of his tribes [of which he was the head] it used not to be possible even to slaughter a sheep according to the ordinances of Islām, and all [sheep] used to be rendered [thereby] unclean. To say one's prayers [publicly] used to be impossible for any Musalmān. Chaghatāe used constantly to urge upon Uktāe that it was necessary to massacre all Musalmāns and not let any of them remain, and no Musalmān used to dare to put himself in his sight.

He was older than Uktāe; and, as the Chingiz Khān was aware that his nature was excessively sanguinary,[8] malevolent, and tyrannical, he did not bequeath the sovereignty to him, and assigned it to his younger brother, Uktāe. Chaghatāe's place of residence likewise used to be the original Mughal locality, and that portion of the dominions of the Chingiz Khān which he held possession of [at his father's death] was assigned to him as his portion. His troops were [located] in different parts of Māwarā-un-Nahr, Farghānah, and Turkistān For this reason, that he had impeached the elder of his brothers, Tūshī, before his father, [asserting] that Tūshī, in his mind, meditated killing the Chingiz Khān in some chase, when this reached the father's hearing, the Chingiz Khān gave poison to his son Tūshī, and destroyed him

This Chaghatāe, the accursed, for some years, was at the head of his tribes and forces, and, when the decree of his death arrived, Almighty God made a holy man among His eminent saints the instrument of his death so that he went to hell. and it was on this wise. There was a pious Darwesh, of pure heart, from the confines of Khurāsān, whom they used to call Shaikh Mahmūd-i-Atash-Kh'ār [the Fire eater], a Shaikh of much eminence,

The four tribes which are called Chaghatāes—that is to say, Chaghatāe's tribes—have been already mentioned in the note at page 1093, last paragraph See also notes at pages 874, 875, and note [8], page 1100

[8] More sanguinary than his own? The Pro-Mughal writers say that he was "the light of his father's eye," but they, too, do not seem to recollect his conduct, and that of his other brothers, before the capital of Khwārazm

and a Darwesh of great repute, who, having cast off earthly wishes and desires, and, impressed with the aspiration after Truth,[*] had devoted his body to pain and affliction, and had gone out into the world, and used to wander about in different countries. He reached, during his wanderings, a place between two mountains [ranges?] through which lay the route between the country of Turkistān and the territory of Chīn, and between these two mountains strong barriers were placed, and guards were there posted and overseers stationed, in order that they might examine every person who proceeded towards Chīn, or who entered the territory of Turkistān from Chīn, and have information respecting his condition.[1]

When Shaikh Maḥmūd-i-Ātash-Kh'ār arrived at that place, the guards beheld a person, a stranger to the usages of the world, and, in outward appearance, like a maniac; and they seized him [saying]: "Thou art a *fidā-ī.*" Shaikh Mahmūd replied: "Aye! I am a *fidā-ī;*" and, notwithstanding they importuned him, saying: "Who art thou? Say!" his reply was: "I am what ye have said: a *fidā-ī.*"[2] As he had confessed this thing, they brought him before Chaghatāe Mas'ūd Bak, who was the Jumlat-ul-Mulk [Minister of State[3]] of Chaghatāe, recognized Shaikh Mahmūd, but, through fear of Chaghatāe, was unable to say anything, or mention Shaikh Maḥmūd's condition, or his eminence. Chaghatāe demanded of Shaikh Maḥmūd: "Who art thou?" He replied: "That same *fidā-ī* I am." Chaghatāe said: "What shall I do with thee? What doth it behove to do unto thee?" Shaikh Maḥmūd answered: "Command that they rain arrows upon me, that I may be freed [from life]." Chaghatāe commanded so that they killed him with volleys of arrows.

[*] See the Introduction to my "POETRY OF THE AFGHĀNS," page xi. London, 1867

[1] This is the Iron Gate Pass, mentioned in the journey of the envoys of Mīrzā Shāh Rukh Sulṭān, sent into China in 822 H.

[2] Fidā-ī means one who devotes his life as a sacrifice for a special object, or who consecrates himself to a cause. The Darwesh was right, literally, in what he said, but they appear to have mistaken him for, or suspected him of being, a fidā-ī, or disciple of the chief of the Mulāḥidah sect

[3] Yet Mas'ūd Bak must have often come before him in his official capacity, and he was a Musalmān.

Some days after Shaikh Maḥmūd was received into the Almighty's mercy, Chaghatāe was in the act of discharging a recoiling arrow,[4] in a hunting-ground, at the prey, when, verily, it entered the back of that accursed one, and he went to hell; and God's people, particularly the people of Islām, were delivered from his malevolence.

## V KYUK,[5] SON OF UKTĀE, SON OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN.

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that Uktāe had two sons,[6] one named Kutān, and the other

[4] The original is *tīr-i-bāz-gashtah*, as literally translated above. What it may have been I cannot say, probably some sort of rebounding missile.

I wonder whether this statement was mistaken by other writers, who followed our author, or whether he, before he wrote this passage, heard some vague or confused account of the cause of Chaghatāe's death; because it is stated on very good authority in Alfī, that Hulākū Khān, when he overturned the Mulāhidah dynasty, made over several of the children and kinsmen of Rukn-ud-Dīn, Khūr Shāh, the last ruler of that dynasty and head of that sect, to Salghān Khātūn, a daughter of Chaghatāe Khān, in order "that she might avenge, on them, the blood of her father, who had been killed by Fidā-īs."

I find no particulars respecting Chaghatāe's death, how he died, or what he died of—save that he died among his own *ulūs*, and that great mourning was made for him; but our author's version of his death is evidently fabulous. He died six months before his brother Ūktāe, in the month of Zī-Ḳa'dah, 638 H. Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā says he died in 640 H., but this is contrary to the statements of others, and seems to be a mistake for the date of the Nū-yīn Ḳarāchār's death, which took place in that year. He was succeeded in his dominions by his grandson, Karā Hūlākū, or Hūlākūe, as it is also written, son of Mitūkāe [متوکا], according to the express wish of the Chingiz Khān before his death, that Ḳarā Hūlāku should succeed Chaghatāe Khān as head of his *ulūs*.

The Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr states that, after the death of Chaghatāe, and Ūktāe Ḳa'ān's dying very soon after, up to the time of Kyūk's ascending the throne, some four years intervened, and, after the *ulūs* of Chaghatāe had been for some time without a head, Ḳarāchār set up Ḳarā-Hūlākū or Ḳarā Aghūl, as he is also called, but Kyūk, on coming to the throne, deposed him, and set up another of Chaghatāe's sons, Yassū or Yassūkāe Mungah, instead. Kyūk observed—and he spoke feelingly, no doubt, since he had himself been nearly excluded from the throne by a brother's son—"How is it possible, when there is a son living, that a brother's son can be his grandfather's heir?"

[5] The name is generally written کیوك—Kyūk—but our author always has the shortened form—کیك. The *Calcutta Printed Text* is invariably incorrect, and has کنك and کبك instead. He was styled simply Khān, and not Ḳā'ān like his father.

[6] Ūktāe had seven sons, of whom Kyūk, the later historians say, was his eldest son. Our author may have mistaken Kūtān for Kyūk, for the latter was subject to some disease from his childhood, though it is not improbable that

Kyuk; but Kutān, who was the eldest, had become afflicted with palsy and did not possess eligibility for the sovereignty, to rule over the empire, and administer its affairs, and he [therefore] made over the throne to his brother Kyuk.[7]

his statement respecting Kūtān is the correct one, for he had been nominated to succeed Ūktāe by his grandfather. But the Pro-Mughal historians state that Ūktāe had nominated his third son Kochū or Kochūe as his successor, as will be found detailed below. See next to last para of note [9], page 1142.

[7] Kyūk, son of Ūktāe, at the time of his father's death, had not yet arrived from the army then engaged in the campaigns west of Ḳifchāḳ, from which he and other Shāh-zādahs were returning, as before stated, and Mūkā Khātūn, the most beloved of Ūktāe's wives, also soon after died. Tūrā-Kīnah Khātūn—there was no such title as "empress," I beg to say, among the Mughals, nor will Khātūn bear any such translation, whatever there might have been among "Mongols"—mother of the five eldest sons, by her stratagems and cunning, and the liberal use of gold, had gained over a party, including some of the Chingiz Khān's family, and the Wazīrs, to her side; and, without consulting the whole of the Shāh zādahs and Amīrs, as was customary, she assumed the direction of affairs During the reign of the late Ḳā'ān she was sorely displeased with a number of persons, and now she resolved to take revenge upon them She had a Tājzīk handmaid, named Fāṭimah, who had been made captive at the time of the invasion of Khurāsān, and sent into Mughalistān by the Amīrs after the capture of the Mash-had of Ṭūs This damsel was talented, and exceedingly clever and sagacious, and soon became the trusted servant and confidant of the Khātūn in all matters. Amīrs and Ministers sought her good offices, even in the Ḳā'ān's reign, he being in a state of half inebriety all his time, and ignorant and unfit persons were often entrusted, through her interest, with offices of which they were wholly incapable or undeserving.

At this time, these two women, the mistress and handmaid, sought to seize Chīnḳāe, the Grand Wazīr, but he made his escape to the *urdū* of Kūtān, son of Ūktāe. Fāṭimah bore enmity of old towards Maḥmūd, Yalwāj, and, by her power, she now caused his removal, and a person named 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān was sent to administer the [financial] affairs of Khiṭāe, and endeavours were made to seize Maḥmūd and his servants, but he made his escape to Kūtān's *urdū* also. The son of Maḥmūd, Yalwāj, who administered the revenue affairs of Turkistān [but not the appanage of Chaghatāe and his family, which the Nū-yīn, Ḳarāchār, is said to have been in charge of], on becoming aware of these matters, fled to the Court of Bātū Khān. Ḳarā Hulākū, or Ḳarā Aghūl, as he is also called, and the Khātūns of Chaghatāe, Ūrghanah Khātūn, and others, had despatched Ḳūr-Būḳā, along with Arghūn Āḳā, into Khurāsān, for the purpose of seizing the governor, Amīr Kūrkūz, the Ī-ghūr, and they put him to death, and Arghūn Āḳā, the Ūīr-āt, was installed in his place.

During this period of sedition, the different Shāh-zādahs were plotting, and sent agents into different parts to endeavour to get support in their ambitious proceedings; and, the field being vacant, and Kyūk Khān not yet arrived in his father's *urdū*, the Chingiz Khān's younger brother, the Nū-yīn, Ū-Tigīn [Ūtichkīn, i. e., Younger Brother See page 899], sought to usurp possession of the throne, and, with a numerous force, set out for the late Ḳā'ān's *urdū*.

When Kyuk assumed the sovereignty, all the refractory Mug͟hals made their obeisance to him; and he nominated

This movement caused great disquietude in the *urdū* of Ūktāe. Tūrā-Kīnah K͟hātūn, to gain time, despatched an agent to Ū-Tigīn, telling him that Kyūk was shortly expected to reach the *urdū*, and asking him why he was coming thither with such a large following, as it was a source of great disquietude. Ū-Tigīn, finding that his design was suspected, became ashamed of what he had done—perhaps the near approach of Kyūk added to it—and he pretended that his only object in coming was to offer condolence. At this juncture he received news that Kyūk had reached the banks of the river Ī mal. On this his repentance became still greater; and he turned his steps, without delay, back towards his own *urdū* again.

In short, for a period of nearly four years, the throne remained vacant, and the empire was ruled by Tūrā-Kīnah K͟hātūn, because there was want of accord in the assembling of a *kūrīltāe* for the purpose of choosing a sovereign.

Some writers, on the contrary, affirm that Tūrā-Kīnah did consult with the heads of the family, and the chief men, when she assumed the chief power, in the same way as the wife of the C͟hingiz K͟hān, the mother of Ūktāe, had done, on a previous occasion, and such was undoubtedly the custom, as our author also states farther on, and they also say that it was usual for three years to expire before the *kūrīltāe* was held in order to choose a sovereign from among the heirs, and the mother of the eldest son, in the meantime, used to exercise the supreme authority.

Ūktāe Ḳā'ān had, during his lifetime, nominated his third son, Koc͟hū, his successor, and, after his death, having been greatly attached to him, Ūktāe named the latter's youngest son, S͟hīrāmūn, who was a promising and intelligent youth, whom he had brought up in his own ḥaram, as his heir. When Ūktāe felt that the hand of death was on him—but another version of his death has been already recorded; still, he may have been ill when he overdrank himself the last time—he sent to summon his eldest son, Kyūk, to him, in order to assign the sovereignty to S͟hīrāmūn in his presence, so that there might not be any mistake about it, but before he arrived Ūktāe was dead. At this time, it is said, after reaching his father's *urdū*, the desire of obtaining the sovereignty overcame him. At this juncture the different S͟hāh-zādahs, who had been previously summoned to a *ḳūrīltāe*, by the late Ḳā'ān, arrived from different parts, at the place called Kokū or Kok Nāwar—the Kokonor of European translators, who always make *Nor* of Nāwar—and a *ḳūrīltāe* was held, and they began to consult on the choice of a successor to the late Ḳā'ān. Bātū K͟hān, however, who, as the eldest son of Jūjī, eldest son of the C͟hingiz K͟hān, was the head of the family, did not come from the Das͟ht-i-Kifc͟hāḳ, and excused himself on account of illness; but, according to some accounts, he nourished displeasure in his heart against Kyūk, and did not desire to come. It is certain, however, that illness was the cause; for, about this time, Bātū had been stricken with paralysis. His "*horses feet*" appear to have been quite well, although his own feet "*were bad*," but we are told differently in the "*Mongols Proper*," p. 162, whose author appears to have taken, or to have *mis*taken, it from some foreign version of one of those "muddy streams," some "Persian History." The original from whence this statement came, as well as other works, use the words *dard-i-pāe*—ache or pain of the foot—with respect to Bātū, in reference to the disease in question,

armies to [march into] the different countries of Chīn, Ī-rān, Hindūstān, Khurāsān, and 'Irāḳ. The Nū-īn,

hence the very amusing error. There was nothing the matter with his horses. Athough unable to be present himself, Bātū sent his brothers and sons.

With respect, however, to the summoning of a *ḳūrīltāe* by Ūktāe for another purpose, and the members of it consulting on his successor, and naming one, there is certainly some error in a part of the statement above, because nearly four years elapsed from the death of Ūktāe to the accession of Kyūk, and the *ḳūrīltāe* was assembled by direction of Tūrā-Kīnah Khātūn.

Among those who were present on this occasion was Ūtichkīn, or Unchī-Tigīn, or Unjī-Tigīn, or Ū-Tigīn, for the name is written in these several ways, youngest brother of the Chingiz Khān, with his eighty sons, and a great number of other persons from all parts, including Amīr Arghūn from Khurāsān, the chiefs and rulers of 'Irāḳ, Āzarbāījān, and Khurāsān; Rukn-ud-Dīn, brother [and envoy] of Sulṭān Kai-Kā-ūs, of Rūm [The Saljūḳ Sulṭān, Kai-Khusrau, in 641 H., had "submitted to the yoke of the Mughals, and had agreed to stamp the coin with the name of the Ḳā'ān, to insert his name in the Khuṭbah—for an infidel!—to pay tribute at the rate of 1000 *dīnārs* daily, and yearly a male and female slave, and a sporting dog." See pages 162—164]; the two Dā'ūds, claimants to the sovereignty of Gūrjistān; the brother of the ruler of Ḥalab; the son of the ruler of the Diyār-i-Bakr, Sulṭān Badr-ud-Dīn, Lūlū; the ambassador from the Dār-ul-Khilāfat [!], the Ḳāẓī-ul-Ḳuẓāt, Fakhr-ud-Dīn; the ambassadors of the Farang, the rulers of Fārs and Kirmān; the Muḥtashims, Shihāb-ud-Dīn and Shams-ud-Dīn, on the part of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Mulāḥidah of Alamūt; the Malik of the Rūs [Russians], who was, however, left to stand outside the great tent, and others, all bringing presents and offerings befitting the occasion. About 2000 great *khargahs*, or felt tents, used by the Turks, Tāttārs, and Mughals, were pitched for their use; and, on account of the vast number of persons who had assembled there, no vacant place remained available near the *urdū*—which certainly was neither a "city" nor a "town," but, as its name shows, a camp—and provisions rose to an excessive price.

After much consultation, it was agreed by a majority in the assembly, that, as Kūtān, son of Ūktāe, whom the Chingiz Khān had himself nominated to succeed after his father, was not alive, and his son, Shīrāmūn, who had been nominated by Ūktāe, had not yet reached manhood, Kyūk, the eldest son of the late Ḳā'ān, who was conspicuous for his spirit and talent for governing, should succeed to the sovereignty; and he was, accordingly, raised to the throne, which decision was chiefly brought about by the stratagems and efforts of his mother, Tūrā-Kīnah Khātūn, and her party in the state, in the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 643 H.—September, 1245 A.D. Bātū Khān's objection was, that Ūktāe had bequeathed the sovereignty to his grandson, Shīrāmūn.

Kyūk, whose constitution, from his childhood, had been weak, was not desirous of succeeding, but his mother's exhortations overcame him, and, after some time, he said "I will accept the sovereignty on the condition that, after me, the supreme sovereignty shall continue in my family, and to my descendants, and not to others." This was agreed to by those present, and Kyūk was placed on the throne according to the usual ceremonies.

Carpini, who describes the *khargahs* or pavilions of Kyūk Khān and his mother, which some recent writers *will* turn into cities and palaces, was pre-

Mangūtah, who was at the head of the forces of [the Mughal troops occupying] Ṭukhāristān, Khatlān, and Ghaznīn, was, another time, made leader of an army. He was an aged man, very tall, with dog-like eyes,[8] and one

sent on this occasion. He says · "The emperor seemed then to be about forty, or forty-five He was of a middle stature, and behaved with exceeding gravity. He was a very wise Prince, and seldom laughed."

During the long interregnum, many of the Shāh-zādahs had been guilty of certain ambitious proceedings, misconducting themselves, acting contrary to the ordinances of the Chingiz Khān, stretching out their hands in acts of oppression, and appropriating the property of the state, and none were free of these acts but the sons of Tūlī Khān. In consequence of this, Mangū and Ūrdah, sons of Tūlī, were appointed to inquire into these matters. I have not space here for the details, but several persons were put to death in consequence, among whom were several of the followers of Kyūk's great uncle, Ū-Tigīn, and Fāṭimah Khātūn, his mother's favourite handmaid

After disposing of these matters, Kyūk despatched armies into different parts of the empire. Siwīdāe [Sahūdah], the Bahādur, and the Nū-yīn, Chaghān, with a force consisting of Karāyats, were sent to the frontiers of Khiṭāe *and the territories of Manzī* [منزى], *and the Nū-yīn Iljidāe or Īlchīkdāe*, with a large army, was sent into Ī-rān-Zamīn, with the object of reducing Rūm, Shām, Ḥalab, and Miṣr under the yoke [See page 164, where our author mentions Īljīkdāe under the name of Aljaktā or Iljaktā; but he confuses Mangū Ḳā'ān with Kyūk Khān.] 'Abd ur-Raḥmān, who had been sent to administer the financial affairs—civil affairs were administered according to the *yāsā*—of Khiṭā by Kyūk's mother, was now removed, and put to death; the financial administration of the annexed territory of Khiṭā was again confirmed to the Ṣāḥib, Maḥmūd, Yalwāj; that of Turkistān and Māwarā-un-Nahr, in which Chaghatāe's son ruled, was restored to Mas'ūd Bak, Maḥmūd's son, and the Amīr Arghūn Āḳā was nominated to the direction of the finances and civil administration of Khurāsān, 'Irāḳ, Āẕarbāījān, Shirwān, Kirmān, Gūrjistān, and that side of Hindūstān [the Panjāb as far as the Bīāh] under the Mughal yoke The Maliks and Amīrs from different countries, who had presented themselves, were made the recipients of the royal favour, and permitted to return; and, on Rukn-ud-Dīn of Rūm, Kyūk bestowed his brother's sovereignty [See page 164], but, as numerous complaints had been received from Jūrmāghūn from 'Irāḳ, the Khalīfah's ambassador was dismissed with admonitions and threats for his sovereign Dā'ūd, son of Ḳabar [قبر] Malik, was made ruler of Gūrjistān, and the other claimant was made subordinate to him.

During the period that Tūrā-Kīnah Khātūn exercised the chief authority, the Mughal troops had entered the territories of the Diyār-i-Bakr and Ḥarrān, taken Rammā, and Nārdīn surrendered Shihab-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzī, the Wālī thereof, retired into Miṣr, and there obtained support, and attained authority

In the same year in which Kyūk was elevated to the sovereignty, and shortly after that event, his mother died; and, during her administration of the affairs of the empire, in 640 H, the Nū-yīn, Ḳarāchār, the kinsman [cousin, in fact], friend, and counsellor of the Chingiz Khān, died

[8] Two of the best copies have *red-eyed*, and another copy has *one-eyed*, but

of the Chingiz Khān's favourites. On Mangūtah's entering the land of Ī-rān, he made Ṭāe-ḳān of Ḳunduz, and Walwālij, his head quarters; and, in the year 643 H., he determined upon entering the states of Sind, and, from that territory, brought an army towards Ūchchah and Multān.

At this period, the throne of Hindūstān was adorned with the splendour and elegance of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh; and the city of Lohor had become ruined. Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlugh, held [possession of] Multān; and Hindū Khān, Mihtar-i-Mubārak, the Khāzin [Treasurer], was ruler and governor of the city and fortress of Ūchchah,* and he had, on his own part, placed a trusty person of his own as his Deputy within the fort of Ūchchah—the Khwājah, Ṣāliḥ, the Koṭ-wāl [Seneschal].

On Mangūtah's reaching the banks of the river Sind, with the Mughal army, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the

the majority are as above. "Sheep-eyed" is a very common expression, and "dog-eyed" may be used after the same fashion.

Ṭāe-ḳān of Ḳunduz, or, more correctly, Kuhandujz, also called or known as Ṭāe-ḳān of Ṭukhāristān A few modern copies have طايقان without any points to the ى which, in manuscript, might be read in error for Ṭāl-ḳān—طالقان—hence the mistakes which have arisen regarding these two places through people not knowing the difference. These are places which we shall probably know better before long. See page 1008.

Mangūtah is the person whom Mr. Dowson, the Editor of Elliot's MUHAMMADAN HISTORIANS, in the extracts from our author's work therein contained, and which extracts I have already referred to, straightway turns into *Mangū Khán*, without authority, either from our author or any other, for so doing. At page 344, vol. ii., of that work, he has: "This army was under the command of the accursed Mankúta (Mangú Khán)," and yet, in a footnote, adds var. "Mankuna." At page 363, of the same vol, he has again: "In this year the accursed Mankútí (Mangú Khán), who was one of the generals of the Mughals," etc. Mangū Ḳā'ān was never south of the Hindū Kush in his life, but there are some persons who would prevent such errors being spoken about, much less corrected, for fear of "*injuring the susceptibilities*" of people, and would allow them to stand, and continue to mislead!

* He held it nominally only, and was not present. In the account of this Malik our author says he was placed in charge of Ūchchah and its dependencies in Raẓiyyat's reign, and that he returned to the Court when Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, came to the throne, supsequent to which Jalandhar was assigned to him.

The text is somewhat imperfect here, and this attempt on Ūchchah is evidently the *first* one, when the Khwājah, Ṣāliḥ, was there, but, at this time, Mukhliṣ-ud-Dīn was the Koṭwāl-Bak. See pages 810—813.

Ḳarlugh, abandoned the fortress and city of Multān,[1] and embarked on board a vessel, and proceeded to Dīwal and Sindūstān [Sewastān]. Mangūtah advanced to the foot of the walls of the fortress of Ūchchah,[2] invested it, and the attack commenced; and he destroyed the environs and neighbourhood round about that city. The people of the fortress put forth the utmost exertions and diligence, and used immense endeavours in defending the place, and despatched great numbers of the Mughals to hell.

Notwithstanding all the efforts the Mughal troops and the infidel Nū-īns and the Bahādurs were using, the holy-warriors of the fortress continued to defend the head of the breach[3] until one of the famous Bahādurs of the Mughals, who had gone away in some direction, when he returned to Mangūtah, began to reproach him, saying: "What stronghold and fortification is this in the taking of which thou makest so much delay and hesitation? I would take it in a single assault." The following night he made preparations, and put a great number of Mughals under arms; and, suddenly and unexpectedly, in the third watch, which was the time the guards on the walls took repose, and the men of the fortress had gone to sleep, he appeared on the top of the breach. The grace of Almighty God was such, however, that the people of the fortress had mixed up a vast quantity of water and clay in rear of the breach, and had [thus] prepared a great pit and deep quagmire,[5] more than a spear's length in depth.

[1] If Multān had then a broad river immediately on its *west* side, as the river near it flows at this time, he would scarcely have needed to evacuate Multān, and, probably, would not have done so. At the period in question, however, no river intervened between the Sind or Indus and Multān, and Malik Ḥasan's retreat might have been cut off. He, consequently, embarked on the combined rivers Jihlam, Chin-āb, and Rāwī, which then ran *east* of Multān, and so, placing a river between himself and the Mughals, was enabled to get down into Sind without danger or molestation. See page 1119, and page 1129, note [1]

[2] Ūchchah seems to have generally been the first point of attack by invaders of India from the west, especially by the Mughals. It was the key and bulwark of India at this period, like as Hirāt has ever been that of Khurāsān.

[3] We must presume that a breach had been already made.

[4] The "time of repose for the guards," etc.! They must have been very efficient "guards," truly, and must have taken their duty very easily.

[5] The "official" Calcutta Printed Text, in every instance, has لوري for لوريي

When that Mughal Bahādur planted his foot within the breach, under the supposition that it was firm ground, he fell into the quagmire, and sank in it. The people of the fortress raised a shout; and they brought out torches, and armed themselves, and the Mughals retired.*

The next day they [the Mughals] deputed persons,

* No details of this kind are to be found in any other writer, and the Pro-Mughal historians, including the "great Raschid," are silent on this subject. They do not chronicle defeats generally, unless they cannot possibly help it: victories alone are necessary for their pages.

This is the investment referred to at pages 667 and 809. The question naturally arises, how it was that Ūchchah, and sometimes Multān, was always the first point of attack by invaders from the north-west, for the Ḳārlūghs and Mughals attacked Ūchchah first, as did Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, the Ghūrī, before them, and Pīr Muḥammad, grandson of Tīmūr, after them. It seems the more strange when we look at the map of the Panjāb, and notice the present position of the rivers; for the invaders all came the same way, through the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah, and with scarcely an exception, from the direction of the Koh-i-Jūd, immediately south of which lay the great road from Ghaznīn into India.

To attack either Ūchchah or Multān at the present day from the west, or north-west, coming by the same route, what is called the Chin-āb—three of the five rivers of the Panjāb, which join some distance above the latter city, and which is unfordable, would have to be crossed—an impossible matter at any time without a bridge of boats or inflated skins, or the tedious operation of ferrying across—while, to attack Ūchchah, the Panj-Nad or Panj-Āb—the five rivers combined—would have to be passed.

Ūchchah, from the *present* appearance of the country, could have been relieved from Dihlī without crossing any of the Panjāb rivers, but to relieve Multān. the Sutlaj or Ghārā must now be crossed At the same time, an enemy beaten off from either place, or, in case of an army advancing to the relief of either from the east, the enemy would stand a chance of being hard pressed while retreating across the Chin-āb, unless he effected the passage in good time, and also of being cut off from his line of retreat by the advance of an army from the east towards Lāhor

From the facts mentioned in this History, as well as in others, together with what is stated by the old Musalmān geographers, the traces of the former beds of four of these five rivers—that is, with the exception of the Jihlam—and also of the former bed of the Indus, and the traditions current in those parts, it is evident that very great physical changes have taken place during the 654 years since this investment of Ūchchah took place, and, indeed, even during the last hundred years. From all these facts which I have mentioned, it is certain that, when this attack upon Ūchchah took place, that place lay, as it had previously lain, on the right or *west*, not on the *east* or left, side of the Panj-Nad. Multān also lay *west* of the united Jihlam, Chin-āb, and Rāwī, at that period also, for we know, for certain, that those streams passed on the east side of Multān in those days, and therefore Ūchchah and Multān both lay in the same Do-ābah, no river intervening between them. I have prepared a paper on this special subject, and hope very shortly to see it in print.

requesting the defenders to give up the Bahādur who had been taken prisoner the previous night, in order that the army might raise the investment and depart. As that accursed one had gone to hell, and had sunk into the black water and slimy mud, to give him up was impossible; so the people of the fortress denied having taken him prisoner. In short, through the grace of the Most High God, causes were brought about, by means of which the Musalmāns of Ūchchah might continue safe and secure from the tyrannical hand of the infidel Mughals. One of those causes was this, that, when the Mughal army appeared before the fort of Ūchchah, the Musalmāns of that fortress sent an account of it to the Court, the capital city, Dihlī—God defend it from calamity!—imploring assistance in repelling them, and Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, animated and inspired, through the efforts and exertions of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, assembled the hosts of Hindūstān, and moved towards the upper provinces for the purpose of driving off the Mughal invaders. The writer of these words, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, during that holy expedition against the infidels, was in attendance at the august stirrup [of the Sulṭān].

When the sublime standards reached the banks of the river Bīāh, the army moved along its banks towards Ūchchah,[7] as has been previously related and recorded. On the Mughal forces becoming aware of the advance of the forces of Islām, and the vanguard of the warriors of the faith having reached within a short distance of the territory [of Ūchchah and Multān], they did not possess the power of withstanding them. They retired disappointed from before the fortress of Ūchchah, and went away; and that fortress, through the power of the sovereign of Islām,[8] and the Divine aid, remained safe from the wickedness of those accursed ones. Thanks be unto God, the Lord of the universe, for the same!

[7] This refers to the river when it flowed in its old bed—not as it runs now—between its west bank and the Rāwī, which also fell into the Bīāh, on the east side of Multān. Ūchchah and Multān lay in the same Do-abah, no river intervening between them, and no river had to be crossed after passing the Rāwī, or Rāwah, as our author calls it.

[8] Some copies have, "the potency of the army of Islām."

## ACCOUNT OF A MUSALMĀN MIRACLE.

Trustworthy persons have stated on this wise, that, when Kyuk acquired stability in his sovereignty, and had put to death his cousins, who were the sons of Chaghatāe, and the Mughal Nū-īns and Bahādurs had submitted to his authority, he, upon several occasions, despatched immense armies towards Chīn; and, in that country, victories were gained. A fraternity of recluses and devotees of the infidels of Chīn, and idol-worshippers of Tingit and Tamghāj, whom they style by the name of Tūnīān* [Tūnīs], acquired ascendancy over Kyuk. That faction constantly used to study persecuting the Musalmāns, and were wont to promote means of afflicting the people of Islām continually, in order that, mayhap, they might entirely uproot them, extirpate them completely, and eradicate both name and sign of the true believers from the pages of that country.

One of those Tūnīān, who had a name and reputation in Chīn and Turkistān, presented himself before Kyuk and said: "If thou desirest that the sovereignty and throne of the Mughals should remain unto thee, of two things do one—either massacre the whole of the Musalmāns, or put a stop to their generating and propagating."[1] For a long

* In some copies of the text Tūīnān, as in Rubruquis, before referred to. Kyūk was a Christian, and his mother also

[1] Our author appears quite demented on this subject. See also in his account of Chaghatāe, which is much the same.

He probably refers here to an event which happened in Mangū Ḳā'ān's reign, in 649 H., or it may be quite a different event. At Bīsh-Bālīgh, the Yīddī-Ḳūt of the Ī-ghūrs, who was the head of the Idolaters—But-Parastān—of Khitāe, entered into a compact with a number of his religionists to put all the Musalmāns to death on a Friday—their Sabbath—when they should be assembled together for prayer in their Jāmi' Masjids, so that, throughout all Khitāe [*sic* in *MSS.*], not one should be left alive. It so happened, however, that, previous to the identical Friday fixed upon for carrying out this diabolical plot, a slave among them became a convert to the Musalmān faith, and acquainted the Muḥammadans with the whole affair. A number of the chief men of that faith, taking the slave along with them, hastened to the presence of Mangū Ḳā'ān, and stated their case. He issued commands that the Yīddī-Ḳūt should be seized, and brought before him, and inquiry instituted. The truth of the slave's account having been proved, the Yīddī-Ḳūt confessed his guilt. Mangū Ḳā'ān commanded that he should be re-conducted to Bīsh-Bālīgh, and, on a Friday, after the Musalmāns had finished their religious

time they were wont, in this manner, to importune and instigate Kyuk to this wickedness, and continued to devise insidious snares and artifices. On account of the numerousness of the Musalmāns in the countries of Chīn, Turkistān, and Tingit, to massacre them would not be feasible, they therefore [the Tūnīs] came to this conclusion that it would be right that a mandate should be issued by Kyuk, that all Musalmāns should be emasculated and made eunuchs of, in order that their race might become extinct, and the empire of the Mughals be safe from their rebellion and sedition.

When such [like] tyranny and barbarity took root in the mind of Kyuk, and his decision in this course was come to, he commanded that a mandate should be issued, to this effect, throughout all parts of the Mughal dominions, from the extreme limits of Chīn and Turkistān to the farthest parts of 'Ajam, 'Irāḳ, Rūm, and Shām,[2] and the whole of the Mughal rulers, who were located in different parts, were directed to obey it, and hold it necessary to be carried out.

On this mandate having been written out, they brought it to Kyuk, and he impressed it with vermilion, which [impression], in the Turkī language, they call Āl-i-Ṭamghāj[3] Accordingly he delivered this mandate to [one of] those Mughal Tūnīān,[4] saying: "Do ye transmit this mandate into all parts of the empire, and use the utmost efforts in so doing"

services in the Jāmi' Masjid, he should be brought out, and, in their presence, and in the presence of the rest of the people of the city, be torn to pieces, in order that others might take warning against entertaining such-like futile ideas as the Yīddī-Ḳūt had conceived.

[2] Over which two latter states their power was but small.

[3] Āl here signifies a fiery red colour, carnation, vermilion [?], and the compound word signifies the red or vermilion stamp or signet of the sovereign. In the Dictionaries, generally, the compound word is written التمغا—Altamghā, instead of آل طمغاج as above. Tamghā, also written Tamghah, is said, in such works, to signify a stamp or brand, but, from the way our author uses these Turkish words here, with ṭ and long ā in the first syllable, and j as the final letter of the last word, it evidently refers to the country of Ṭamghāj, so often mentioned, and the word is also said to be the title of the sovereigns of Tibbat and Yughmā, and would thus signify, literally, the crimson or vermilion signet of Ṭamghāj, and that is clearly the meaning of the words.

[4] In the Printed Calcutta Text this word is invariably turned into Nūnīān and Nūīnān, the difference apparently not being understood

When that accursed base one, who held that tyrannical mandate in his hand, was issuing from the place of audience in great glee and confidence,[5] there was a dog which they used constantly to keep there, and which was wont to be near the throne, at the sides, and in the precincts of the dais, and the sovereign's exclusive seat; and on the animal's golden collar, studded with precious stones, was impressed a brand denoting its being the royal property. It was a dog, which, in courage and fierceness, greatly exceeded and far surpassed a thousand roaring lions and howling tigers [!]. This dog was in Kyuk's place of audience, and, like unto a wolf upon a sheep, or fire among wild rue seeds, it seized hold of that impious Tūīn, flung him to the ground, and then, with its teeth, tore out that base creature's genitals from the roots; and, by the Heavenly power and Divine help, at once, killed him,[6] and the imprecation, according to the *ḥadīṣ*, which Muṣtafā—on whom be peace!—had pronounced upon the son of Abū Lahb: "O God! let one of thy dogs defile him!" was fulfilled upon that accursed wretch of a priest.

Such a miracle as this was vouchsafed in order that, under the shadow of the protection of the Most High God, the faith of Islām, the felicity of the Ḥanafī creed, the happiness of the Aḥmadī belief, the prestige of the followers of the orthodox Muḥammadī institutes, might continue safe from the malevolence of these accursed ones. When Kyuk, the Tūnīān, and those present of the Mug͟hals and infidels of C͟hīn, beheld such an awful and condign punishment, they abandoned that vicious meditation, and withheld the hand of tyranny from off the Musalmāns; and they tore that *Tamg͟hāj* [vermilion-sealed document] to pieces. Praise be unto God for the triumph of Islām and the overthrow of idolatry!

When a period of one year and a half[7] of the reign of Kyuk had passed away, the decree of death arrived, and at the board of destiny placed the morsel of death in the

[5] The Ro. As. Soc *MS*, I. O. L. *MS*. 1952, and the Printed Calcutta Text, are exceedingly defective here.

[6] The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā states that it was the Christians who did this, and that it was a Christian whom the dog worried..

[7] The Pro-Mug͟hal writers say just one year; some, less than a year.

mouth of Kyuk's existence; and the cause of his death, likewise, is thus related.

## THE DECEASE OF KYUK, THE ACCURSED.

Trustworthy persons related that Kyuk was constantly being incited by the Tūnīān fraternity to acts of oppression towards the Musalmāns, and that they used to instigate him to persecute the true believers. There was an Imām, in that country, one of the theologians of the Musalmāns, adorned with manifold erudition in theological knowledge, and proficient in the rules and canons of the ecclesiastical law, and the subtile doctrines of the Truth. His exterior [mind] being illuminated with the jewel of knowledge and excellence, and his interior [soul] with the splendour of the attributes of purity, he had become distinguished among the followers of the faith of Islām, and a pole of indication in the orthodox religion of Musṭafā—on whom be peace! His surname was Imām Nūr-ud-Dīn, the Khwārazmī—the Almighty's mercy be upon him! A number of Christian laymen and priests,[8] and the fraternity of idol-worshipping Tūnīān, made a request to Kyuk, saying: "Be pleased to summon that Imām of the Musalmāns that we may carry on a discussion with him, and make him prove the superiority of the religion of Muḥammad, and his apostle-ship, or otherwise it behoveth that you should have him put to death"

In conformity with this request, Kyuk had this godly Imām brought into his presence, and he, trusting in [the promise] "and God will protect thee from [wicked] men," in the defence of his religion, was strengthening and

[8] Kyūk Khān, from childhood, had been brought up in the Christian—Naṣārī—faith—respecting which there is no doubt whatever—and was much attached to it; and his mother also was of that religion At this time, from Shām and Rūm, presbyters and monks of that religion turned their faces towards his Court, and received great consideration from him, and, consequently, the affairs of the Christians prospered His chief minister, Chinkāe, and the Atā-bak, Ḳadāḳ, were also Christians Indeed, during his reign, no Musalmān dared to speak arrogantly to the Christians, while the Fanākatī states that the monks treated the Musalmāns with great oppression.

supporting himself with [the rest of the promise]: "for God directeth not the unbelieving people."[9] When he sat down in that assemblage, they asked him: "What person was Muḥammad? explain." That godly Imām answered: "The last of the prophets, the head of the apostles, and the messenger of the God of the universe, whose head is adorned with the diadem of 'By thy life I swear,' and his body with the mantle of 'Have we not opened?'[1] Musā was enamoured of his excellence – Make me, O God! one of the people of Muhammad!—and 'Isā the herald of his mission 'bringing good tidings of an apostle, who shall come after me, whose name shall be Ahmad.'"[2] That assemblage of infidels said: "He will be a prophet who will be purely spiritual, and not entertain appetite for women, and not be inclined to it like as 'Isā was. Muḥammad had nine chambers [women] and a number of children: How was that?" That godly Imām replied: "The prophet Dā'ūd—on whom be peace!—had ninety-nine women—'This my brother hath ninety and nine ewes';[3] and Sulīmān, the Lord of Potentiality, had three hundred and sixty women to wife, and a thousand handmaids" That assemblage of infidels, by way of annoying, negation, contention, and obstinacy, denied the prophet-ship of Dā'ūd and Sulīmān—on whom be peace! and said: "They were kings merely."[4]

[9] ḲUR'ĀN, chap v, verse 71

[1] This is the passage which the Muḥammadan theologists contend is proved by the passage in St. John, xvi. 7, foretelling, as they say, the coming of Muḥammad, who is referred to as the Paraclete, or, as they read it, the *Periclyte*, or Illustrious. See ḲUR'ĀN, chap lxi, verse 6

[2] ḲUR'ĀN, chap. xciv., verse 1.

[3] ḲUR'ĀN, chap. xxxviii., verse 22. Some authorities translate it with "lambs" instead of ewes.

[4] Rubruquis relates an anecdote something similar to the above, concerning an event which happened in the following reign Repairing to the Palace [the Ḳā'ān's Khargah] a few days after Ascension Day, 1254 A.D, "Aribuga [Irtuḳ Būḳā], near whom sat two Muḥammadan lords of the Court, being apprised of the animosity that reigned between the Christians and the followers of Muḥammad, asked the monk Sergius [who officiated in a little Armenian chapel in the *urdū*], if he was acquainted with the latter? Sergius answered, 'I know they are dogs. why have you them so near you?' They called out, 'Why do you treat us in so injurious a manner, who give you no cause of offence?' The monk justified himself by saying he spoke the truth, adding, 'Both you, and your Muḥammad, are vile dogs' Provoked at such

At length, as the proofs and arguments of those accursed ones were weak, and destitute of the force of truth, they drew back the hand of contradiction, and drew the mark of oppression and outrage upon the pages of the subject, and made a request to Kyuk, saying: "Say unto the Imām that, in accordance with the rites and ordinances of the Muḥammadan law, he should perform two genuflexions

language (if such he durst utter), they began to blaspheme Christ; but Anbuga, it seems, forbade them, saying, 'We know that the Messias is God.' Some time after, certain Muḥammadans, meeting the monk on the road, urged him to dispute, and, as they laughed at him, because he could not defend his religion by reason, he was going to confute them with his whip. These things coming to the Khān's [Ḳā'ān's] ears, he commanded Sergius, and the other priests, to remove to a greater distance from the Court"

Rubruquis had, himself, a disputation with a Musalmān, as he states, in Mangū Ḳā'ān's presence He says, Mangū sent to acquaint him that, as there were Christians, Muḥammadans, and *Tuins* at his Court, and each of them pretended his Law was the best, and his Scriptures truest, he would be glad to have the matters argued, that he might judge whose cause was best. On the day appointed, the parties met before a numerous audience. Three of the Ḳā'ān's secretaries, one of each persuasion, were arbitrators

Rubruquis says he confuted the *Tuin*, who affirmed that "there was one supreme deity, and ten or eleven inferior gods, that none of them was omnipotent, that one half of things are good, the other bad, and that the souls of men passed from one body to another The good friar also says that the Musalmāns confessed they believed everything contained in the Bible, and always prayed to God that they might die the death of Christians, but, with respect to this, we must needs be sceptical"

Mangū Ḳā'ān, having been told that Rubruquis had called him a *Tuin* or idolator, sent for him on Whitsun Day, and asked him the question in the presence of his late *Tuin* adversary Rubruquis having answered in the negative, Mangū told him that such had been his opinion all along He then declared what his faith was He said · "The Mughals believe there is but one God, and have an upright heart towards Him; that, as He hath given to the hand many fingers, so He hath infused into the minds of men various opinions God hath," he continued, "given the Scriptures to you Christians, but you observe them not you find it not there that one of you should revile another, or that for money a man ought to deviate from justice" The friar confessed all this; but, as he was going to make apology for himself, the Ḳā'ān replied, that he did not apply what he had said *to him*, repeating, "God has given you the Scriptures, and you keep them not; but He hath given us soothsayers, whose injunctions we observe, and we live in peace."

If we are to credit the Armenian monk, Hayton, however, who was related to the King of Armenia, he, in his Oriental History, says the King sent his brother to the Ḳā'ān, in 1253 [Rubruquis refers to his having passed him on his road back], who returned after four years' stay, and that after that the King himself went, and found Mangū at Ālmālīgh, where the Ḳā'ān was baptized, with all his Court, among whom were many of the chief men of the empire, at the Armenian King's request.

in prayer, in order that, to us and to thee, in the performance of this adoration, his unbecoming actions may be manifested." Kyuk commanded him, saying: "Arise, and perform two genuflexions in prayer, as with the congregation, according to the rites of thy religion." That godly Imām—God reward him!—called unto him one of the Musalmāns who was in the vicinity of the place, and arose, went through the form of pronouncing the call to prayer, and genuflexions, in accordance with the orthodox *Sunnī* rule, and standing up, Khalīl-like,[5] repeating, from his heart and mind, the verse: "Verily I have turned my face unto Him who hath created heaven and earth, being a true believer, and not one of the polytheists,"[6] began pronouncing "God is great." Then he commenced the form of prayer, and went through, as prescribed and enjoined, with due pause and ceremony, the standing, sitting, bowing, and prostration.

When, in the act of prostration, he placed his forehead to the ground, some individuals among the infidels, whom Kyuk had introduced and prompted, greatly annoyed that godly Imām, and the other Musalmān who had followed him [in the prayers], knocked their heads with force against the ground, and committed other unbecoming actions towards them, in order that, thereby, the prayers might perhaps be rendered ineffectual. But that godly Imām and holy sage continued to bear the whole of this annoyance and tyranny, performed all the required forms and ceremonies, and made no mistake whatever, and the prayers were in no way rendered ineffectual Having delivered the salutation, he raised his face upwards towards the heavens, observed the form of "Invoke your Lord in humility and secresy," arose, with permission, and returned to his dwelling again. Almighty God of His perfect power and foe-consuming vengeance, that same night inflicted a disease upon Kyuk which, with the knife of death, severed the artery of his existence, so that verily that same night he went to hell, and the Musalmāns were delivered from his tyranny and oppression.[7]

[5] Like Ibrāhīm Khalīl 'Ullah—the Friend of God—is one of his titles.

[6] Ḳur'ān, chap. vi, verse 79

[7] Having arranged the affairs of the empire to his satisfaction, Kyūk resolved

When the sons of Kyuk beheld that awful vengeance, the next day they asked pardon of that Imām, and sought his good opinion. May God reward him and all true believers!

## VI. BĀTŪ, SON OF TŪSHĪ, SON OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN.

When Tūshī, the eldest son of the Chingīz Khān, as has been previously stated, was removed from the world[8] for conspiring against his father, several sons survived him, and the eldest of them all was Bātū.[9] The Chingiz Khān

to turn his face towards Ī-rān-Zamīn, and complete the subjugation of the territories therein He passed the winter of 643 H.—A.D. 1245-46—at the seat of sovereignty; and, when spring came round, with an immense host, he set out towards Ī-rān-Zamīn. On reaching the limits of Samrḳand, a week's journey from Bīsh-Bālīgh, death suddenly overtook him The widow of Tūlī Khān, Sīūr Ḳūḳībī Bīgī, who cultivated good terms with Bātū Khān for a particular purpose, as will presently appear, suspected this movement on the part of Kyūk was against Bātū, and she sent him information at once.

Faṣiḥ-ī and some others say that he was stricken with palsy—not gout: Bātū was gouty, however—and that he proceeded towards Samrḳand for change of climate

The Fanākatī says he reigned "nearly a year," but does not give the date of his decease.

Bātū Khān and other princes, who were on the way to join him with their troops, on receiving intimation of Kyūk's death, turned each back from the point he had reached, and returned to their own *ulūses* again

Kyūk is said to have been merciful, liberal, and munificent, like his father, Ūktāe.

It is strange that our author, although so detailed in his account of the oppression of the Musalmāns, does not seem to know when and where Kyūk died

[8] See page 1101.

[9] On the decease of Jūjī Khān, the Chingīz Khān, his father, despatched his younger brother, Ūtichkīn, otherwise Ū-Tigīn, to the *urdū* [see note [3], page 1101] of Jūjī—some say, into the Dasht-i-Ḳifchāḳ—to instal his son, Bātū or Bātūe, as it is also written, as successor to the appanage of his late father. The Baḥr ul-Asrār says, however, that Ūrdah, Bātū's elder brother, resigned his right to succeed in favour of Bātū, but it is probable that the Chingiz Khān nominated the one most capable of ruling over the Dasht-i-Ḳifchāḳ and its dependencies. Bātū and others of the sons of Jūjī held territories under their father; and one of them, the fifth son, Tūghāe Tīmur Khān, whose mother was a Ḳungḳur-āt, is said to have had assigned to him the territory of Ās and the Meng-Ḳishlāḳ, or "The Winter Station of the Meng" [Mangishlak of the maps], and the "ulūs-i-Chār-gānah," or four tribes so styled—the Tarkhān. Ūshūn, Meng, and Ūīr-āt—by his grandfather, and which Bātū, subsequently, confirmed him in Tūghāe Tīmūr's chief Khātūn was

installed him in the place of his father, and all the states

Kūrak-Lūk Bīgī, daughter of the Bādshāh of the Nāemāns [Koshlūk]; and he was the founder, in time, of a separate dynasty. Bātū Khān, with several of his brothers, set out for the *yūrat* of the Chingiz Khān, when the news of his grandfather's decease reached him, leaving Tūghāe Tīmūr his representative in Ḳifchāḳ, and was present at the installation of Ūktāe Ḳā'ān.

Tūghāe Tīmūr, like his elder brother, Barkah, became a convert to Islām, and, it is said, Barkah converted him to that faith.

Bātū is known by the title of the Ṣā-īn, or Ṣā-īn Khān, which title continued to be applied to his descendants down to modern times, and even after they became subject to the 'Usmānlī Turks.

Rubruquis, who had an interview with Bātū, says he was seated on a couch gilt all over, and his wife beside him. He had a fresh, ruddy, complexion, and, looking earnestly at the party, at length ordered them to speak Then their guide bid them kneel on both knees, which they did, and Rubruquis began to pray for Bātū's conversion, at which he modestly smiled, but the others present jeered him.

After his return from the campaign in Khiṭāe, as previously mentioned, Ūktāe Ḳā'ān held a great *ḳūrūltāe*, in 633 H., at a place named Tālān Wasīr, at which his sons, kinsmen, and the old Amīrs of the Chingiz Khān were present After a month devoted to feasting and jollity, the laws and regulations of the Chingiz Khān were read out once more, and various rewards were given It was then resolved that, as various parts of the empire had not been completely subjugated, and some were in a disturbed and disaffected state, each of his sons and kinsmen should be despatched at the head of armies into different parts, in order to arrange and settle their affairs, while the Ḳā'ān himself would proceed into the Dasht-i-Ḳifchāḳ at the head of another army. Mangū, son of Tūlī, although young in years at the time, gave very sound advice on this occasion He urged that it was not advisable that the Ḳā'ān should go thither when he had so many sons and kinsmen whom he could send instead. This was approved by all present; and arrangements were made in conformity therewith

The Shāh-zādahs appointed for this service were Mangū, Tūlī Khān's eldest son, and his brother Būchak [Ḳubīlāe is subsequently mentioned as being present, at least for part of the time, in the Dasht-i-Ḳifchāḳ]; of the family of Ūktāe, his eldest son, Kyūk, and his brother, Ḳadān Aghūl, and Būrī, Baidār, and Kolkān, sons of Chaghatāe, and among the great Amīrs was the Bahādur, Swīdāe, also written Swīdān [Sahūdah] Having set out in the spring, in Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 633 H. [March, 1235 A.D.], they passed the hot season of that year by the way, and towards its end—in the latter part of it—within the confines of Bulghār [Bulghār, its capital, was about fifty miles from Kāsān, and near the river Kāmā] joined the *urdū* of Bātū Khān, son of Jūjī, who had succeeded to his father's appanage, and he was to hold the chief command. His brothers, Ūrdah, Shaibān, and Tingḳūt, were likewise directed to proceed from the parts in which they were located, and join him, in order to accompany him on this expedition, which is famous as the Yūrish-i-Haft Sālah, or "Seven Years' Campaign" They were to invade the territories of Ḳifchāḳ [not yet subdued], the Urus [Rūs], Būlo [Poland ?], Majār [Magyar], Bāshghird, Ās [Ossetæ of Europeans], Sūdāḳ [Azdāḳ or Azof], Krim, and Charkas [the territory of the Cheremis, I believe, not the Circassians], and

of the tribes of Turkistān, from Khwārazm, Bulghār,

clear them of foreigners and enemies. They penetrated, as will be mentioned farther on, as far west as Poland and Silesia, as well as Russia.

All things being prepared, Bātū Khān, with Shaibān, and Boroldāe, with an army, commenced his march to subdue the Būlo [the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr says the Kalār] and the Bashghurd ; and, having arrived in those parts, they, in a short time, subdued those territories, slew a great number of people, and carried off great booty The Būlo were a mighty people of Christian faith, and the frontier of their country was adjoining that of the Farangs. Hearing of Bātū Khān's advance, they, arrogant because of their grandeur, and the number of their troops, moved forward to oppose him with an army of 40 *tomāns*—400,000—composed of chosen warriors, who considered it an eternal disgrace to fly from the battle-field. Bātū Khān detached his brother, Shaibān [the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr says Saḳnāḳ], with 10,000 horse as a vanguard, in order to reconnoitre the enemy and obtain information as to the number and position of their army. In the course of a week he returned, bringing information that the Būlān [Poles ?] were, like the Mughals, all able and efficient men, and ten times more numerous than themselves.

The two armies soon came in sight of each other. They were separated by a morass—the Fanākatī and Alfī say a river or water, but it would seem to refer to a morass containing a considerable body of water Bātū requested the Musalmāns in his army to assemble together in prayer, and call upon Almighty God to give them the victory, while he, himself, as was his wont on such occasions, like his grandfather before him, retired to a hill or rising ground , and, during a night and day, without speaking word to any one, occupied himself in prayer and supplication to the Most High to accord the victory to his army During the next night he sent Boroldāe [the Fanākatī says, his brother Shaibān] and some Amīrs, with their troops, to cross the water during the night, which they accomplished. Next morning early Bātū passed over and attacked the Būlān in person. By what means he crossed with his army, whether by a bridge or otherwise, is not stated, but it must have been a hazardous proceeding Repeated charges were made upon the enemy, but they, being so strong in point of numbers, did not move from their position ; and Shaibān greatly distinguished himself, in such wise that his prowess called forth praises from both sides. The force which, under Boroldāe, had passed over during the night, now attacked the enemy in the rear. The Mughal troops penetrated into their camp, and began cutting the ropes of the tents. They made towards the tent of Kalar [کلر], their Bādshah [Bela IV , king of Hungary of European writers ?], and cut the ropes with their swords, and overturned it Seeing this, his soldiers lost heart, and the main body of the Mughal army under Bātū, having pushed forward at the same time, the Būlān gave way and took to flight. The Mughals pursued, and made such slaughter among them "as cannot be computed.'

The first place attacked, according to the Fanākatī, and the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr, but which works enter into no details, was the city of Mankas—منکس—which, on account of the denseness of the forests among which it lay, was difficult to approach, even on foot. The trees were, however, felled on either side, and around it, sufficient to enable four carts to move abreast, which enabled Bātū to invest it. The city was, in due time, captured, and the inhabitants massacred ; and it is stated that the left ears of all those slain were

Barṭās, Saḳlāb, as far as the boundaries of Rūm, came

cut off in order to obtain the number of them, and that the total amounted to 270,000. Its capture, in 636 H., is mentioned farther on.

Such was not unusual, even in comparatively modern times. Gerbillon [1699] mentions that, in the battle which took place between "Bosto or Bostugo Khān, Prince of the Kalmuks," and "Zuzi [Jūjī ?] Khān" Prince of the Mughals, the latter were defeated with great slaughter, and that nine camel-loads of ears and locks of hair were brought to him.

When the spring of the following year came round, Bātū Khān, having disposed of the affairs of Ḳifchāḳ, Rūs, and Ālān, resolved to turn his arms against the territory of Kalār—کلار—[Būlo of Alfī] and Bāshghird or Bāshḳir.

Wolff, in his History of the Mughals, refers to nine sacks full of ears having been collected after the battle near Signitz, fought on the 9th April, 1240 A D [15th Ramaẓān, 638 H.], but this appears much too late a date for the capture of the city in question, as that took place early in the campaign, in the year 633 H. [1235-36 A.D ], under which year also it is recorded in Alfī; and, from what follows, the inhabitants do not appear to have been Christians

After this victory, the territories previously named are said to have fallen under the sway of the Mughals, "and a portion of Farang likewise."

This disastrous battle is that which took place, according to Von Hammer, on the banks of the Sayo, a tributary of the Theiss, in which Bela IV., King of Hungary, was overthrown in the spring of 1241 A.D., which accords with the last quarter of 638 H, but Alfī records it under the events of the year 623 of the Riḥlat, equivalent to 633 H.; but this can scarcely be correct, for the other princes only set out to join Bātū in that year, and, as it is mentioned soon after the capture of the city of Mankas, the correct date would be 634 H., which commenced on September 3rd, 1236 A.D. In the accounts given by European writers generally, Bātū Khān's troops are incorrectly styled an army of "Tartars" [there were certainly some Tārtārs among these forces, as well as Turks and Tājīks, who were subject to the Mughal yoke], by some called "Thatturi," and, by others, "Mangali," and these were under the command of "Bathus and Peta, sons of Hocotum Cham, son of Genzis Cham"! "Bathus, with his forces, had ravaged Great Russia, Lithuania, Poland, and Bohemia. The Cumani, a Sarmatian nation [the Ḳūmāns of Oriental authors], whose territory had been previously ravaged by the Mughal troops, brought intimation to the king of Hungary of the invasion of the countries of Rūs, Ālān, and Ḳifchāḳ, by the Mughals, and sought permission themselves to take shelter in Hungary, promising, in return, to turn Christians, and to be loyal subjects. Permission was granted; and some 40,000 Ḳūmāns, with their slaves, came into Hungary. The subjects of Bela IV, king of that country, were disaffected towards him; and, as the advance of Bāthus took place within a year of the Ḳūmāns' arrival in their country, the Hungarians accused them of having instigated the Mughals to come, and slew their chief, and his attendants, on his way to join King Bela. This act caused the Ḳūmāns to join the invaders, who had ravaged Russia and sent part of their forces into Silesia, Moravia, and Bohemia, while Bathus with an army of 300,000 men was advancing towards the frontiers of Hungary. Meanwhile, King Bela, with an army nearly as numerous, moved to encounter them; and, as he advanced, they retreated leisurely towards Agria, both leaders seeking a favourable opportunity to give battle; but Bela's troops, as I have said before, were

under his sway; and, in that region, he subjugated all the

disaffected, and rather wished that Bela might be defeated. At length the two armies drew so near each other that their respective camps were only separated by a marsh [this, no doubt, is the river or water of the Musalmān writers], which the Mughals finding passable crossed over by stealth in some places, and surrounded the camp of the Hungarians. One morning at daybreak the Mughals began the attack by volleys of arrows. The Hungarians, confounded at this unexpected attack, could not be persuaded to leave their camp. The upshot was that they were totally defeated, and the greater number perished: some say from 100,000 to 65,000 men. Pesth is said to have fallen immediately after.

"The Mughals then proceeded to ravage Upper Hungary, and King Bela had to fly into Austria. Then the invaders passed the Danube on the ice, entered and subdued Strigonia, while detached bands pursued Bela into Dalmatia. Unable to take him, they turned aside into Croatia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, pillaging and destroying. At this time news reached Bathus of the decease of Hocotam Cham [his father!], on which he set out on his return homewards through Cumania and Ruthenia." This latter is a specimen of history writing; Jūjī Khān, Bātū's father, had been dead ten years before the campaign began.

Rubruquis, who passed through the Dasht-i Ḳifchāḳ about sixteen or seventeen years after these events, says the whole country between the Danube and the Ātil was possessed by the *Koman Kapchak*, "who are," he says, "called Valani by the Germans, and their country Valania."

It will be seen from this that there is some discrepancy between the two accounts of eastern and western writers, and that the latter have made terrible havoc with the names, wrongly imagined that Bātū was the son of Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, instead of being his nephew, and turned all the Mughals into "Tattars." There is little doubt but that the Ḳūmāns were of Turkish descent, and that, as before stated, there were some Turks, Tāttārs, and Tājziks in Bātū's army. Ḳadān Aghul, and Malik, sons of Ūktāe, were by a Ḳūmān concubine. Other blunders committed by most European writers are with regard to the dates, and the supposition that Ūktāe's death was the cause of the return of the Mughal princes and their armies, whereas, as has been, and will be presently, related, these wars were over, and they returned to their respective territories *before* the death of Ūktāe, which took place on the 5th day of the sixth month of 639 H.—10th December, 1241 A.D.; and yet, according to the European writers, the battle of Lignitz was only fought in April of that very year, and the "Mongols" only crossed the Danube on the ice, after the great battle in which Bela, king of Hungary, was overthrown, to attack Gran, on the 25th December, 1241, or, according to this theory, twenty days *after* "Hocotam's" death.

After overrunning the country of Bolo [بولو], the Shāh-zādahs, and Amīrs, during the [following] winter, assembled on the banks of the river Jānān [جانان], and the Bahādur, Swidāe [Sahūdah], with a large force, was despatched into the country of Urūs [also styled Rūs], and the frontiers of Bulghār. He penetrated as far as the city of Komak [کومك], and overthrew the armies of that state, after much fighting, and brought it under subjection; and, the capital thereof having been reduced to wretchedness and desolation, the Amīrs of that place came out, proceeded to the presence of the Shāh-zadahs, and made their submission. They were well treated, received favours

tribes of Khifchāḳ, Ḳanḳulī, Yamak, Ilbarī [Albarī],[1] Rūs,[2]

[1] The tribe to which Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, belonged, and also Ulugh Khān, and his brother, and cousin. Our author connects them with the Yamak also. See pages 599, 791, 796, 800, and last page

[2] In some copies written ورس and ارس The tract referred to is Russia in its restricted signification—Russia Proper. The meaning of Rūs is said to be "fox," which, to say the least, is suggestive

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and benefits, and were permitted to return [as vassals of the Mughals]. Again they became rebellious, and the Shāh-zādahs again detached Swīdāe [Sahūdah]. He soon reduced the disaffected, and put all concerned in the outbreak to death.

After these events a council was held by the Shāh-zādahs, and it was agreed that each one, with the troops under him, should march towards different points [where this council was held is not stated], subdue such territories as lay in his way, and destroy the fortified places Mangū, accordingly, continued to advance on the left hand towards Jīrkah [جمرکه] or Chirkah [چرکه], keeping along the banks of the Jīrkah or Chirkah river, and Bajmān [This name is doubtful It is written نجمان—Najmān, or Bajmān—طهمان—Taḥmān—and تجمان—without any points It may also be read Tajmān, or it may be Tachmān, but it seems to be Bajmān, from the various modes here given, who was a great Amīr, and redoubtable warrior of the tribe or people of the Aolbarlang [اولبرلنك] of the peoples of Ḳifchāḳ, and Ḳājīr Olūkah [قاجیراولوکه] of the tribe of Ās [Ossetæ ?], he made prisoners It happened in this wise Bajmān, with a body of robbers, who had escaped the sword [probably at the time Kūktāe and Swīdāe [Sahūdah], at the commencement of Ūktāe's reign, moved into those parts. See note [6], page 1115], having been joined by other fugitives, were harrying the parts around and carrying off property, and the sedition was increasing daily The Mughals were unable to lay hands on this Bajmān, and he used to hide in the vast forests of canes along the banks of the Ātil or Wolga. Mangū caused two hundred vessels to be prepared, on each of which he embarked 100 Mughals, while Mangū himself, and his brother, Tūkal, moved along down either bank with their forces [Neither Mangū nor his brother embarked on board these vessels · they would have defeated their own object if they had done so ] At last the troops under Mangū reached one of these forests of canes, and discovered traces of a recent encampment After some search, an old woman, who had been left behind because she was sick, was discovered On being questioned, she, to save her life, confessed that Bajmān and his followers had recently decamped, and were then lurking in a certain island, which she pointed out, with all his property and effects. As his boats were not there, and he was unable to cross to the island, Mangū sent messengers to hasten onwards his vessels , but it so happened that, before the vessels arrived, a high wind arose, and the waters became so disturbed, and the waves rose so, that the shallow part which constituted the ford, pointed out by the old woman, became partially exposed from one side to the other Mangū pushed across with his troops and caught Bajmān, who requested that Mangū would put him to death with his own hand, but this he declined, and directed his brother, Tūkal, to cut him in two. On this island Ḳājīr Olūkah, the Amīr of the Ās, was also slain. Mangū passed part of the summer on this island, and when the weather became very hot he moved into another country.

Charkas,[3] and Ās,[4] as far as the Baḥr-i-Zulmat [Sea of

[3] The people styled Tschermiss probably, who, in ancient times, dwelt between the Volga and Tanais or Don.

[4] Said to have been a city of Ḳifchāḳ giving name to a province.

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These events are recorded as having taken place in the year 633 H. = September, 1235-36 A D.

Bātū Khān, in the beginning of 634 H.—the latter part of 1236 A.D—in concert with his brothers, Ūrdah, Barkah, and other Shāh-zādahs, undertook an expedition against Toḳashī [توقشی] and Barṭās, and, after some delay, subdued their [those?] territories. Towards the close of this year, the Shāh-zādahs present held a *kūrīltāe*, and it was therein determined to make war on the Urus [اروس]. Bātū, Ūrdah, Kyūk, Mangū, Kolkān, Ḳadān, and Būrī, accordingly, invested the city of Arpān, and, after three days, it was captured by storm, and the city of Ī-kah [ایکه] met the same fate In the capture of Ī-kah, Kolkān [*not* the son of the Chingiz Khān, as supposed, merely because he bore an uncle's name who died long before, but Chaghatāe's son] was mortally wounded. One of the Amīrs of the Urus, named Aimān [ایمان], also written Azmān [ازمان], advanced with an army against the Mughals, and, after many endeavours on his part, he was killed, with the greater part of his troops The Mughals now captured the city of Makār [مکار] after five days' investment, and the ruler [Ḥākim] of the city, who was named Ūlā-tīmūr [اولاتیمور—Vladimir, son of the Grand Duke George of Russia?], was likewise killed The city of Borkī-i-Buzurg—Great Borkī [برکی]—was also invested, and, after eight days, during which its people fought desperately, it was taken, and fell into Mangū Khān's hands In the space of five days, the Mughals took the city of Ḳarīḳlā [قریقلا], which is the native country of the Wazīr of Lādān or Lāwān. The Amīr of that country, Wamkah Porko [ومکه پرکو?], fled, and took shelter in a forest, and after some trouble he was captured and killed

After this, the Mughal Shāh-zādahs made a retrograde movement [to the river Don?] and held counsel together respecting their future operations It was agreed that they should continue to advance, *tomān* by *tomān*, to Jīrkah or Chirkah, and capture and destroy every city and town and fortified place that came in their way Bātū, on this occasion, appeared before the city of Kasal Ankah [کسل انکه] and invested it for two months, but could not succeed in taking it. Subsequently, Ḳadān, and Būrī, arrived with their contingents, and, after three days, it was carried After this they came to a pause, and took up their quarters in houses [for the winter?], and took their ease

Towards the close of the year 635 H [which commenced the end of August, 1237-38 A D ], Mangū and Ḳadān marched into the country of the Charkas [Cheremis of Nichī Novgorod], and, in the midst of winter, entered it The Bādshah of the Charkas, named Būḳān [بوقان—possibly Yūḳān—یوقان], was slain, and the country fell into the possession of the Mughals In this year likewise, Shaibān, Tūkal, and Būrī, turned their attention to the country of Marīm [مریم], and subdued it from Hejakān [هجاکان—perhaps Jejakān—ججاکان] as far as Ḳarar [قرار]

Barkah, during this year, set out towards Ḳifchāḳ; and Uzjāk [ازجاک], Ḳozān [قوزان], Ḳezān [قزان], and other leaders and their dependants, after

Darkness—the Arctic Sea ?],* and the whole submitted to his authority.

He was a very sagacious man, and friendly towards the

* A stormy sea is called by this name, in a passage in the Ḳur'ān, but there can be little doubt as to what sea is alluded to.

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great slaughter, were captured, and their country devastated. After this, Barkah returned to the *urdū* of his uncle, Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, bearing along with him such a vast amount of spoil as cannot be computed.

In the year 636 H.—August, 1239-40 A.D.—Ḳadān and Būrī proceeded towards the city of Mankas [منکس] during the height of winter, and took it, after forty-five days' investment. In the following year, 637 H.—August, 1239-40 A.D.—Mangū Khān and Ḳubīlāe were directed to return from the Dasht-i-Ḳifchāḳ, while Bātū Khān and his brothers, and Ḳadān, Būrī, and Būchak, marched to attack the country of Urus [again], and the tribe and soldiers of Halahān [هلاهان—called Halā Khān—هلاخان by some]. The great city of the Urus [اروس] was captured by Mangū in nine days. The Mughals continued to advance towards the cities of Ūlā-tīmūr [Vladimr] and Jīrkah or Chirkah, *tomān* by *tomān*, taking and destroying all the fortified places they met with in their route. During this expedition, after three days, the city of Ūch-Ūghūl Ulādmūr [اوچ اغول اولادمور] was taken, which evidently refers to the city of Kief.

"The Russians," according to the "*Modern Universal History*," quoting Petreius, par II., were reduced to a most deplorable situation, perpetually distressed by their own sovereigns, harassed by their neighbours, and exposed to all the calamities of war; when, to complete their misery, the Tartars [Mughals ?], still greater savages than themselves, poured in upon them with irresistible fury, and actually made a conquest of their country. History does not inform us of the particulars of this remarkable event, any farther than that innumerable multitudes of those barbarians, headed by their khan *Batto* or *Battus*, after ravaging great part of Poland and Silesia, broke suddenly into Russia, and laid waste everything before them, marking their steps with every act of cruelty. Most of the Russian princes, among whom was the great Duke George Sevodolitz, were made prisoners, and racked to death; in short, none found mercy but those who voluntarily acknowledged the Tartars [Mughals ?] for their lords. The relentless conqueror imposed upon the Russians everything that is most mortifying in slavery, insisting that they should have no other princes than such as he approved of [History repeats itself often: this reads much like part of recent treaties which one power wished to impose upon the 'Usmānlī Turks, and another upon Afghāns]; and that they should pay him a yearly tribute, to be brought by their sovereigns themselves, now his vassals, on foot, who were to present it humbly to the Tartarian [Mughal ?] ambassador on horseback. They were also to prostrate themselves before the haughty Tartar [Mughal ?], to offer him milk to drink, and, if any drops of it fell down, to lick them up—a singular mark of servility, worthy of the barbarian who imposed it, and which lasted near two hundred and sixty years."

A duke or prince of the Rūs or Russians attended, as a vassal of the Mughals, the installation of Kyūk Khān, but was compelled to stand *outside* the audience tent or khargah. This is confirmed by John de Plano Carpini, who reached Kyūk's *urdū* in 1246 A.D.—644 H.—before Kyūk was elected, and he found Jeroslaus standing at the door of the khargah

Musalmāns, and, under his protection, they used to live contented and happy. In his camp, and among his tribes, there were *masjids* with regular congregations, an Imām, and Mu'aẕẕin, all duly organized ; and, during the period of his reign, and the term of his life, the territories of Islām sustained neither harm nor injury by his command, nor from his dependents nor troops. The Musalmāns of Turkistān, under the shadow of his guardianship, enjoyed great affluence and infinite security.

Out of every country of Ī-rān which fell under the jurisdiction of the Mughals, he [Bātū] had a specified assignment, and his factors were placed over such portions as had been allotted to him,[6] and all the Grandees and Leaders of the Mughal forces were obedient unto Bātū, and used to look upon him in the light of his father Tūshī.

When Kyuk departed from the world, all concurred in the sovereignty of Bātū, with the exception of the sons of Chaghatāe, and made this request to him, that he would accept the throne of the Mughals, and assume the sovereignty,[7] in order that all might obey his commands. Bātū did not consent ; and Mangū Khān, son of Tūlī, son of the Chingiz Khān, was raised to the sovereignty, as will, subsequently, be related

Some among the trustworthy have stated on this wise, that Bātū, privately, and in secret, had become a Musalmān,[8] but used not to make it known, and that he reposed implicit confidence in the people of Islām. For twenty-eight years, more or less, he ruled over this extent of country [as previously mentioned], and died.[9] The mercy

[6] As head of the race and family See page 1177

[7] Not mentioned by any other author, but extremely probable It is also stated again at page 1164

[8] So he says respecting Ūktāe Ḳā'ān

[9] After his return from the seven years campaign, by command of his uncle, Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, Bātū was raised to the sovereignty over all the parts of Ḳifchāḳ, and the farther west, including the extensive territories which he had subdued and made tributary ; and he proceeded to the presence of his uncle, and remained with him some time He subsequently returned to his own dominions

In 639 H he was struck with paralysis, hence his inability to come to the Urdūe Bāligh to hold a *kūriltāe* on the death of Kyūk ; and, in the year 650 H , he died on the banks of the Atil or Wolga, at the age of forty-eight, having been born in 602 H There is some discrepancy regarding the date of

of the Almighty be upon him, if a true believer, and, if an infidel, may the Almighty lessen his punishment [in hell]!

They buried him in conformity with the Mughal custom; and among that people it is the usage, when one of them dies, to prepare a place under ground about the size of a chamber or hall, in largeness proportionate to the rank and degree of the accursed one who may have departed to hell. They furnish it with a throne and covering for the ground, and they place there vessels and numerous effects, together with his arms and weapons, and whatever may have been his own private property, and some of his wives, and slaves, male or female, and the person he loved most above all others. When they have placed that accursed one upon the throne, they bury his most beloved along with him in that place. In the night-time the place is covered up, and horses are driven over it, in such a manner that not a trace of it remains.[1] This custom of theirs—God curse them!—is comprehended by all Musalmāns. Here an astonishing anecdote which the author has heard is recorded, in order that readers thereof may, respecting the things of the world to come, increase their reverence; but God is all knowing.

## AN ASTONISHING ANECDOTE.

An astonishing anecdote, which was heard from the Khwājah [opulent merchant], whose word is reliable, whom

his decease Some say it happened in 645 H., some in 653 H., others in 654 H., and that he was aged forty-seven, and others, again, give 662 H as the date; but, as nearly all agree that he was born in 601 or 602 H, and died at the age of forty-seven or forty-eight, there is no doubt that 650 H is the correct year of his death.

Bātū Khān founded the city known as the Sarāe, on the Ātil or Wolga. He was succeeded by his son, Surtāḳ, who will be mentioned farther on.

[1] That quaint old traveller, Sir John Maundeville, had heard a correct version of the mode of interment, which he gives in detail, and winds up saying: "Many cause themselves to be interred privately by night, in wild places, and the grass put again over the pit to grow; or they cover the pit with gravel and sand, that no man may perceive where the pit is, to the intent that never after may his friends have mind or remembrance of him"—*Early Travels in Palestine* London. Bohn

Rubruquis states, and quite correctly too, with reference to burials, that, if the deceased be of the race of the Chingiz Khān, *his sepulchre is rarely known*. See note at page 1089, para 5.

they used to style Rashīd-ud-Dīn, the Ḥakīm, a native of Balkh, is here related, in order that it may be acceptable to the Sulṭān of the Sulṭāns of Islām.

This Khwājah, Rashīd-ud-Dīn, the Ḥakīm, had come into Hindūstān from Khurāsān, in the year 648 H., for purposes of trade, and he accompanied the author of this ṬABAḲĀT, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, on a journey [from Dihlī] to Multān.[2] He related as follows: "One of the Mughal lords, in the territory of Ḳarā-Ḳuram,[3] who possessed numerous followers and servants and great wealth, [died and] went to hell. They accordingly caused a place to be prepared, with the utmost ceremony, for the interment of that accursed one, and placed with him arms and other effects, and furniture and utensils in great quantity. A couch also, adorned and decorated, they had prepared; and desired to bury, along with him, the most loved of his people. They consulted together as to whom among his servants they should inter who would be the one to whom he was most attached.

"There was a youth of the confines of Tirmid of Khurāsān,[4] who, in his childhood, had fallen captive into the hands of this Mughal *gabr*[5] in the beginning of the misfortunes of Khurāsān; and, when he reached puberty, and grew into youth and virility, and attained unto man's estate, he turned out exceedingly active, intelligent, expert, and frugal, in such wise, that everything belonging to that accursed one, in whole and in part, came under the youth's disposal, and, as this Mughal had called him son, on this account, the whole of the property and effects, and cattle, and whatever else belonged to him, the youth had taken under his control. All the servants and followers of that

[2] This was on the occasion of our author's proceeding thither in order to despatch the slaves to his "dear sister" in Khurāsān. Perhaps they went along with Rashīd-ud-Dīn's own *kāfilah*, indeed, it is most probable that they accompanied it. At page 687, our author says he set out himself in Zī-Ḥijjah of 647 H., and returned again to Dihlī in Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 648 H.

[3] In a few copies, "the territory of Ḳarā-Ḳuram of the Mughals," as though that was some other Ḳarā-Ḳuram.

[4] The Āmūīah being correctly considered as the boundary of Khurāsān.

[5] An Essay on "Fire-Worship" in Mughalistān is not required to elucidate this any more than in Hindūstān or Upper India. The signification of this word, and the way in which it is applied, has been given at page 620.

Mughal were under his orders, so that not one of them, without the permission of that youth, used to have the power of making use of anything belonging to that accursed one. At this time, all of them [the Mughals], with one accord, girded up their loins to despatch this youth, saying: 'The deceased [Mughal] used not to regard any one more than this youth: it is necessary to inter him along with him.' Their object was to destroy this youth, and take vengeance on him for the sway he had exercised; and, in this proceeding, all agreed. The Musalmān youth, in this state of affliction, was astounded, and resigned his heart to death, seeing that he had no asylum and no succour, save in the Lord, the Helper of the Helpless. He stretched out the hand of supplication to the promise of Him, "who hears the distressed when they pray unto Him,"[6] and performed the ablution of purification, donned clean clothes, and placed his foot within that subterranean [chamber].

"When they had covered it up, in a corner of this chamber, that poor creature turned his face towards the *ḳiblah*, repeated a prayer of two genuflexions, and then occupied himself in repeating the Musalmān creed. Suddenly, a side of the chamber opened, and two persons, so majestic and awe-striking that the bile of a hundred thousand lions, at their aspect, would turn to water, entered Each of them bore a fiery javelin, out of which issued flames of fire, and the flames encircled the couch of the [dead] Mughal all round; and a small spark from the fiery sparks [issuing from the flames], about the size of a needle's point, fell upon the cheek of that youth, burnt it, and made it smart. One of these two persons said: 'There appears to be a Musalmān here;' and the other turned his face on the youth and asked: 'Who art thou?' The youth states that he answered: 'I am a poor and miserable captive, captured by the hands of that Mughal.' They demanded: 'From whence art thou?'[7] and I replied: 'From Tirmid.' They then struck one side of the chamber with the heads of their javelins, and it rent

[6] ḲUR'ĀN, chap. xxvii, verse 63

[7] Strange that these supernatural beings did not know all about him, and that this never occurred to the narrator.

asunder to the extent of about [the size of] a doorway, and they said: 'Go out!' and I placed my foot without, and I found myself in the Tirmid country."

"From that place, namely, Ḳarā-Ḳuram[8] of the Mughals to Tirmid, is a distance of six months' journey and more; and, up to this time, that youth is dwelling upon his own property and possessions, on the confines of Tirmid; and whatever salve he continues to apply to the hurt occasioned by that spark of fire, it is ineffectual to heal it, and it continues open to the size of a needle's point, and to discharge as before." Glory to Him who contrives what He pleases!

May Almighty God long preserve the Sultān of the Sultāns of the age, NĀSIR-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN, upon the throne of sovereignty!

## VII. MANGŪ KHĀN,[9] SON OF TŪLĪ KHĀN, SON OF THE CHINGIZ KHAN

Trustworthy persons have stated that Tūlī was the

[8] Here also, as at the beginning of this anecdote, two of the most modern copies of the text have Ḳarā-Ḳūm for Ḳarā-Ḳuram See para 6 of note, page 1140

[9] Like Ūkdāe or Ūktāe, Mangū is always styled Ḳā'ān.

Tūlī, or Tūlūe, as the name is also written, had *ten* sons, but the four named by our author were the most renowned among the Musalmāns (1) Mangū Khān, (2) Ḳubīlāe Khān (3) Hulākū Khān, and (4) Irtuk Būḳā

Our author has not devoted a separate heading to Tūlī Khān, although he was as much entitled to it as Ūktāe, Chaghatāe, or Jūjī, but the account of his life is contained in the reigns of his father and brother Ūktāe. Tūlī was the youngest son, and most beloved by his father, and, when very young in years, his father married him to the daughter of the Jānkabū, Badāe, brother of the Āwang Khān, named Sīūr Ḳūḳībī Bigī, and by that Karāyat wife, the chief of his Khātūns, he had the four sons named above. As his decease, which took place in 628 H, was a source of grief to Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, care was taken that the word "Tūlī," which in their language signifies a mirror, should not be mentioned, and instead of using the word *tūlī* for mirror, after his decease, the word *gūzgū* was had recourse to, bearing the same signification, and it became common in consequence Command was also issued that the name Tūlī should not be given to any one again The Jahān-Ārā says that Mangū, Tūlī's son, commanded the use of the word *gūzgū*

Ūktāe, when he used to have recourse to drink, and became inebriated, would say that he first took to it in order to divert his thoughts from dwelling on the bereavement he had sustained by the loss of his brother Tūlī

The authority from which the author of "*Mongols Proper*" draws a version of this little episode, and a very erroneous version, must have been "in a fix"

youngest son of the Chingiz Khān; and it was he who destroyed the cities of Khurāsān, as has been previously recorded respecting him, in the account of the downfall of the city of Hirāt. He had four sons, the eldest being Mangū Khān, the second, Hulā'ū, the third, Irtuḳ Būḳah, and the fourth, Ḳublā.

When Kyuk went to hell, the sons of Chaghatāe demanded the sovereignty; and they, having a great number of horsemen and dependents, did not consent to the sovereignty of Mangū Khān. The beginning of this matter was in this manner. When Kyuk departed from this world, all the great chiefs of the Mughal armies turned their faces towards Bātū [son of Tūshi] saying: "It behoveth that thou shouldst be our sovereign, since, of the race of the Chingiz Khān, there is no one greater than thou; and the throne and diadem, and the rulership, befitteth thee best." Bātū replied: "I and my brother, which is Barkā, possess [already] so great a sovereignty and empire in this part,[1] that to rule over it, together with

to translate it, and has consequently made it ridiculous:—"Tului in Mongol means 'mirror,' and the Turkish synonym of the word, viz., *guezugu*, was eradicated from the language," etc. So *guezugu* was eradicated so that "Tului" might be perpetuated!

Tūlī Khān was known by the titles of the Yakah or the Unique Nū-yīn and the Ulugh or Great Nū-yīn, but certainly he was not referred to—at least, by Mughals—as the "Great *Novan*."

[1] Our author forgets to say where The Dasht-i Ḳifchāḳ, and the vast territories farther west, are referred to. See under the account of Bātū, page 1165

On the death of Kyūk Khān, again disorder arose in the affairs of the empire. The Khātūn of the late Khān, Ūḳūl-Ḳūīmish, or Ūghūl-Ḳīmish, as the name is also written, according to previous usage, in concert with, and by the advice of, the ministers and Amīrs present in the great *urdū*, or *yūrat*, assumed the direction of affairs The routes, too, had become closed, as each of the Shāh-zādahs, Nū-yīns, and Amīrs, with his followers, were on their way to the *urdū*, but, when they became aware of Kyūk's decease, they halted then and there, and delayed in expectation of the accession of a Khān; and each of the Shāh-zādahs was beginning to plot sedition, and stir up dissension, particularly the sons of Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, who entertained ideas of their rights to the succession, after the promise made to Kyūk by those present at his accession.

Bātū Khān, son of Jūjī, was the real head of the family of the Chingiz Khān, and of the Mughal Ī-māḳ, was acknowledged as such by the whole family, and all the different Mughal tribes, and was looked up to and held in great reverence in consequence. He had, however, in 639 H., been stricken with paralysis, in one or both legs, which the historians term *dard-i-pāe*, literally

**possession of, and sway over, the states of Chīn, Turkistān,**

signifying, "pain, ache, or affliction of the foot or leg," which some modern translators interpret as gout; but gout is temporary, as far as moving about is concerned, while Bātū's affliction was permanent, and precluded his undertaking a long journey. He was, consequently, unable to proceed from the Dasht-i-Khifchāḳ to the ancient *urdū* and *yūrat* of the Chingiz Khān, as was usual on such occasion, but he sent out envoys, by virtue of his position, to the different Shāh-zādahs, and Amīrs, saying "Let each one get ready to come into Khifchāḳ, so that we may hold a *ḳūrīltāe* of the different brothers, and brothers' sons, and consult as to whom we shall choose to succeed to the Khān-ship, since, on account of my paralysis, I am unable to proceed to Kalūr-ān, which is the original *yūrat* and the seat of sovereignty of the Chingiz Khān."

The agents of Bātū in due course delivered their message, but Ḳarā Aghūl, son of Chaghatāe, and the sons of Kyūk, declined to obey, saying: "The ancient *yūrat* and seat of sovereignty of the Chingiz Khān is Ū-tāḳ or Ū-tāgh and Kalūr-ān, and it is not at all necessary for us to go into Khifchāḳ to hold a *ḳūrīltāe*," and Khwājah, the Nū-yīn, Ḳarḳlūḳūr, and the Nū-yīn, Tīmūr, who were the Amīrs of Ḳarā-Ḳuram, they therefore sent to act as their deputies, and to sign anything that might be agreed upon among the Shāh-zādahs. Sīūr Ḳūḳībī Bigī, the mother of Mangū, however, having heard that the sons of Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, Chaghatāe Khān, and Kyūk Khān, refused to comply with Bātū Khān's request, advised her sons, particularly Mangū, her eldest, to lose no time in proceeding to the presence of their Āḳā, and paying homage to him; and Mangū and his brothers set out without loss of time. Having reached the Dasht-i-Ḳifchāḳ, and the presence of Bātū Khān, he received them with great favour, and paid Mangū great attention. Bātū stated to the other Shāh-zādahs present at the *ḳūrīltāe* then assembled, that he had already remarked Mangū's fitness for the Khān-ship, and, besides, reminded them that he had already experienced the good and evil, the sweet and bitter, of life, and the affairs of the world, had several times commanded armies, and had been held in estimation by Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, the Shāh-zādahs and Amīrs, and the soldiery. Bātū added: "The Ḳā'ān sent him along with me, and my brothers, Ūrdah, Shaibān, and Tingḳūt, and others of the family of Jūjī, accompanied by his brother Korkān [Būchak is mentioned as having gone. See note [9] page 1164], and Kyūk, into the territory of Ḳifchāḳ, and other countries, where he greatly distinguished himself. After that, when the Ḳā'ān commanded that the Shāh-zādahs [that is, other than those of Jūjī's family, whose appanage was the territories of Ḳifchāḳ, and other western countries] should return, before they reached the Ḳā'ān's presence he was dead. The Ḳā'ān's will was, that Shīrāmūn, his grandson, should succeed him, but Tūrā Kīnah Khātūn set aside his commands, and set up her own son, Kyūk, in the place of his father, Ūktāe. Now it is proper that Mangū Khān should succeed, and he is worthy of succeeding, and there is none other so fitting and capable of directing the affairs of the empire and of the army. More than this, Mangū is the son of my uncle, Tūlūe Khān, the youngest son of the Chingiz Khān, and to whom appertained the charge of the great *yūrat*, and as, according to the ordinances and usages of the Mughals, the dwelling-place of the father *belongs to the youngest son*, therefore the sovereignty belongs to Mangū." The others present acquiesced, and, the right of Mangū having been determined, Bātū Khān despatched envoys to the Khātūns and sons of Ūktāe, and to Sīūr Ḳūḳībī-Bigī, Mangū's mother, and the other Shāh-zādahs and great Amīrs

and 'Ajam, would be impossible. It will be advisable

of the Dast-i-Rāst, and Dast-i-Chap [i.e. who, in the assemblies of the Chingiz Khān, and his son, Ūktāe, used to sit on the right and left, and who belonged to the Hazārah's of the right and left wings See note at page 1093], saying, that "by the Shāh-zādahs who, with their eyes, had seen the Chingiz Khān, and who, with their ears, had heard his laws and ordinances, the Shāh-zādahs present in this *kūrīltāe*, it was deemed advisable, on the part of the *ulūs*, the army, and the people generally, to raise Mangū to the sovereignty."

Having thus selected Mangū, Bātū Khān directed his brothers Ūrdah, Shaibān, and Barkāe, or Barkah, as he is also called, the Shāh-zādahs of the Dast-i-Rāst, the whole family of Jūjī, Ḳarā Hūlākū, and others of the sons of Chaghatāe, and the Shāh-zādahs of the Ḳarā Bilād [قرا بلاد], to prepare a great banquet in honour of the occasion, and to seat Mangū on the throne, but Mangū made some hesitation [for form's sake, probably?], when his brother, Mūkāe, or Mūkā Aghūl, got up, and said: "Have we not all stipulated and signed our hands that we would not act contrary to the command of the Ṣā-īn Khān, Bātū, how therefore can Mangū hesitate to accede to his commands, and neglect to give ear to his words?" All present applauded this speech of Mūkāe's, and Mangū therefore signified his willingness. Then, as was customary, Bātū Khān arose, seated Mangū on the throne, and saluted him as Ḳā'ān, and all present, following his example, did the same. Bātū then held the goblet to him, and, followed by the others, bent the knee to him nine times, opened his girdle, doffed his cap, and acknowledged his fealty to him

It was then determined that a great *kūrīltāe* should be summoned to meet at Kalūr-ān to confirm this decision, and, accordingly, all those who attended this one departed for their own *yūrats*, and the accession of Mangū became noised abroad in all parts Bātū then directed his brothers, Barkāe and Būkā Tīmūr—the Fanākatī says Ūrdah and Shaibān also went—to accompany Mangū, with a large army, to the *khargāh* of Kalūr-ān [referring to the *urdū* of the Chingiz Khān], and, in the presence of the Shāh-zādahs, to seat him on the throne there likewise Mangū's mother used all her influence, which was very great, to induce the adverse party to attend, and most of the Shāh-zādahs and others signified their approval of the choice of Mangū, all save a number of the sons of Ūktāe and Kyūk, and Yassū-Mungā, Ḳarā Aghūl, and Būrī, sons of Chaghatāe, who were using all sorts of stratagems to prevent the installation of Mangū, and our author was wrong in supposing that only the sons of Chaghatāe were plotting against him. They despatched an envoy to Bātū Khān, notifying their dissent from the succession of Mangū, and stated that it had been previously determined that the sovereignty should continue in Ūktāe's family, and demanded why, such being the case, he had set up another Bātū replied that he had done so by virtue of his position as head of the tribes and family, and because he and others deemed Mangū best fitted to rule a vast empire; and that no one else among them was capable of ruling it—a work which could not be entrusted to boys. He exhorted them to think better of the matter.

In this discussion the time prescribed by Bātū for the installation of Mangū on the throne in Kalūr-ān passed, and the next year [647 H.] came round, and still the affairs of the empire remained without order or splendour All the efforts of Mangū and his mother to propitiate and persuade the hostile party were of no avail the more she and others endeavoured to do so, the

that we should raise to the sovereignty Mangū Khān,

more obdurate the others became This year coming to a close also, Mangū, in accord with Bātū's brothers, sent envoys to all his kinsmen, requesting them to assemble in Kalūr-ān; and despatched Shalāmūn, the Bitik-chī—a writer, or secretary, from the Turkish بتك—to Ughūl Ḳūīmish, the chief Khātūn of Kyūk Khān, and her sons, Nāḳū and Khwājah, and another Bitik-chī to Yassū-Mangū [also written Mangā], saying · "Most of the members of the *urdū* of the Chingiz Khān have here assembled, and the *ḳūrīltāe* is entirely delayed, through your non-attendance, for a long time. If you are of one mind, and desire to see the affairs of the empire disposed of, amicably and in accord, attend; but, understand, that nothing will be left in abeyance for you any longer" They saw there was no help but to appear, and therefore Nāḳū Aghūl set out, and the Nū-yīn, Ḳadāḳ, and several other Amīrs of Kyūk Khān, and Yassū Mangū, and Būrī, sons of Chaghatāe Khān, proceeded from their *urdūs*, and went to the presence of Shīrāmūn, grandson of Ūktāe, and all these Shāh-zādahs met together at an appointed place Afterwards, Khwājah, son of Kyūk, joined them; and, under the supposition that the *ḳūrīltāe* would not, and could not, be held without them, they proceeded very leisurely It so happened, however, that Barkā Khān had previously written to his brother, Bātū, saying, that it was now two years since the sons of Ūktāe, Kyūk, and Chaghatāe, had been summoned to attend, and they would not, and were constantly occupied in their ambitious and seditious designs. In reply, Bātū gave orders, saying "Place ye Mangū on the throne, and, if they or either of them do anything contrary to the *yāsā* of the Chingiz Khān, let their heads pay the forfeit"

On receipt of this command, Barkā and his brother assembled together all the Shāh-zādahs then present in the *urdū* of Kalūr-ān, and the great Amīrs, among whom was Amīr Harḳashūn, or Harḳasūn, and of the Shāh-zādahs of the Dast-i-Rāst, Ḳarā Hulā'ū [or Hulākū; the name is written both ways, and both are correct], son of Chaghatāe, of Ūktāe's sons, Ḳadān, and his grandsons, Mūngard and others, and the brothers of Mangū, Ḳubīlā, or Ḳubīlāe, Hulākū, Mūkā, and Irtuḳ Būḳā Of the Shāh-zādahs of the Dast-i-Chap, the sons of Jūjī Kasār, Nako [?], and Yasū Mungā, Iljidāe or Īlchīkdāe, son of Kājīūn, and Mājār, son of the Nū-yīn, Ūljī, the sons of Mankūtī, and a few others of the family of lesser note

Having chosen a propitious hour, approved by the augurs, they met together, confirmed the decision of the Āḳā, Bātū Khān, and placed Mangū Ḳā'ān upon the throne with the usual ceremonials One of the most auspicious signs of the glory of his reign, according to the pro-Mughal Historians, was, that for several days previously, the atmosphere of those parts became so overcast that the face of the sun was completely hidden, and incessant rain fell; but it so happened that, at the very moment chosen by the astrologers for Mangū's seating himself on the throne, the world-enlightening luminary burst forth from his veil of clouds, and filled the universe with his effulgent brightness All present in that great assembly, Shāh-zādahs, Amīrs, and people, thereupon arose, doffed their caps, unloosed their girdles and cast them over their shoulders, and bent the knee nine times I cannot here enter into farther details, which are highly interesting space forbids. It took place at the ancient *yūrat*, within the limits of Ḳarā-Ḳuram, the *urdū* of Kalūr-ān, in the year of the Hog, in the month of Zī-Ḳadah—the eleventh month—of the year 648 H., or February, 1251 A D

son of Tūlī, the youngest of the Chingiz Khān's sons, who was removed from the world in the day-time of youth, and never enjoyed dominion; and, whereas, I, Bātū, shall place him on the throne, in reality I shall be the sovereign." All ratified this opinion.[2]

When they were about to place Mangū Khān on the throne, Barkā, the Musalmān, said: "The empire of the infidels hath departed, and the dominion of every pagan monarch who ascends the throne of sovereignty will not endure. If ye desire that the rule of Mangū shall continue, and be prolonged, let him pronounce the [Musalmān] confession of faith, in order that his name may be inscribed in the register of the Islāmīs, and then let him ascend the throne." This was concurred in, and Mangū repeated the confession of faith.[3] Then Barkā, taking him

In 649 H., Mangū Ḳā'ān lost his mother, Sīūr-Ḳūḳībī Bīgī, by some written Sīūr-Ḳūḳītī Bīgī—being, I believe, a mistake of : for which often occurs in MS. She was a Christian, but favoured the Musalmāns, and was exceedingly liberal towards them. She gave 1000 *bālish* of gold for the purpose of erecting a khānḳah or monastery over the tomb of the Shaikh, Saif-ud-Dīn, the Bākhurzī, at Bukhārā, and ordered villages to be purchased wherewith she endowed it.

[2] Previous to Mangū's having been raised to the throne of sovereignty, and during the four years his confirmation remained in abeyance, some events of importance happened in the countries, and to several persons, mentioned by our author.

In the year 643 H. Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, the Kurat, repeatedly mentioned by our author, the maternal grandfather of Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad [who is considered the first of the Kurat dynasty], died at Khāesār of Ghūr, a notice of whom will be found farther on.

On the 23rd of Muḥarram, 644 H., Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, died, or, rather, was put to death, in prison at Dihlī, and was succeeded by his uncle, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, who, soon after, at the advice of his Ḥājib, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban [subsequently raised to the office of Lieutenant of the kingdom, with the title of Ulugh Khān], advanced towards the Indus to expel the Mughals from the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah, where they had established themselves after the unsuccessful attempt upon Uchchah mentioned at page 1154.

In 645 H., the Amīr, Arghūn Āḳā, having obtained the government of Ī-rān-Zamīn, entered upon his office. He had obtained it, by Kyūk Khān's command after the Ī-ghūr Nū-yīn, Kūrkūz, had been put to death. Some say that Turā-Kīnah Khātūn, Kyūk's mother, had removed Kūrkūz, and appointed Arghūn Āḳā, before Kyūk succeeded to the sovereignty, as has been previously mentioned, in note [7], page 1149.

[3] If so, how is it that other Musalmān writers do not say so? I fear "the wish" of our author "was parent to the thought."

Barkā Khān had already become a Musalmān, because, at the great feast

by the arm, seated him on the throne; and all the Mughal rulers paid homage unto him, with the exception of the tribe and dependents and sons of Chaghatāe, who began to act in a contumacious manner, and showed a rebellious spirit. They were desirous of acting in a perfidious manner, and of falling unexpectedly upon the camp of Mangū Khān, to capture him, and put him to death.

They [the sons of Chaghatāe] despatched confidential persons to the presence of Mangū Khān, saying: "When thou ascendest the throne we propose to come to thy presence for the purpose of tendering our congratulations and observing the custom of felicitation." With this pretence they issued forth from their place of abode, with a host of horsemen well organized and armed; and their determination was to make a night attack upon Mangū Khān, slay him and Bātū also, and overcome their adherents, and seize upon the sovereignty: "man proposes, but God disposes." It was the decree of Heaven that a camel-man, from the camp of Bātū and Mangū Khān, who had lost his camel, set out towards the open country in search of it, and was roaming about in every direction, when, suddenly, he fell among the army of the sons of Chaghatāe. On becoming aware of the circumstances of this army, to every one who inquired of him to whose following or retinue he belonged—as the appearance and dialect of the camel-men of the army of Chaghatāe's sons was the same as his own—he made himself out to be a camel-man of one of their Amīrs, until night came, when, seizing the opportunity, the camel-man got away from among the forces of the sons of Chaghatāe, and returned to the camp of Bātū and Mangū Khān, and made them acquainted with the matter.[4]

held on this occasion, sheep were allowed to be killed for him, according to the prescribed Musalmān usage, which was contrary to that of the Mughals. Ḳadān Aghūl, and his brother's son, Malik Aghūl, and Ḳarā-Hūlā'ū, tendered to the Ḳā'ān their congratulations according to the custom of the Mughals.

[4] While Mangū Ḳā'ān, and the Shāh-zādahs, or Princes, were engaged in these festivities just referred to, and the Bādshāh was expecting the arrival of the other Shāh-zādahs, who had delayed by the way instead of attending the *kūrīltāe*, as already stated, when no living soul expected that hostility, much less treachery, would break out in the family of the Chingiz Khān, and at a

## When that information reached the hearing of Mangū

time when all was jubilee, and there was no suspicion of such treachery, and no precaution taken, S͟hīrāmūn, grandson of Ūktāe, and son of Koc͟hūe, Nāḳū or Nāḳūe, son of Kyūk, and Ḳūnūḳū, son of Ḳarac͟hār, son of Ūktāe, combined together, and arrived near unto the *urdū* of Mangū Ḳā'ān. Along with them were a great number of carts full of arms, and in their hearts they meditated treachery and perfidy towards Mangū. It so happened, however, that a ḳos͟h-c͟hī—that is to say, a camel-man, whose name was Kas͟hak, a Ḳanḳulī, in the immediate service of the Ḳā'ān—had lost one of his camels. In search of this animal he was wandering about the open country, when, suddenly, he found himself in the midst of an army, and saw a countless number of carts. As he proceeded onwards, pretending to take no notice, he came upon a boy seated before a broken cart. The boy, thinking he was one of the followers of the force, asked him to aid him in mending it. Kas͟hak dismounted from his horse for the purpose, when, to his great astonishment, instead of drinkables and other necessaries for a banquet, he found implements of war and arms concealed in the cart, under other things. He inquired of the boy: "What are these?" He replied: "Only arms, such as are contained in all the other carts;" and, on further inquiry, Kas͟hak discovered that this force consisted of the followers of S͟hīrāmūn, Nāḳūe, and others, who were proceeding towards the Ḳā'ān's *urdū* to offer their congratulations, and to hold a banquet. Being aware that banquets were not furnished from carts full of arms, nor congratulations offered, he, after helping to mend the cart, and obtaining other information, got out of the camp of S͟hīrāmūn and the other S͟hāh-zādahs, and performed a three days' journey in one. Without waiting to ask permission, he rushed into the presence of Mangū Ḳā'ān, and before all those there assembled cried out: "Here are ye all occupied in amusement and mirth, while foes have arisen against ye, and are close at hand!" and he related what he had beheld and heard. Mangū would not believe it; and the S͟hāh-zādahs and Amīrs present thought Kas͟hak must be exaggerating; nevertheless, the Nū-yīn, Mūngusār, or Mungusār, the principal of Mangū's Nū-yīns, was despatched, with 2000 or 3000 horse, to gain information. When the next morning broke, Mūngusār pushed on, at the head of 500 chosen horse, nearer to the position where the camp of the rebels was situated, and while he was reconnoitring a large body of horsemen were observed approaching. It was S͟hīrāmūn and his party, issuing from their camp. Mūngusār was soon joined by the S͟hāh-zādah, Mūkā, and the Gūrgān, Joḳāl, the Karāyit, and an additional force despatched by Mangū to his support, and they completely surrounded S͟hīrāmūn, Nāḳū, and Ḳūnūḳū.

The Fanākatī says Mangū, on becoming aware of this, despatched the Nū-yīn, Mungusār, with 3000 men, to meet them, and that he met S͟hīrāmun at the head of 500 horse, despatched by the conspirators in advance.

The Nū-yīn said to him: "They say ye are coming with evil designs in your hearts. If this is not true, pass on without fear or hesitation to the presence; otherwise I am directed to arrest thee and take thee prisoner thither." S͟hīrāmūn denied all evil intentions, and asserted that they were all only attended by their usual retinues. As the others arrived, they and their followers were disarmed, as the party of S͟hīrāmūn had been already, and the Princes and their Amīrs were divided into nines—the number venerated by the Mug͟hals—and, in that manner were allowed to enter the audience-tent or *k͟hargāh*, and, soon after, the Amīrs with them were admitted to make their obeisances. An

Khān, after taking ample care and caution, he caused the

entertainment was given, which lasted three days, and nothing whatever was said to them, nor was a question asked.

On the fourth day, however, command was given that all the followers of the disaffected Princes and their partisans should depart each to their own *yūrats*, under pain of death if they should be found to remain after that order. A body of troops was detailed to guard the disaffected Princes and Amīrs, and Mangū, in concert with his chief Nū-yīns, Amīrs, and Ministers, on the sixth day, proceeded to inquire into their conduct. The Atā-Bak of Prince Shīrāmūn was closely questioned about the plot. He at first denied all knowledge of it, but, on being bastinadoed, he confessed, and immediately stabbed himself, and Shīrāmūn also confessed. The seven Nū-yīns directed to try the Princes declared them guilty, and, moreover, the conspirators themselves now confessed their plot. Mangū is said to have been inclined to pardon them, but this his Nū-yīns and Amīrs strongly opposed. He therefore directed that they should all be imprisoned until he had time to consider what should be done with them. After a few days, Mangū again summoned his Counsellors, and asked their advice upon the matter. Some said one thing, some another, but in such wise as not to satisfy the Ḳā'ān. Then his Wazīr, Maḥmūd, Yalwāj, related the anecdote respecting Aristotle's reply to Alexander, about rooting up all the old trees in the garden, and replacing them with young scions, which story has done duty in scores of instances, and is applied by *Firishtah*, the Dakhanī Historian, to the Turk chiefs in the Panjāb in the reign of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban—the Ulugh Khān of this History, the father-in-law of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, and his successor on the throne of Dihlī.

After hearing the anecdote, Mangū Ḳā'ān understood the necessity there was for completely crushing this faction, and he gave command for them to be put to death.

As some of the conspirators had not yet been brought to justice, such as Ūghūl Ḳūīmish, the chief Khātūn of Kyūk Khān, and Khwājah Aghūl, her son, Mangū Ḳā'ān was not yet safe from their designs, and he therefore despatched troops to compel the disaffected to submit. One army, said to have contained ten *tomāns*, probably two, was despatched to the Ulugh Tāḳ and to Tūlḳāe and يرناك which lie between Bish-Bāligh and Ḳarā-Kuram, with orders to join the Nū-yīn Alghū, who was in the district of Ḳaiālīḳ, and to advance as far as the border of Utrār, and act in concert, and the Nū-yīn, Būḳā, with two *tomāns*, was despatched to Kirḳīr or Ḳirāḳīr and Kum Kumjīūt. The Chinese say that in the year 1250 A.D. [commencing on the 4th of April, 648 H.], in the year of his accession to the throne, and "about the same time," as he put down the rebellion, "Mengko ordered Holitay, *one of his* generals, to enter Tibbat, and to put to death all who refused to submit to the Mughals" [to himself?]. The *Bitik-chī*, Shalāmūn, was despatched to summon Ūghūl Ḳūīmish Khātūn, and her son, Khwājah. He proposed to put the envoy to death, but one of his Khātūns persuaded him against committing such an act, and advised his presenting himself, without delay, in the presence of the Ḳā'ān. Ūghūl Ḳūīmish Khātūn refused to obey the command of Mangū, and abused and upbraided him before his envoy. Mangū was much enraged when he heard of it, and commanded that she should be brought, with hands bound, to his mother's *urdū* to be tried.

In due time Ūghūl Ḳūīmish, the Khātūn of Kyūk, and Ḳadāḳāj, the Khātūn of Kochūe, son of Ūktāe, the mother of Shīrāmūn, and Ṭūḳāshī, the Khātūn

forces to be got ready, and moved out to meet and engage

of Yassū-Mungā, two sons of the Nū-yīn, Īlchīkdāe, and the Christian, Ḳadāḳ, the chief minister of Kyūk Khān, among others, were brought in, tried, and their guilt established. Shīrāmūn's mother and other Khātūns were sent to the *urdū* of Sīūr Ḳūḳībī Bīgī, Mangū's mother, to be dealt with; and they were rolled up in felts, and drowned. The Shāh-zādahs, Nū-yīns, and Amīrs, were beaten on their mouths with stones until they died. That they "were choked by having earth or stones forced into their mouths," as we are informed in the "*Mongols Proper*," is merely a wrong translation from some "muddy stream" Persian author [or an incorrect translation from the foreign rendering of the Persian], in which بر دهان کوفتند or در has been mistaken for در دهان کوفتند

Būrī, and some others, were sent to the presence of Bātū Khān to be dealt with, and, their crime having been proved, they too were put to death The Nū-yīn, Īlchīkdāe, the destroyer of Hirāt, and slayer of its inhabitants, was likewise seized at Bādghais, and subsequently put to death

No less than seventy-seven or seventy-eight members altogether of the family of the Chingiz Khān, Nū-yīns, and Amīrs, perished on this occasion, and, in consequence of these executions, enmity arose among its members, which was never afterwards extinguished

Rubruquis, who reached Mangū's *urdū* in January, 1254 A D.—the last month of 651 H —and was present during these executions, says that three hundred lords, besides ladies, perished He describes Mangū Ḳā'ān as being of middle stature, flat-nosed, and about forty-five years old "He sat on a bed [couch], and was clad with a robe of spotted fur, which shined like seal-skin His wife [one of his wives], who was a little pretty woman, sat by him, and, on another couch near, sat one of his daughters [by his chief Khātūn], named Shīrīn, grown up, but exceedingly hard favoured, and several little children, for that being her [Shīrīn's] mother's *urdū* (a Christian lady whom the Khan was very fond of), she was mistress of it. On the 14th of January, the Khān's chief wife Kotola Katen [the name of the Khān's chief wife was Ḳanḳāe Khātūn—قنقاي] attended the Christian chapel with her children."

Mangū having now put down all sedition, the natural goodness of his heart disposed him to show kindness to his remaining kinsmen. He directed that Shīrāmūn, Nāḳū, and the Nū-yīn, Chaghān, should accompany his brother, Ḳubīlāe Khān, into Khitā, and Khwājah Aghūl, son of Kyūk Khān, received an appanage in the territory of Sālingah, or Sālingāe, "which is near unto Ḳarā-Ḳuram;" and, in the same manner, he assigned appanages to others of his kinsmen, wherein they might pass their days in affluence

The loyal Shāh-zādahs were now also dismissed to their different *urdūs*, and also Bātū Khān's brothers, Barkāe, and Būḳāe Tīmūr, who had rendered such good service, and had the longest distance to go They were dismissed with rich presents, and bore along with them befitting offerings for the Āḳā, Bātū, the Ṣā-īn Khān The sons of Kūtān, Ḳadān [Ḳadghān?] Aghūl, and Malik Aghūl, were also rewarded, and allowed to depart to their stations, and on Ḳarā-Hūlākū, son of Mitūkāe, son of Chaghatāe, his father's appanage, which his uncle, Yassū-Mungā, had usurped, was conferred, but when he reached Alāe—الاي—death overtook him

Kashak, the ḳosh-chī, or camel-man, was rewarded, raised to high rank, and made a Tarkhān. The administration of the revenue affairs of the eastern part of the empire was conferred upon the Ṣāḥib, Maḥmūd, Yalwāj, who had, of old, done such good service, and who had reached Mangū's *urdū* previous

the army of the sons of Chaghatāe, and repel th
Before they could reach the camp of Mangū Khān,
with his own forces, and the troops of Bātū, fell upon t
array, wielded the sword among them, and despatcl
about ten thousand Mughals of rank and reno
leaders of armies [!], to hell, and extirpated all who
longed to the army or were dependents of Chaghat
sons; and set his mind at ease. Mangū Khān now beca
firmly established in the sovereignty, and ascended
throne of Chīn and Upper Turkistān, and carried out
measures so that not a trace of the tribe of Chagha
remained upon the face of the earth, with the except
of one or two of Chaghatāe's sons who proceeded towa
Chīn, to the presence of the Altān Khān of Tamghāj [5]
Sub equently to that, Mangū Khān despatched for

to his being raised to the throne Turkistān and Māwarā un-Nahr v
entrusted to his son, Mas'ūd Bak, and the Amīr, Arghūn Āḳā, who, on acc
of the immense distance he had to come, could only reach the Court after
*kūrīltāī*, was confirmed in the administration of the revenue affairs of all
countries west of the Jīhun, as far as Halab, Arman, and Rūm 'Alī M
was sent with him to make a new assessment in the countries of Ī rān-Za
under the sway of the Mughals Mangū also resumed all grants not confe
by the Chingiz Khān, Ūktāe Kā'ān, or Kyūk Khān This was done beca
the Shāh-zādahs had, for their own purposes, during the long interregn
been bestowing fiefs upon their partisans in all directions Mangū issued v
regulations on this, and many other subjects, for which I have no space h
A fresh assessment likewise was made in Khiṭāe, and the only exempti
from taxation were made in favour of such persons as had been also exe
during the reigns of the Chingiz Khān and his son, Ūktāe Kā'ān, nam
Sayyids, Shaikhs, and 'Ulamā, of the Musalmāns, the priests, monks,
ascetics, of the Christians, the chief Tūīnān of the Idol-worshippers, and s
persons as, by reason of infirmity, sickness, or old age, were unable to wo
and all outstanding claims for cesses were likewise remitted

I must, however, briefly mention one especial good regulation instituted
Mangū Ḳā'ān A number of scribes were employed at the Court, convers
with the Fārsī, I-ghūrī, Khiṭā-ī, Tibbatī, Tingḳūt, and other languages,
that, whenever they might have occasion to write *farmāns*, they might be a
to do so in the language and character of the particular tribe or people to wh
such *farmān* might be addressed This contradicts the statement made,
the authority of Klaproth, quoted in the *Journal Ro As Soc.*, vol v [n
series], page 33

It is curious to read of "*Professor*" Tatatonggo, "installed by *Genghis*
Professor of the *Ouigour* language and literature"—in the University of *Ulu*
*Yūrat* perhaps

[5] The final downfall of the Āltān Khāns, the Kin of Chinese authors, co
not have occurred as early as Ūkdāe's reign from this statement, which t
Pro-Mughal writers do not even hint at

to the Ḳuhistān of the Mulāḥidahs; and, during se years, the Mughals overran that territory, pitched camps therein, and took up their quarters in that cou The inhabitants of the Ḳuhistān became thereby red to misery and wretchedness; and the Mughals ga possession of their fortresses and cities, and demol their strongholds, and the Mulāḥidahs fell. The acc of them is as follows.

## ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF THE MULĀḤIDAHS—ON T WHOLE OF WHOM BE GOD'S CURSE!

The reason for despatching forces into the territory against the fortresses of Mulḥidistān[6] was this. At outset of the career and time of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh[7]—(

[6] Not intended to be understood otherwise than as a nick or by-n Heretic land, from Mulḥid, heretic, etc

[7] The Printed Text turns this name into صباغ—ṣabbāgh—which Arabic for a dyer!

It is very amusing to notice the errors made with regard to the name person, and the plunges made respecting it; and it is surely time such should be corrected The latest notice of this kind occurs in a lately published, by Major R D Osborn, of the Bengal S C., e "*Islam under the Khalifs of Baghdad*," in which we are told [p 345] t "first Grand Master of the Assassins" was "Hasan *ibn* [i e., son of, w the same time, his father's name is Ali] Saba," but, afterwards, a little on, he is styled "Hasan Saba" only The author of the above work ever, merely follows in the beaten road of others who cannot read the c histories for themselves, and have to depend on translations often inc and who call him by such incorrect names—it is merely error stereoty to say—such as "the old man of the mountain" for example, anothe error Yet such is the force of habit that there are editors of periodic reviews who, if they saw an attempt to correct such blunders, would pr say, "in the case of a journal intended for general readers, we are more forced to adopt the usual conventional spelling, partly because readers and partly to secure uniformity," while others would consider the correc such errors "want of taste," and "very offensive"

The first *Dā'ī*, the literal meaning of which is an apostle or missiona who invites or stimulates others--of the Ismā'īlīs or Mulāḥidahs of A was 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, son of 'Alī, son of Muḥammad, son of Ja'f of Ḥusain, son of Muḥammad, who claimed descent from Uṣ-Ṣabbā Ḥamairī, mentioned at page 7 of this Translation, but by some he sidered to be descended from Ismā'īl, son of Ja'far-uṣ-Ṣādiḳ

By 'Arab writers he was styled the Shaikh-ul-Jibāl—شيخ الجبال—whic one, long ago, probably, translated without recollecting, or without ing, that Shaikh has other meanings besides "an old or venerable old

curse upon him!—who instituted the rules of the Mulāḥidah sect, and founded the canons of that heresy, he restored and strengthened the fortresses of Alamūt which he purchased, along with the fortress of Lanbah-Sar, which was [afterwards became, and was at this time] the capital* of the chief Mulḥid [heretic], whom that sect used to

and that *jibāl* is the plural of *jabal*, "a mountain," and at once jumped at the conclusion that his title was the "Old Man of the Mountain," more especially as his stronghold was on a mountain likewise, and so he has continued to be wrongly styled "The Old Man of the Mountain" down to the present day

The terms Shaikh-ul-Jibāl, however, signify, the Patriarch, Prelate, High-Priest, etc, of, or dwelling in, the tract of country south of the Caspian, called Jibāl, the Mountains of Dīlam in the MASALIK WA MAMĀLIK, and also Kohistān, consisting of a belt of mountains running along the frontiers of Gīlān, Māzandarān, and 'Irāḳ-i-'Ajam—ancient Parthia. It was from this tract known as "the Jibāl," that Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ, the first Shaikh of the eastern Ismā'īlīs or Mulāḥidahs, received the name, because, in this tract, he began his mission

There is a Jibāl of Ghūr also, mentioned at pages 335 and 338, but that is a mere local name, while "the Jibāl" referred to is well known, and is called by hat name

* Thus stated in the text, but Alamūt was the capital of the Mulāḥidahs, during the greater part of their rule, and hence they are sometimes styled Alamūtīs

A pretty jumble has been made, too, of the name of this well-known place, in every copy of the text collated—but some other works are almost as bad—through the carelessness or ignorance of the copyists What European writers make of it I shall presently show Only one copy of the text has anything approaching the correct name, but the various modes of writing cannot all be rendered by Persian types Some have السر—لسر—لنبسر—لبسر—and لسر The Calcutta "Official Text"—which is very defective at this particular part—has لمسر in the page and لنسر in a note, and wherever this name occurs it is vitiated in the way above mentioned

Von Hammer styles it Lamsir, which is not very far wide of the mark, but, when he styles Gird-koh by the impossible name of Kirdkuh, it is not to be wondered at that the other is not correct. D'Ohsson, to judge from the "*Mongols Proper*," appears to call it Lamsher and Lamhessar, Quatremere alone is correct This place is called Lambah-Sar—لنبه سر—which may be written in one word—لنبسر *Lanbah* signifies anything round or circular, such as an apple, an orange, or the like, and *Sar* means, summit, top, head, etc. It is the name of a mountain in the territory of Māzandarān, near Gird-Koh, which signifies the Round or Circular Hill or Mountain, also in Māzandarān, and on each of these mountains the Mulāḥidahs had erected a strong fortress The latter place, which will be again referred to, lies a short distance from Damghān, but neither place is to be found in the large map of Persia lately published by the India Office, nor were they, apparently, known to the most recent travellers in that part of the Persian empire, and I beg to suggest that some of those who may travel that way in future should pay both Lanbah-Sar and Gird-Koh a visit, both sites being well known in those parts.

style "The Maulānā"—God curse them all!—from the Dīālamīs for a large sum of money.

Having brought there a pregnant female slave of his own, he represented to people, saying: "She is pregnant by Mustanṣir, the Miṣrī, [the Ismā'īlī Khalīfah of Egypt], and, flying from enemies, I have brought her to this place, for, from the lineage of this burden [which she bears] will spring the Imām-i-Ākhir-i-Zamān and Mahdī-i-Awān,"* accompanied with vain and impotent words, the like of which no sensible person would allow to pass in his imagination, or enter his heart. God curse him!

After he purchased those fortresses, he repaired the fortress of Alamūt, and expended incalculable wealth in the restoration of, and providing that stronghold with stores and provisions It is situated on a mountain in the vicinity of the city of Ḳazwīn. The inhabitants of that city are all orthodox Sunnīs, of pure faith, and unsullied belief; and, through the Bāṭinīah and Mulāḥidah heresy, continual fighting and contention used to go on between them [and those heretics].

Trustworthy persons have narrated that all the people and inhabitants of the city of Ḳazwīn had entire sets of arms ready, and implements of warfare in preparation, to such degree, that all the *bāzār* people were used to come completely armed to their shops; and conflicts used to take place daily between the Ḳazwīnīs and the Mulāḥidahs of Alamūt, up to the period when the outbreak of the Chingiz Khān took place, and the domination of the Mughals over 'Irāḳ and the Jibāl. Ḳāẓī Shams-ud-Dīn, the Ḳazwīnī, who was a sincere Imām and truly learned man, upon several occasions, travelled from Ḳazwīn towards Khiṭā, and suffered the distress of separation from country and home, until this time, during the sovereignty of Mangū Khān, when he again set out, and proceeded to his presence. In such manner as was feasible he endeavoured to obtain aid, and gave an account of the

* The Director or Guide, the last of the twelve Imāms, Muḥammad-i-Abū-l Ḳāsim, the son of Ḥasan-al-Askarī, the eleventh of the Imāms, born in 255 H., whom the Shī'ahs believe to be still alive, and whose manifestation, according to the Ḳur'ān, is one of the signs of the Judgment Day

**wickedness of the Mulāḥidah and their sedition in the Muḥammadan states.**[1]

[1] In the year 654 H., but Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, and some others, say in 653 H., 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan, son of Muḥammad, the seventh *Dā'ī* or Apostle, or Missionary, of the Mulāḥidahs, died at the end of the month of Shawwāl. He was the only son of the Nau Musalmān [referred to in note [4], page 265—*nau*, in the Persian of the East, signifies "new," "fresh," etc., but Von Hammer's "*Nev*" is very *nau* indeed], and, when he grew up, his brain, it is said, was affected, and he refused, in consequence, to attend to any instructions brought by his own envoys from the Mughal sovereigns, so the Pro-Mughal writers say, but the correct reason was that he thought himself strong enough to preserve his independence, but he was mistaken. In his reign, the Muḥtashim [Preceptor], Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, who held the chief authority over the Ḳuhistān, which tract of country has been repeatedly mentioned before, seized the Khwājah, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, the Ṭūsī—the celebrated Ṣūfī poet—and compelled him to proceed along with him to the presence of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, and the Khwājah continued with him, in his stronghold of Maimūn [duz], until the arrival of Hulākū in Ī-rān Zamīn. There he composed his celebrated work, the Akhlāḳ-i-Nāṣirī, which, the Rauẓat-us-Ṣafā says, was dedicated to the Muḥtashim Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, who nevertheless threw him into prison, at the instigation of the traitor Wazīr of the Khalīfah, mentioned farther on. There are other versions of this, however, and the Khwājah is said to have gone thither of his own free will and accord, and to satisfy his feelings of revenge, as will be subsequently mentioned.

After Mangū Ḳā'an had determined upon sending forces into Ī-rān-Zamīn, to guard the Mughal conquests therein, he despatched the Nū yīn, Tānjū [تانجو It is sometimes written بايجو—but incorrectly so] thither. Soon after his arrival there he became so much grieved—disinterested creature!—at the conduct of the Ismā'īlī heretics, and the Khalīfah of Baghdād, towards the people generally, that he despatched an agent to the presence of the Ḳā'ān to complain of them both. How history repeats itself! We might read Bulgaria for I-rān, and the 'Usmānlī Sulṭān for the 'Abbāsī Khalīfah.

At this juncture, likewise, the great Ḳāẓī, Shams-ud-Dīn, from Ī-rān-Zamīn, presented himself in Mangū Ḳā'ān's *urdū*, and was graciously received. As the Ḳāẓī, out of terror of the Ismā'īlīs, was in the habit of wearing mail under his clothes, one day Mangū Ḳā'ān, having observed it, asked him the reason of such an unusual dress for an ecclesiastic. He replied: "It is now several years since I, out of fear of the Ismā'īlī Fidā-īs, who like unto 'Azrā-īl—the Angel of Death—however much a person may guard himself, still contrive to reach and destroy him, began to wear this mail as a protection." Von Hammer makes a muddle of this matter also, and says that "the judge of Kaswin, who was at the Khan's court, *went in armour to the audience*, fearing the daggers of the assassins," as though they were there. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says the Ḳāẓī, through fear of the Ismā'īlī's daggers, used to wander about the country in the scales of his armour, like a shell-fish in its shell, and by his importunities at last impelled Mangū to send a numerous army into I-rān-Zamīn. The author of the "*Mongols Proper*," however, who appears to have taken the story from D'Ohsson, puts a piece upon it, and states, that such was the terror of the "*fedavies*," that "*the chief officers and more prominent men of its* [Western Asia's] *various courts*" wore coats of mail under their clothes as a precaution,' etc.!

They [the trustworthy persons] also related in this wise,

To return to Mangū and the Ḳāẓī. He related to the Ḳa'ān—or manufactured for him—such atrocities on the part of the heretics—as might be expected from one so orthodox as himself—that Mangū was amazed; and he resolved in his mind that he would utterly destroy that sect Having observed indications of capacity and fitness for sovereignty on the brow of his brother, Hulākū, he determined to nominate him to carry out his intention, and at the same time to take possession of, and secure, the territories to the west of Ī-rān-Zamīn—the real object in view, of course—namely, S͟hām, Rūm, and Arman. Hulākū having been nominated, he was informed that the forces along with the Nū-yīn, Tānjū, and those lately under Jūrmāg͟hūn, which had been previously despatched into Ī-rān Zamīn, all appertained to him, and likewise, in the same way, those which had been sent into Hindūstān under the Bahādur, Ṯā-īr, after his death, came under the command of the Tattār Nū-yīn, Sālī. Sālī, according to the Pro-Mug͟hal writers, had subdued the country of Kas͟hmīr, and several thousand Kas͟hmīrī captives had been sent by him to the Ḳā'ān's *urdū* There is still a Sālī kī Sarāe on the route from Rāwal Pindī to K͟hānpūr, an old place, and formerly of some importance See page 844, where Sālī is mentioned, and page 1135 for Tā-īr's death

Vast preparations were made for Hulākū's movement, and, besides the armies already in the countries of I-rān-Zamīn, Mangū commanded that, out of all the forces of the C͟hingiz K͟hān, that is, the various *hazārahs* already mentioned at page 1093, which he had assigned to and divided among his brothers, his sons, and brothers' sons, out of every ten persons two should be selected [they had vastly increased, too, since the time of the C͟hingiz K͟hān] and sent to serve under Hulākū. The numbers are variously mentioned at from 120,000 to 180,000 horse. Besides these, a thousand families of K͟hiṭā-ī Manjanīḳ-c͟hīs [catapult workers], Naft-Andāz [naphtha-throwers], and C͟harkh-Andāz [shooters of fiery arrows worked by a wheel] were to accompany him, and they brought along with them such a vast amount of missiles and stores appertaining to their peculiar branch of the forces as cannot be enumerated They had with them also C͟harkhī Kamāns [wheeled arbalists], worked by a wheel in such wise that one bow-string would pull three bows, each of which would discharge an arrow of three or four ells in length These arrows or bolts, from the notch for the bow-string to near the head, were covered with feathers of the vulture and eagle, and the bolts were short and strong. These machines would also throw naphtha The bolts [ta —ye] of the catapults were made of ash, very tough and strong, and covered with the hides of horses and bullocks [to prevent their being burnt], like as a dagger in its sheath; and each catapult was so constructed as to be capable of being separated into five or seven parts, and easily put together again These catapults and mangonels were brought from K͟hiṭā-e on carts into Turkistān, under the direction of skilful engineers and mechanists, but there is no evidence whatever to show that they had any knowledge of gunpowder, but quite the contrary.

As soon as the expedition had been determined on, agents were despatched in order that wheresoever the passage of the great host should be, from Ḳarā-Ḳuram to the Āmuīah, all the available pasture-lands and grazing tracts should be laid under embargo [the word used is ḳurūḳ, the same that is used with reference to the site of the subterranean chamber in which the C͟hingiz K͟hān was buried, but signifies enclosed as well as prohibited The word is quite

that, in the presence of Mangū Khān, the Ḳāẓī, according

common in our district Law Courts in India] for the use of the forces. Strong bridges were also constructed over the different rivers by the way to enable the great host to cross with ease and facility Throughout the whole empire [east of the Sīḥūn probably] orders were sent so that, for the use of the army, at the ratio of a *taghār* [an earthen vessel of capacity, also a saddle-bag for holding corn or meal, which is probably meant here, and, of course, filled. Some authors state that a *taghār* is equivalent to 100 *manns* of Tabrīz, others to 10 *manns* of Tabrīz, equal to one *kharwār*] of meal, and a *khig* [a skin or leather bottle of liquor—*kumis*] for each man, should be collected

The Nū-yīn, Tānjū, and his army, together with the troops which had previously been sent into Ī-rān Zamīn under Jūrmāghūn, now received orders to move towards the frontiers of Rūm.

All things being prepared, and the different Shāh-zādahs and Nū-yīns, and the Hazārahs, and Ṣadhahs [leaders of thousands, and hundreds], having been nominated, the Nū-yīn, Ḳaibūḳā, the Nāemān, was sent at the head of 12,000 horse, as the advance or van of Hulākū's forces, in Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 650 H Kaibūkā – "Kitubuka" is not correct—crossed the Āmūīah in the beginning of Muḥarram, 651 H [early in March, 1253 A D ], entered Khurāsān, which he reached in Rabī'-ul-Awwal, and occupied himself in the reduction of the Ḳuhistān

His first attempt, with 5000 horse and 5000 foot [*Tājzīk levies from the conquered states*], was against the strong fortress of Gird-Koh, already referred to, but he found it a much more difficult matter than he expected He surrounded it with a wall, furnished with a ditch inside, towards the fortress, and raised another wall, with a ditch outside, and between these two walls placed his forces, more like one besieged than a besieger, to guard his force from the sallies of the Fidā-īs All his efforts were useless, so he left a force there under Būrī, to watch that fortress, and moved himself towards Mihrīn-dujz—another stronghold of the sect He invested that likewise, placed catapults in position against it, left several Amīrs with troops to carry on the siege, and proceeded himself, with the rest of his forces, which, no doubt, had been greatly increased in point of numbers by the levies and contingents of those places in Khurāsān under the Mughal yoke, against the fort of Shāh-dujz, which he reached on the 8th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, and slew a number of people outside, and then made towards the districts of Tāram and Rūd-bār, between Gīlān and Kazwīn He then appeared with his forces before the fortresses of Manṣūrīah and Ālah-Bashīn, and for eighteen days tried his utmost to take them, but all his efforts were of no effect He then faced about and moved into the Kuhistān again, drove off the flocks and herds of the people of Tūn, Turshīz, and Zar-Koh, slaughtered a vast number of people, and carried away a gr at number of captives On the 10th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, he gained possession of Tūn and Turshīz, these being the first places that fell into his hands. On the 1st of Sha'bān he took Mihrīn-dujz, and, on the 27th of Ramaẓān, the Dujz-i-Kamālī also fell.

On the 9th of Shawwāl, the Fidā-īs of Gird-Koh made a sally at night upon the Mughals, destroyed their circumvallation, and slew the greater number of them, including their leader, Būrī At this time a pestilence had broken out within Gird-Koh, and, as soon as 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Maulānā of the Mulāḥidahs, had intimation of it, he at once despatched Mubāriz-ud Dīn, 'Alī, Sarābānī, and Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, Tūrānī, with 110 picked men, to

to the practice of Musalmān dignity and religion, used

Gird-Koh, with directions that each man should carry with him one *mann* of *ḥinnā* and two *manns* of salt [in all, about 21 or 24 lbs ]—the Jāmi'-ut-Tawā-rīkh says two of *ḥinnā* and three of salt—because *ḥinnā* had lately been discovered, accidentally, to be the antidote for the pestilence

The author of the "*Mongols Proper*" has, or his authorities, perhaps, have, made a very amusing story out of the above—for the source is evidently the same. He says, p 194: "One of the garrison [of *Girdkjuh*—i. e, "the Round Mountain"—so "kjuk" is a mountain, perhaps—the same which Von Hammer turns into "Kirdkuh"] escaped, and sent to Alaeddin, the *Grand Vizier*, to ask for help He sent two leaders, each with 110 troopers; one to escort three mens of salt, the other three mens of henna," etc —equal to about one ounce of salt and *ḥinnā* each, even if only 400 people were within the walls.

At this place, in Alfī, an anecdote is related respecting the discovery of *ḥinnā* as a remedy for the disease which affected the defenders of several great fortresses, as our author relates, and which, from his account at page 1124, appears to have been scurvy or something very much like it It is that the daughter of the Amīr of that fortress was going to be married, and, on the night of the consummation of the marriage, the custom was to dye the bride's hands and feet with *ḥinnā* This was done, and, those who applied the dye having afterwards washed their hands, some of the pestilence-stricken people, on account of the scarcity of water, drank that water, and recovered in a wonderfully short time This seems but another version of our author's account of the cure wrought by *ḥinna* in his description of the investment of Ūk of Sīstān, at the page above mentioned.

I must now return to the movements of Hulākū Before setting out for Ī-rān-Zamīn, he took leave of his brother Mangū, and his nephews, in order to return to his own *urdūs*, where his wives and children were Mangū Ḳā'ān, before parting with him, gave him much wise counsel for his guidance He enjoined him to observe the laws and ordinances of the Chingiz Khān, and, from the Jīḥūn of Āmūīah, to the extreme frontier of Miṣr, and Maghrib, to protect and cherish all who submitted to him, but to exterminate all those who did not, and to trample them into the dust of destruction, women, children, and all [in "the true Circassian style"], and to commence with the fortresses of the Mulāḥidahs in the Ḳuhistān. He was then to march into 'Irāḳ, and remove off the face of the earth the Lūrs—a tribe of nomads so-called—and the Kurds, whose misdeeds [in not submitting to the ameliorating Mughals, and which hardy race have, in these days, given offence, in the same way, to another "ameliorator," and are to be extirminated as early as practicable] never ceased, then to call upon the Khalīfah of Baghdād to submit, and, if he should do so, not to molest him in the least, but, if he showed arrogance, and refused, to send him to join the others. He was further advised to make judgment and sense his guide and model; to be prudent and watchful, to be mindful of the deceit and treachery of enemies; to give tranquility to the people generally, and make them happy [by killing them ?], to cause ruined places to be restored, to subdue the contumacious, so that he might have plenty of places wherein to make his summer and his winter quarters; and always, in all things, to consult and advise with Dūḳūz Khātūn. This name is also written Tūḳūz, *d* and *t* being interchangeable She was a Karāyat and a Christian, the daughter of Aighū or Aiḳū—written Ā-yaghū—ايغو—in Alfī—a son of the Āwang Khān Hulākū greatly favoured the Christians on her

stern language, in such manner that the wrath of sove-

account; and throughout his dominions churches were allowed to be built. At the entrance of the *urdū* of this Khātūn, a *kalīsa*—church or chapel [felt tent]—was always pitched; and they used to sound the *nāḳūs*—a thin oblong piece of wood, so called, suspended by two strings, and struck with a flexible rod, called *wabīl*, used by Eastern Christians to summon the congregation for divine service.

Mangū Ḳā'ān assumed that his brother Hulākū would take up his residence, permanently, in Ī-rān-Zamīn; nevertheless, he told him that, after he had accomplished all these things, he should return to his *urdū*.

Mangū now dismissed him, along with two of his wives, his sons, and Amīrs; and sent along with him their brother, Tursūtāe Aghūl, and some of their nephews to serve under him. Mangū, it is said, was greatly affected at parting with Hulākū, for he considered him the jewel in the diadem of the empire, and that both shed copious tears. *He reached his own urdūs at the end of the year 650 H.* The Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr and the Rauẓat-us-Safā say that he returned to his *urdūs* in the third month of 651 H., to make his preparations, but the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says in Ẕī-Ḥijjah, 650 H.

He set out from his *urdūs* for Ī-rān-Zamīn on the 24th of Sha'bān, 651 H.—the Rauẓat-us-Safā says he began his march in Ramaẓān, while the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says it was in Ẕī-Ḥijjah, 651 H.—having made his son, Balghā Aghūl, his representative there during his absence, as that son's mother was the greatest in rank among his wives, two of whom, and two sons, went with him. The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, in one place, says Jūmkūr, or Jūmghūr, was left in charge, and, in another place, that it was Ajāe who was left.

A vast army accompanied him, and in due time he reached Ālmālīgh, where the Khātūn Urghanah, one of Chaghatāe's widows, received and entertained him. Having moved from thence, on the frontier of Turkistān and Māwarā-un-Nahr, the Sāhib, Mas'ūd Bak, and several other Amīrs, received him. He passed some months of 652 H. in those parts, and, in Sha'bān, 653 H.—about October, 1253 A.D.—reached Samrḳand, having been just two years on the road. He encamped in the mead of Kān-i-Gul, where Mas'ūd Bak had a great tent pitched for him of *nasīḳh*—a species of silken fabric woven with gold—and passed forty days there, happily, but for the death of his brother, Tursūtāe Aghūl, who had been long ailing, and who was there buried. Hulākū, after this stay, marched to Kash, afterwards known as Shahr-i-Sabz, at which place he remained a month, and there the Amīr, Arghūn Āḳā, the administrator of I-rān Zamīn, from Ṭūs [in the previous year, when Rubruquis returned to Europe, the Amīr, Arghūn Āḳā was at Tauris, who, as he remarks, collected the tribute], as in duty bound, waited on him to give up charge of that region, after which he was to return to the presence of the Ḳā'ān, and there, also came Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, the Kurat from Hirāt—some say he presented himself to Hulākū at Samrḳand.

Whilst at Kash, Hulākū issued a *farmān* to the Sulṭāns and Rulers of Ī-rān-Zamīn, pretending that the object of his coming was to destroy the strongholds of the Mulāhidahs for the sake of the people of those parts, "who," he said, "have sought the protection of the Ḳā'ān, and made complaint unto him," "the people," in this case, being *one* Ḳāẓī! The object stated was as specious and illusive as an invasion of the same nature in these days—it was to appropriate the territories of the weak. "If ye present yourselves in person," he said, "and render assistance, your services will be

reignty overcame Mangū Khān; for the Ḳāẓī applied the

appreciated, and your territories, forces, dwellings, and property will be spared to you; but if ye show negligence or indifference to the purport of this *farmān*, when, with God's help [history repeats itself again], we shall have finished with the Ismā'īlīs, we shall turn our face towards you; and the same will befall you as befalls them."

When the news of Hulākū's arrival became spread abroad, "the Sulṭāns and Maliks" are said to have poured in, among whom was Sulṭān Rukn-ud-Dīn of Rūm—he, however, was not Sulṭān of Rūm at all, but merely the envoy of his brother, Sulṭān Kai-Kā-ūs, and acted treacherously towards him for his own ambitious ends; see page 164—and 'Izz-ud-Dīn, the son of the Atā-Bak, Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn, and others from 'Irāḳ, Āẕarbāījān, Ārān, Sherwān, Gūrjistān, and various Maliks, Ṣadrs, and other great men On reaching the Jīḥūn of Āmūiah, orders were given to lay all the vessels and boats on the river under embargo With these a strong bridge was constructed; and, on the 1st of Zī-Ḥijjah [the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr says Shawwāl, two months before], 653 H —31st December, 1255 A.D., but see under—Hulākū crossed with his army, at what point is not stated, but at the Tirmid ferry, in all probability; and, for the first time, set foot in Ī-rān-Zamīn As a reward to the boatmen for their services, he remitted the collection of tolls from them, and that tax afterwards entirely ceased. Next day, "several lions were seen—the word *sher* is applied to the tiger also, but, considering the high latitude, we may assume that some other less formidable animals are referred to, since a real *lion* hunt *on two-humped camels*, as stated, would be a sight indeed—and, they having been enclosed by a circle of men, Hulākū mounted, and two of them were "caught in the toils' The next day's march brought him to Shiwarghān, or Shiwarḳān [*vul* Shibbergan]

His intention was to stay but one day there, but it so happened that, on the following day, which was the 'Īd-i-Aẓḥā—the 10th of Zī-Ḥijjah—[such being the case, he must have crossed on the 8th, or remained from the 1st to the 8th] the snow and sleet began to fall, and continued for seven consecutive days and nights, and a great number of cattle perished through the excessive cold He had no choice but to winter there Our author's statement, that he made the territory of Bādghais his headquarters is much more probable, or rather the whole tract between Shiwarghān and Bādghais, considering the number of his troops. See note [1], p 1226 In the spring, Arghūn Āḳā set up a vast audience-tent of silk and gold, fitted with furniture and utensils befitting, of gold and silver studded with precious stones, and worthy of a mighty monarch. It was pitched at an auspicious hour by Hulākū's command, and, at a felicitous conjunction of the stars, he mounted the throne set up therein, and received the congratulations of all the Khāns, Shāh zādahs, Amīrs, Maliks, and Ḥākims of all parts around then assembled there After the ceremonial, the Amīr, Arghūn Āḳā, set out for the presence of the Ḳā'ān, as commanded by him, leaving his son, Girāe Malik, with Aḥmad, the Bitik chī [Secretary], and the Ṣāḥib [Wazīr], 'Alā-ud-Dīn, 'Aṭā Malik, for the administration of the civil and revenue affairs, with which Hulākū had nought to do, at that time. The latter moved to Khowāf and Zāwah, where he was taken ill, and consequently he despatched Ḳaibūḳā and Kūkā-I-yalkā, at the head of a force, to complete the conquest of the Ḳuhistān.

Early in 654 H., Hulākū sent Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Kurat, to the Muḥtashim, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, one of the chief Dā'īs of the Ismā'īlīs, who

words feebleness and infirmity to his government and power. Mangū K͟hān said: "What weakness hath the Ḳāẓī observed in our kingdom that he gives utterance to such like alarming words as these?" Ḳāẓī S͟hams-ud-Dīn replied: "What greater feebleness can there be than that the sect of Mulāḥidah has made several forts its asylum, notwithstanding that the creed of that sect is contrary to the Musalmān faith, and also to the Christian and Mug͟hal belief? They parade their riches and they wait in expectation of this, that, if your power should sustain any decline or reverse, the sect will rise in the midst of those mountains and in those fortresses, and overthrow the remainder of the people of Islām, and not leave the trace of a Musalmān."

This reality influenced and roused the mind of Mangū K͟hān to the reduction of the fortresses and territories of Mulhidistān, and the Ḳuhistān of Alamūt. A mandate was accordingly issued so that the forces which were in the countries of Ī-rān and 'Ajam, from K͟hurāsān and 'Irāḳ turned their faces to the territory of the Ḳuhistān and the tract of Alamūt; and, during a period of ten years or more, they took the whole of the cities and fortresses, and put the whole of the Mulāhidah to the sword, with the exception[2] of the women and children, all the remainder

had grown old and feeble, and called upon him to submit He appears to have ruled the district of Tūn and its dependencies, in which was the fortress apparently that mentioned by our author above—Sar-i-Tak͟ht. Nāṣir-ud-Dīn came on the 17th of Jamādī ul-Awwal, bringing presents, and Hulākū demanded why he had not brought the garrison of the fortress along with him, and was told that they would obey no orders but those of their Bād͟s͟hāh, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, K͟hūr S͟hāh This appears to have satisfied Hulakū, who conferred upon him the government of Tūn and its districts, and sent him thither; but he died soon after Hulākū now advanced to Ṭūs, the seat of government of the Amīr, Arg͟hūn Āḳā, and then moved to Radakān, where he stayed some time, and K͟habūs͟hān [there is no place called "Kabuskan"], which the Mug͟hals call Ḳūc͟hān He directed that this *kasbah* [town] should be restored, and that the means should be furnished from the treasury The *kāhrezes*—subterranean aqueducts—were repaired [he "ordered" no "canals to be dug"], and the Wazīr and Secretary of the province, Saif-ud-Dīn, Āḳā, used his utmost endeavours, as a Musalmān, to bring the works to completion, especially the Jāmi' Masjid, which he himself endowed Workshops were erected, and gardens laid out; and Amīrs and prominent men were directed to build dwellings for themselves, which they subsequently did

[2] He possibly means, not even excepting the women and children, for even the Pro-Mug͟hal writers say that *all* were exterminated

being sent to hell; and the potency of the verse—"Thus do we cause one oppressor to overcome another"—was made manifest.

This votary, who is Minhāj-i-Sarāj, the writer of this ṬABAḲĀT, and author of this history, upon three different times, had occasion to travel into that part [the Ḳuhistān] on a mission. The first occasion was in the year 621 H., from the fortress of Tūlak, after Khurāsān had become cleared of the Mughal forces, on account of the scarcity of clothing, and dearth of some requisites, which had run out in consequence of the irruption of the infidels; and people were distressed for necessaries of life. At the request of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan-i-Sālār, Khar-post, the author proceeded from the fortress of Tūlak to Isfirār, in order to open the route for *kārwāns* From thence he proceeded towards Ḳā-īn, and from that place to the fort of Sar-i-Takht,[3] and Jowārsher, and Farmān-dih of the territory of the Ḳuhistān. At that time the Muḥtashim [of the Mulāḥidah] was Shihāb-i-Manṣūr, Abū-l-Fatḥ. I [the author] found him a person of infinite learning, with wisdom, science, and philosophy, in such wise, that a philosopher and sage like unto him there was not in the territory of Khurāsān. He used greatly to cherish poor strangers and travellers; and such Musalmāns of Khurāsān as had come into proximity with him he was wont to take under his guardianship and protection. On this account his assemblies contained some of the most distinguished of the 'Ulamā of Khurāsān,[4] such as that Imām of the Age, Afẓal-ud-Dīn, the Bāmiānī, and Imām Shams-ud-Dīn, Khusrau-Shāhī, and other 'Ulamā of Khurāsān, who had come to him; and he had treated all of them with honour and reverence, and showed them much kindness. They stated to this effect, that,

[3] Written سر تخت with slight variation in two of the oldest, and two other good *MSS* Subsequent writers mention a stronghold of the Mulāḥidahs in the Ḳuhistān, in the district of Tūn, under that name Three of the most modern copies of the text, the best Paris *MS*, and the Calcutta Printed Text, have مرنخت which may be read Mankhat, Marbakht, or Maranjat, and in a note to the Printed Text what may be read Rikht or Zikht It lay in one of the common caravan routes. The same place, in the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, is written سرکت or سرخت

[4] Most copies of the text are deficient here.

**during those first two or three years of anarchy[5] in Khurāsān, one thousand honorary dresses, and seven hundred horses, with trappings, had been received from his treasury and stables by 'Ulamā and poor strangers.**

As the kindness and benefactions towards, and association and intercourse of this Muḥtashim, Shihāb, with the Musalmāns became frequent, the Mulāḥidah sect sent accounts to Alamūt saying: "Very soon the Muḥtashim, Shihāb, will give the whole of the property of the Da'wat-Khānah [General Bounty Fund] to the Musalmāns;" and, from Alamūt, a mandate came for him to proceed thither; and the government of the Ḳuhistān[6] was conferred upon the Muhtashim, Shams [ud-Dīn], Ḥasan-i-Ikhtiyār.

When this servant of the victorious government returned from the presence of the Muḥtashim, Shihāb, he proceeded, for the purpose of purchasing the necessary clothing, to the city of Tūn, and from thence returned to Ḳā-īn,[7] Isfirār, and Tūlak again. After some time, it happened that, in 622 H, the author chanced to proceed from Tūlak to the presence of Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-'Usmān, the Maraghanī[8]—may he rest in peace!—at Khāesār of

[5] The Printed Text is lamentably out here, and has مدت for فترت but the former makes the sentence totally unintelligible. The second word, *fitrat*, refers to the Mughal invasion and distraction prevailing in those parts consequent on their being without a sovereign or settled government.

[6] This shows that the power of the sect was still very great; and that the Mughal domination was but nominal at this period

[7] At this period Ḳā-īn was noted for the manufacture of very fine linen, hair-cloth, and similar fabrics.

[8] This Malik, so often mentioned by our author, was the founder of the Kurat [This word, which is said to signify greatness, magnificence, grandeur, and the like, is written by some, Kart—كَرة—and by others Kurt—كُرْت—and Kurat—كُرَت—and this last mode is apparently the most correct] dynasty, respecting which European writers generally, and some Musalmān writers of Hindūstān likewise, appear to entertain very erroneous ideas

Their descent is traced to Sulṭān Sanjar, the Saljūḳ, on the father's, and to the Ghūrī Sulṭāns on the mother's side, according to several authors, while others say that he was the son of one of the *uncles* of the Sulṭāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn—the brothers, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i Sām, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām A sister of those Sulṭāns certainly did marry a Saljūḳ—Malik Ḳizil-Arsalan, nephew of Sulṭān Sanjar, and Ḳizil-Arsalān's son, Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Alb-i-Ghāzī, received the investiture of the fief of Hirāt early in 599 H. When the Khwārazmī Sulṭān invested Hirāt the second time, he was its ruler, and had to surrender it. See note [2], page 257. What relationship existed, or whether any, between him and the

Ghūr, and, at the request of that august Malik, consented

preceding feudatory of Hirāt, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, 'Umr, the Maraghanī, who is styled Malik of Khurāsān at page 193, is not, I fear, to be discovered, but the Ghūrī Sulṭāns were certainly related in some way to the Maraghanī Maliks.

Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, 'Usmān-i-Ḥarab, ruler of Sijistān and Nīmroz, son of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab, married Āyishah Khātūn, daughter of this 'Umr-i-Maraghanī Much respecting Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, 'Usmān's descendants, by that lady, will be found at pages 193—202. See also note [3], page 967.

Guzīdah says 'Izz-ud-Dīn, 'Umr, was Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām's Wazīr, and held in great estimation. The Maraghanīs are said, by our author, to be Gharjahs, that is, natives of Gharjistān 'Izz-ud-Dīn, 'Umr the Maraghanī, held the fief of Hirāt when Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, invested it in 598 H [see note [7], page 257], and had to surrender that stronghold to him at the close of the year

While holding the fief of Hirāt. 'Izz-ud-Dīn, 'Umr, had entrusted his two brothers with the seneschal-ship of two important fortresses, under his government—Rukn-ud-Dīn [his Musalmān name is not given, but it was, probably, Muḥammad-i-Abī-Bikr, from what follows] with that of Nigāristān, according to Alfī, which name is doubtful, and is never once mentioned by our author, but one of the great fortresses of Gharjistān is evidently meant , and Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Usmān, with that of Khāesār of Ghūr Tāj-ud-Dīn was Sar-i-Jāndār to Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn's son, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and played an important part during the investment of Fīrūz-koh by the Khwārazmīs See page 410. Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Usmān, having died—the date is not given, but it must have been subsequent to 607 H —'Umr gave Khāesār, and a portion of Ghūr, to his other brother, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad[-i-Abī-Bikr ?], who, some say, " was the maternal grandfather of Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad," the founder of the Kurat dynasty, to whom Mangū Ḳā'ān gave the fief of Hirāt and its dependencies, with some other territory.

Now, as 'Umr's *brother*, Rukn-ud-Dīn, had already been provided for, it is evident to me that instead of reading, as in some copies of the original, that 'Umr gave Khāesār of Ghūr, and some other territory, to his *brādar*—brother, we should read *bi adar-zādah*—brother's son, for it is certain, from the names given by our author above, that 'Usmān is the name of the father of the chief of Khāesār of Ghūr to whom he refers, and whose agent our author was, and that the chief was himself called Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, as was his father's brother ; and, moreover, the period named—622 H —makes this view the more certain, because the Chingiz Khān died in 624 H , and Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-'Usmān, during the Mughal troubles, made interest with the Nū-yīn, Īlchīkdāe—and, from what our author says this Malik appears to have been unmolested while all other parts of Ghūr, and territories around, were invaded by the Mughals—and the Chingiz Khān confirmed him in the possession of his territory.

The similarity of names has apparently caused confusion in some of the accounts of the Kurat dynasty, and I think I can show how. Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, 'Umr, the Maraghanī, had two brothers, as already stated—one Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Usmān, the other Rukn ud-Dīn, Abī-Bikr When Tūlī Khān obtained possession of Hirāt, he left there, it is said, as nominal governor, under the Mughals, along with the Mughal Shaḥnah, Mangatāe, " Abī-Bikr, the Maraghanī," without giving his title ; and this person is, according to my theory, the same who tendered submission to the Mughals, and the brother of 'Izz ud-

to go on a mission towards the territory of the Ḳuhistān a

Dīn, 'Umr, and of Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Us̤mān. Abī-Bikr,—that is Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Abī-Bikr—the Maraghanī, was put to death soon after, along with Mangatāe, the Mughal Shaḥnah, when the Hirātīs threw off the yoke, leaving, as I suppose, among other children probably, a daughter, who was given in marriage to Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Tāj-ud Dīn, 'Us̤mān, our author's chief of Khāesār of Ghūr, who thus married his cousin The Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the first of the dynasty, is the son of the said Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-'Us̤mān, our author's patron, who died in 643 H.

Most of the works which give an account of the Kurat dynasty, including Alfī, state that "Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn was the maternal grandfather of Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, while Fasiḥ-ī states distinctly, in several places, that Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, was Rukn-ud-Dīn's son, and Rukn-ud Dīn, Abī-Bikr's son Both statements, according to what I have mentioned above, would be quite correct—Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad i-Abī-Bikr, would be the maternal grandfather, and Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-'Us̤mān, of our author, would be Shams ud-Dīn's father, and, at the same time, nephew and son-in-law of the first-mentioned Rukn-ud-Dīn, but even then the Saljuḳī descent does not appear. It is said that, "when Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn used to attend the camp of the Chingiz Khān, and Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, and the Mughal Nū-yīns, he used to take Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, along with him, so that he became acquainted with the Mughal usages and regulations" This too is not incompatible When taken to the Chingiz Khān's camp, he went with his maternal grandfather, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Abī-Bikr, and, when he attended at Ūktāe's, he accompanied his father, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muhammad i-'Us̤mān

A member, apparently, of the same family, Amīr Muḥammad, the Maraghanī, was killed in the fortress of As̤hiyār of Gharjistān He had done good service against the Mughals [see page 1077] In 643 H, Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn [Us̤mān] died, and he, previous to his death, nominated his son, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, heir and successor to his fief In 646 H, Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, proceeded into Turkistān, to the *urdū* of the Ḳā ān, for the purpose of being confirmed in the fief, and, during one of the affairs in which the Kā'ān was engaged against his enemies, Mangū's notice was drawn to Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, who was greatly distinguishing himself. The Ḳā'ān inquired who he was; and, when he was informed, he caused a *yarlīgh* to be issued confirming him in his father's fief of Ghūr, and added thereto that of Hirāt, Gharjistān, Sāwah, Farāh, and Sijistān, subject, of course, to the Mughal authorities in Ī rān-Zamīn

In that same year, previous to proceeding to the *urdū* of the Kā'ān, Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, is said to have slain Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, the Suflārī, son of Bahrām Shāh, ruler of Nīmroz, whose maternal grandfather was 'Izz-ud-Dīn, 'Umr, the Maraghanī, and Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad's great uncle on both the father's and mother's side, but our author was unacquainted, seemingly, with the facts respecting Malik Nusrat-ud-Dīn, 'Alī's death See pages 193 and 197 When Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, appeared before Mangū Ḳā'ān, he inquired of him "Wherefore didst thou slay Malik 'Alī?" He replied "I slew him for this reason that the Ḳā'ān might make the inquiry of *me*, 'Wherefore didst thou kill him?' and not inquire of *him* why he had killed me." Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, likewise obtained possession of the fortress of Bakar—بكر—which, from the time of Nūshīrwān, no one

second time, in order that the route for *karwāns* might be

had been able to possess himself of by force. It is the name of a fortress of Sijistān.

Subsequently, in 647 H., he slew the Malik of Gharjistān, Saif-ud-Dīn—who he was is doubtful, but a kinsman probably—within the territory of Hirāt. The reason is obvious. After his return from the *urdū* of the Ḳā'ān, with the investiture of these different tracts, in which were situated several of the great fortresses mentioned previously by our author, he had to gain possession of them *if he could*; and the chiefs in possession of them were not inclined to give them up, and submit to the Kurat, like as the Ḥākims of Ṭāl-ḳān, Sāwah, and Tūlak, had done. No further particulars are given of these events.

Our author probably may not have known from personal observation that Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-'Uṣmān, had become a feudatory of the Mughals, for he left his native country and retired into Hind in 623 H, but he could scarcely have failed to hear of it afterwards However, he does not say the Malik was not a feudatory: he is only silent on the subject There is no mention of Khāesār being a strong fortress, although it is most probable that it was such. Yet we cannot fail noticing, that, when all other places were assailed by the Mughals, captured, or compelled to submit, Khāesār of Ghūr was left unmolested The reason is palpable—Rukn ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-'Uṣmān, had made his submission to the Mughals through the Nū-yīn, Īlchīkdāe, who was a nephew of the Chingiz Khān to boot

We are told, at page 1006, that the Chingiz Khān conferred upon Malik Tāj ud-Dīn, Ḥabashī-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrād, the territory of Ghūr, with the title of Khusrau of Ghūr In this case Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-'Uṣmān, must have been subordinate to him, or the territory of Khāesār must have been distinct, by virtue of its Malik being also subject to the Mughal yoke, but he soon threw it off, and, fighting against them, was killed.

Nine years after the Nū-yīn, Mangūtah [Mr Dowson's "Mangú Khán" See page 809], abandoned the siege of Ūchchah, as has been recorded, and at whose appearance on the Sind or Indus in the year 644 H, Malik Saif ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Ḳārlūgh, had fled from Multān, Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Kurat, son of Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-'Uṣmān, accompanied the Nū-yīn, Sālī, into Hind. Having entered it, "Sālī despatched Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, to Multān, in 654 H., on a mission to that Shaikh of Shaikhs, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Zakariā—commonly styled, at this day, Bahā-ul-Ḥaḳḳ, whose tomb we had to batter so much during the siege of Multān in 1848 9—and an accommodation was agreed upon. The sum of 100,000 *dīnārs* was paid to secure this accommodation, and probably to save Multān from being sacked, and a Mamlūk of Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad's, named the Chingiz Khān, was [made?] Ḥākim at Multān." See pages 711, 784, 792, and 844.

"From thence the Nū-yīn, Sālī, with Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the Kurat, proceeded towards Luhāwūr—Lāhor—where, at that time, was Kurit or Kurat Khwān—[sic. کریتخوان There was a Kuret Khān among the Maliks of Dihlī, No. XV., but he was never feudatory of Lāhor, and was dead before this period]." He was probably no subject of the Dihlī kingdom, for, at this time, Lāhor had been lost to it, and the Khokhars are said to have occupied the ruins of Lāhor after its sack by the Mughals in 639 H. "Sālī entered into an accommodation with this person," whoever he might have been, "on the payment of 30,000 *dīnārs*, 30 *kharwārs*—loads sufficient to load an ass with—of soft fabrics, and 100 captives."

reopened. From Khāesār he [the author] proceeded

"After this, the subordinates of the Nū-yīn, Sālī, plotted against Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, upon which he retired from Hind, and set out to return to Ghūr. On the way he was arrested and detained by Malik 'Imād-ud-Dīn, the Ghūrī. Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, on this, despatched a trusty agent to the Bahādur, Ṭā-īr, then commanding the troops in those parts [and, consequently, if this be true, this Ṭā-īr could not have been killed at Lāhor in 639 H., as our author states at page 1135], telling him of his seizure and detention while on his way to his, Ṭā-īr's, presence Ṭā-īr directed his release, and he came to Ṭā-īr's *urdū*, and, after that, he retained Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, near his own person."

In a book published at the commencement of this Afghān crisis, entitled "*History of Afghánistán from the Earliest Period*," by Colonel G B Malleson, C.S I, we are told, at page 114, with reference to the year 1249, that .—

"In that year, Shir Khán, the governor of the Panjáb for the King of Dehlí, Násir-u-Dín Mahmúd, invaded Afghánistán, seized upon Ghazní and Kábul, and annexed them to the Dehli monarchy It is probable that they were speedily recovered, for not only, in subsequent years, do we find the Moghols making repeated incursions into India, but in the year 1336 traces appear of a new Afghán dynasty seated on the throne of Ghazní, owning subordination to, and acknowledging the suzerainty of, the Moghols of Central Asia"

Now the text above translated—The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī—was dedicated to, and named after the Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, who is referred to in the above extract, and in no work extant will such details be found respecting that reign in particular, and also the history of the Ghūrīs. Indeed all later historians obtain their information from this Ṭabaḳāt, for there was no other contemporary writer but its author, that we know of, who gives such details. Sher Khān, i e. the Lion Khān—Sher signifying Lion, but "*Shír*," as in the work above referred to, signifies "*Milk*"—The Milk [and Water?] Khán—is no other than the great Malik, the cousin of Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, a memoir of whom is given at page 791, and who was living when our author finished his work, and was personally known to him

Nothing of the above romantic statements as to "the throne of Ghazní" and "Kábul" will be found recorded in the text, for the reason that they never happened, and nowhere will such be found save in Dow, Briggs, and Firishtah See notes [8], page 690, and [1], page 794, para. 7.

The events of the year 647 H—1249 A D—will be found at pages 685 and 820 The following year, Sher Khān-i-Sunkar *re-took Multān from the Mughals*, and, in the year in question, ousted a rival Malik of the Dihlī Court, who was disaffected, and intriguing with the Mughals, from Ūchchah, and, soon after, he actually had himself to retire to the *urdū* of Mangū Ḳā'ān, while his rival went to Hulākū The reason of this will be found fully explained by our author respecting the disorders in the Dihlī kingdom. This re-capture of Multān and seizure of Ūchchah is what the Dakhanī compiler, Firishtah, made Ghaznīn of, but even he and his translators only make "*Shere, the emperor's nephew* [which he was not], *take Ghizni*;" not Kābul too

Col. Malleson then adds .—

"This Afghán dynasty, like that which preceded it, came from Ghor. Probably [!] it was the chief of the Afghán tribe [sic tribe !] in the Ghor mountains to whom the Moghol suzerain delegated his authority. They

towards Farāh, and from thence to the Ḳala'-i-[fort of Kāh of Sīstān, then on to the Ḥiṣār [fortified or walle town] of Karah, and to Ṭabas and the fort of Mūmin ābād, and thence to Ḳā'īn. At Ḳā'īn the author saw th Muhtashim, Shams, who was a man of the military pro fession. From this latter place the author returned t Khāesār.

When the year 623 H. came round, the writer of thi who is Minhāj-i-Sarāj, determined to undertake a journe into Hindūstān; and, as a requirement for the journe into that country, with the permission of Malik Rukn-ud Dīn, Muhammad-i-'Usmān, the Maraghanī, of Khāesā [of Ghūr], he proceeded to Farāh, in order that a littl silk might be purchased. On his arriving in the neigh bourhood of Farāh, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, th Khwārazmī, mention of whom has already been made i the Section containing the account of the Maliks of Nīmro was ruling the country of Sīstān. Hostility had arise between him and the Mulāhidahs on account of the for

ruled from 1336 to 1383 The first sovereign, Shams-u-Dín Ghori, and h two immediate successors, Rukh-u-Dín [sic], and Fakhru-dín [sic] Ghorí, etc, etc.

I beg to differ entirely from Col Malleson with regard to this latter state ment, as well as the former ones These errors all emanate from the san source, of Dow and Briggs making Tājzīk Ghūrīs the "Afghán dynasty Ghor," and turning the people of Ghūr into Afghāns, who at that period, ar up to comparatively modern times, were settled in Afghānistān, that is, *east* Ghaznīn, and not in Ghūr The "first sovereign, Shams-u-Dín," of this s called "Afghán dynasty"—this "chief of the Afghán tribe in the Ghor mou tains," is, of course, no other than Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the found of the Kurat dynasty, referred to above On the father's side he was of Saljū Turk-mān descent, and on the mother's, of Ghūrī, and also Maraghanī, th is of Gharjī descent, and if this mixture composes an "Afghan of the Gh mountains" I need not say anything more See note [1], page 508

His capital and that of his successors in their fiefs, for they were mere feudatories, was Hirāt, and Ghaznīn never belonged to them.

It is a pity that such statements should be disseminated, because they m lead I do not for one moment suppose but that Col Malleson imagined th what he was writing was strictly correct, or that he was aware what erro he was putting his name to These he would have avoided had he been ab to consult the original historians; and he would have saved himself from fallir into terrible errors had he consulted even that small portion of this Ṭabaḳ which is contained in Vol. II of ELLIOT'S HISTORIANS, in which the even of the year 1249 A.D. will be found, as well as a portion of the history of tl Ghūrī dynasties.

of Shāhan-Shāhī, which is adjacent to the town of Neh,[9] and he had retired defeated before them, and came to Farāh. Fear [of them] had overcome him; and, of the men of note who were along with him, among those on whom he was relying to proceed into the Ḳuhistān to effect an accommodation, and make terms between him and the ruler of the Ḳuhistān, the Muḥtashim, Shams, not one of them, the notables of his Court, was equal to undertake the journey, until they acquainted him [Bināl-Tigīn] with the news of the arrival of this votary, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in the vicinity of Farāh.

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, despatched a led horse, and a deputation of persons of note to receive him, and call him.[1] When the author reached his presence, the Malik made a request, saying: "It behoveth thee to do the favour of effecting a peace, and to proceed into the Ḳuhistān. The son of Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-'Uṣmān,[2] will accompany thee in this important enterprise—thou [wilt go] under the designation of an envoy, and he, under the name of a mediator" In conformity with this solicitation, the author proceeded towards the Ḳuhistān. The Mulāḥidahs were then before the town of Neh; and, after having reached the confines of the Ḳuhistān, it was necessary to come back again; and the author proceeded to Neh, and the accommodation between Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, and the Mulāḥidah Muhtashim, Shams, was effected.

When the author had returned from that journey, and had again reached the presence of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, the latter said: "It is necessary for thee to go a second time, and demand war from the Mulāhidah," but this servant of the state did not consent to set out on a second journey, as he had determined upon undertaking a journey into Hindūstān, and entertained a very great predilection for this journey. This refusal on the part of his votary did not meet with the approval of Malik Tāj-ud-

[9] The Calcutta Printed Text, as usual, makes a pretty hash of this well-known name.

[1] See the account of the Rulers of Sijistān and Nīmroz, pages 196 to 201.

[2] The son here referred to is, doubtless, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, referred to in the previous note [9].

Dīn, Bīnāl-Tigīn, and he commanded so that they detained him [the author] for forty-three days in the fort of Ṣafhed of Sīstān,[3] and prohibited his going beyond the walls, until Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-'Uṣmān, of Khāesār—may he rest in peace!—despatched letters from Ghūr to Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bīnāl-Tigīn. The author, likewise, composed a poem conformable with the case of his confinement; and, by the favour of the Most High God, he obtained his liberation from that fortress. Five verses of that poem are here given that they may come under the august observation of the SULTĀN OF THE SULTĀNS OF ISLĀM, whose sovereignty be long prolonged! Āmīn.

"How long shall my crystal tears on the amber [like] face,
To the emerald spheres the coral hue impart?
Since like unto smoke from Ḳumārī wood[4] are my sighs,
It would not be astonishing were ye distilling rose-water, O tears!
In disposition, neither am I vicious, nor is evil found in me;
Why then am I a captive on the Ṣafhed mount?
I am not the Sī-murgh,[5] nor is this the mountain of Ḳāf—
For ever pleasing to the parrot captivity will not be.
Minhāj—The Straight Road[6]—is best on the open highway:
The straight road he findeth not, through restraint the fortress within"

The intermediate [portion of the] poem, and the entire copy of it, is not in existence, and hence it is thus abridged.[7] May the Almighty preserve the Nāṣirī dominion to the utmost bounds of possibility!

I now return to the subject of the history.

In the territory of the Mulāḥidah there are one hundred and five forts—seventy forts in the Ḳuhistān territory,[8]

[3] The Calcutta Printed Text, which is "so much to be depended on," merely turns this into the fort of Ṣaf of Hindūstān—قلعه صف هندوستان instead of قلعه صفهد سيستان

[4] Wood brought from Ḳumār or Kumārūn [Anglicized Comorin] used for fumigation, also aloes, and gum benzoin

[5] The fabulous bird of eastern romance—the *'unkā* or griffin. Its home is the Koh-i-Ḳāf, which is supposed to surround the world.

[6] Which Minhāj signifies—a play on his name.

[7] Its loss is scarcely to be regretted, judging from the above specimen.

[8] In Khurāsān west of Hirāt. The word comes from Kohistān, signifying a mountainous tract of country Our author has plainly indicated its whereabouts Ḳā-īn was, and is, its chief town Respecting Alamūt see note [8], page 363. In the MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK it is said there is not any river water throughout that tract, but this assertion is not quite correct, unless a great change has taken place since that work was written. it is scarce,

and thirty-five in the hilly tract of 'Irāk, which they call Alamūt. After the Mughal forces had occupied their territory some time, and a great number of captives of that sect had been slaughtered, the Maulānā[9] of the Mulāḥidah, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan-i-Nau Musalmān, was assassinated by one among his personal slaves,[1] in the fortress of Lanbah-Sar,[2] and the son of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, came out of that stronghold and proceeded to the Mughal camp. They despatched him, along with his dependents and followers, to the presence of Mangū Khān, and command was given to put him to death on the way. All the forts of Mulhidistān were destroyed, and the Mughals took their cities and towns and demolished them, with the exception of the fort of Gird-Koh[3] which

certainly. These parts were, at the period in question, very populous and flourishing.

[9] The head of the sect who held both the temporal and spiritual power over the Mulāhidah, as previously mentioned at page 1189.

[1] Hasan, the Māzandarānī, at the end of Shawwāl, in the year 653 H. 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd's son, was the Khudāwand, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Khūr Shāh, who was quite a youth, mention of whom will be found in another note. Our author is quite wrong here, and has, in his brevity, confused events. Lanbah-sar was not taken possession of until long after Khūr Shāh came out of Maimūn-duz, and went to Hulākū's camp, the details of which will be found farther on.

[2] Here the Printed Text turns this name into بسر for لنبهسر

[3] A few miles west of Damghān. Having marched from Kūshān [Khabūshān], Hulākū turned his face towards 'Irāk, and moved to Bustām and Khurkān, and reached Bustām on the 10th of Sha'bān. The Korchī, Baktimish, the Bitik-chī, Zahīr-ud-Dīn, and Shāh Mīr, who had been sent on a mission to Rukn-ud-Dīn, Khūr Shāh—with a copy of the *farmān*, probably, issued at Kash—rejoined him on the 29th of Jamādī ul Akhir, on which same day some of the fortresses were reached, and raids made upon the country round. From Bustām, the Shaḥnah or Intendant of Hirāt, Margatāī, along with Bak-timish [the Bak-Tīmūr of Alfī, Takalmish of the Fanākatī, and Mankalmish of the Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh and the Rauẓat-uṣ Safā] were again despatched to Khūr Shāh with promises, stipulations, and menaces.

At this time, the Maulānā-i-Sa'īd, the Khwājah, Naṣīr-ud Dīn, the Ṭūsī, and several other learned doctors, such as the Ra'īs-ud Daulah, and the Muaffik-ul-'Adal [-ud Daulah ?], and their sons, were detained by Khūr Shāh, against their will, according to the Shī'ahs, but the Khwājah, Naṣīr-ud Dīn, was with Khūr Shāh for his own seditious purposes, as will be hereafter plainly manifested, and, influenced by him, the Khudāwand, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Khūr Shāh, who was quite a boy, and had only recently succeeded his father, and had been advised by those traitors to submit, treated the envoys well; and, on dismissing them, sent with them his younger brother, Shāhan-Shāh, with the Khwājah Aṣīl-ud-Dīn, the Zauzanī, and other great men of his

lies between Khurāsān and 'Irāḳ. Up to this time, now

kingdom, to tender his submission, and to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughal Ḳā'ān. Hulākū received them, and treated them with honour, but despatched Ẓahīr-ud-Dīn, the Bitik-chī, and two other men of note, to intimate to Khūr Shāh that, if he, Khūr Shāh, spoke truly with respect to his obedience and subjection, it behoved him to demolish his fortresses, and present himself in the audience tent of Hulākū. Khūr Shāh's reply, on dismissing them, was, that, whatever opposition his father may have displayed with regard to the Mughal Court, he had himself evinced naught save servitude and obedience; and he gave orders, in the presence of the agents, to dismantle several fortresses, such as Humāyūn-dujz, Alamūt, Lanbah-Sar, and others, to throw down the battlements, carry away the gates to a distance, and begin to tear down the walls; but, for himself, he requested a delay of one year, after which he would present himself.

Hulākū perceived it was useless to send envoys again, and he therefore directed all the Mughal troops that were in 'Irāḳ and other parts to advance, and close in upon the Mulāḥidah territory. Those on the right [Busṭām being the centre], in Māzandarān, were under Būḳā Tīmūr and the Nū-yīn, Kūkā I-yalkā, while those on the left, under Nikūdar Aghūl, and the Nū-yīn, Kaibūḳā, were to advance by way of Khwār—the name of a district or tract of country in the neighbourhood of Rai—which signifies low or sloping ground, but not necessarily "salt"—and Simnān, while Hulākū himself, with one *tomān* of picked troops, advanced from Busṭām on the 10th of Sha'bān, 654 H. I would here remark, for geographical accuracy, that the name of this place is written بسطام and that the name "Bostan"—i.e بوستان—signifying "a flower garden," under which name this place, famous in Persian history, appears in Colonel J T Walker's map and Major O B. St John's, is not correct

Hulākū, notwithstanding he had said he would send no more envoys, again had recourse to negotiation, but, with the treachery inherent in the Mughal, and in some other northern barbarians, sent to Khūr Shāh saying: "Although our standards have advanced, and notwithstanding all the misdeeds he has been guilty of, if Khūr Shāh presents himself, he will be received, the past will be forgotten, and he will be exalted" After the Mughals had passed Fīrūz-koh, the envoys again returned, accompanied by Khūr Shāh's Wazīr-i-Khāṣ—Prime Minister—Kai-Ḳūbād, to intimate that his master had agreed to demolish all the fortresses Khūr Shāh made, however, a special request, that Alamūt and Lanbah-Sar should be left to his offspring, since they were the ancient homes of his family, and that he should be allowed a year's grace, to prepare certain presents and offerings worthy of the Mughal sovereign's acceptance, that the Muḥtashims of Gird-Koh and the Ḳuhistān had been directed to present themselves, and that, in the mean time, all the other fortresses should be demolished This temporizing was no match for the duplicity and wiles of the Mughal barbarian, who was aware what a difficult task he would have in order to capture the chief strongholds. Hulākū, still moving forward towards Lār and Damawand, passed, by the way, Shāh-dujz, which was captured in two days; and, once more, he despatched his envoys. Khūr Shāh still refused to appear, but he notified that he would send his son, with a body of 300 militia [as a contingent ?] and demolish all the fortresses. His son came—a child of seven years old, whose mother was a concubine, but Hulākū, who waited at 'Abbās-ābād of Rai to receive him, would not allow

that the year 658 H. has drawn to its close, it will be a

an infant to remain in his camp, and sent him back. Then, to carry out his proposed treachery, Hulākū, in reply to Khūr Shāh, intimated that, in case there should be further delay in appearing himself, he had better send another of his brothers to relieve Shāhan-Shāh, who had been so long in the Mughal camp Khūr Shāh then despatched another brother, Shahrān-Shāh—some call him Sherwān Shāh—along with the Khwājah, Aṣīl-ud-Dīn, the Zauzanī, and 300 soldiers; and, on the 5th of Shawwāl, 654 H, they reached his camp within the limits of Rai On the 9th, they were sent back bearing a safe-conduct for Khūr Shāh himself, with a message to the effect that, in consequence of the submission, and show of obedience of Khūr Shāh, the misdeeds of his father had been forgiven, and, as no improper conduct had been shown by himself, since he had succeeded his father, if he destroyed the fortresses as promised, he might expect the royal favour After sending off this—the bearers filled with delight at the terms—Hulākū issued orders for the Mughal troops to form a cordon round about Maimūn-dujz, the residence of Khūr Shāh, which was carried out particularly on the part of Būḳā Tīmūr and Kūkā I-yalkā, who approached it very closely, from the side of Astadār—or Astadārah—the same place as is mentioned in *Jabah* [Yamah] and Sahūdah's [Swīdāe's] raid

As soon as Khūr Shāh became cognizant of this suspicious proceeding, he sent a person to the Mughals, saying "Since we have submitted, and are occupied in demolishing our fortresses, what is the object of your advancing into these parts?" By way of mockery they replied "Because we are friends now, and there is no disagreement between us, we have come into your grazing lands, in order that our horses may enjoy a few days' rest, after which we again depart" On the 10th of Shawwāl, the Mughals entered the Rūd-bārāt or Rūd-bārān [a district and town, between Gīlān and Ḳazwīn. it is the plural of *rūd-bār*, and signifies a tract of many streams] by the Yashkal or Bashgal *Dara'h* or Pass, on the road to Ṭāl-ḳān, and commenced plundering and devastating the country round On the 18th, the audience tent of Hulākū was pitched facing Maimūn-dujz on the northern side, and, the next day, he reconnoitred the place preparatory to an attack, and, the following day, the troops completely encircled it, although the mountain, on which it is situated, is six farsakhs in circuit. Hulākū, however, when he beheld that impregnable fortress, saw that, to take it by storm, was utterly impossible, and that nothing else than reduction by famine was possible, and that that might not be effected for many years. He therefore held counsel with the Shāh-zādahs and Amīrs whether to invest it, or retire, and return next year, as the season was far advanced. Most of them were for retiring, as winter was come—it was Shawwāl, 654 H —November, 1256 A D —the horses were emaciated, and forage was scarcely obtainable, and would have to be brought from the frontier districts of Kirmān or Arman; but Būkā-Tīmūr, the Bitik-chī, Saif-ud-Dīn, and Amīr Kaibūḳā, the Nāemān, on the contrary, urged, that to retire now would be a show of weakness, and that, as a matter of necessity, they ought to remain until the affair assumed some tangible shape or other So Hulākū again had recourse to duplicity, while traitors in the stronghold of the inexperienced Khūr Shāh helped its success · he despatched another envoy to Khūr Shāh, with a message tending to seduce him, by hopes of favour, to come down · The envoy said "O Khūr Shāh! if, like a man, you come down and present yourself, you not only preserve your own life, but also the

**period of ten years that the investment of that fortress has**

lives of all who are in this place with you. If, in the course of five days, you do not come, then make your fortress strong, and expect an assault, for this is the last time that any one will come to you." Rukn-ud-Dīn, Khūr Shāh, seeing the state of affairs, held counsel with his chief men; and no way appeared left open to him other than to surrender On the same day that this was determined on, he despatched, in advance of himself, another brother, Shāh Kiyā, along with the traitor—as I shall presently show—the Khwājah, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, the Ṭūsī, and other officials and leaders of his forces, to the presence of Hulākū, bearing presents and offerings befitting. On Friday, the 27th of Shawwāl, they reached his camp, and, on Sunday, 1st of Zī-Ḳa'dah, 654 H.—12th November, 1256 A.D.—the Khudāwand, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Khūr Shāh, having taken a last farewell of his ancestral home of two hundred years, accompanied by Aṣīl-ud-Dīn, Zauzanī, Mu'ayyid-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, and the sons of the Ra'īs-ud-Daulah, and Muaffiḳ-ud-Daulah, the same day presented himself in the camp of Hulākū, the Mughal So, "the strongly fortified town of Meimundiz" was neither besieged, nor was "the attack prosecuted with vigour," because no attack was ever made, neither did "Rokn-ud-din propose terms to Khulagu," as we are informed in the "*Mongols Proper*," but quite the contrary

The traitor, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, the Ṭūsī, composed a verse on this event, the first *half* of which, not quite correctly rendered, is given by Von Hammer, who, in his account of the Ismā'īlīān, makes sad havoc among the names of persons and places. The verse is as follows, literally rendered —

> "When the 'Arab year six hundred, fifty, and four, came round,
> On Sunday, the first of the month Zī Ḳa'dah, at morning dawn,
> Khūr Shāh, Bādshāh of the Mulāḥidah, from his throne arose,
> And, in front of the throne of Hulākū [Khān], stood up "

When Khūr Shāh presented himself, Hulākū beheld a mere youth of inexperience and indiscretion, and, therefore, according to the pro-Mughal accounts, he treated him kindly, and gave him hopes of the Ḳā'ān's favour. Khūr Shāh, at Hulākū's request, despatched one of his chief men entitled Ṣadr-ud-Dīn, in order that all the fortresses which his father and forefathers had obtained possession of, in the Ḳuhistān, the Rūd-bārāt, and Ḳūmis—a district, or rather province, between Khurāsān and 'Irāḳ-i-'Ajam—full of military stores, magazines of provisions, and other valuable property, might be delivered up to the Mughal officials, and, by Hulākū's command, they are said to have been levelled with the ground—subsequently perhaps, as this would be a work of time only: Ḥāfiẓ Abru says they amounted to some three hundred, all but Lambah-Sar and Gird Koh—but the number was only a little over a hundred—which the governors refused to give up, and which held out, particularly the latter, for twenty years after, as already mentioned Pestilence at last broke out in Lambah-Sar, and most of its people perished The rest abandoned it, and the Mughals destroyed it.

The day after Khūr Shāh reached the Mughal camp, he gave orders to his dependants to leave Maimūn-duj, and his ancestral treasures, other valuable property, and library, he presented [perforce] to Hulākū as a pesh-kash, the whole of which Hulākū is said to have distributed among his officers. After this the latter turned his face towards Alamūt. On reaching the foot of the stronghold, Khūr Shāh was sent forward to request the seneschal to come

been going on.[4] Within it about 100 or 200 men have

[4] Not *in* "the third year of the siege," as Von Hammer states: it held out for nearly twenty years, and only then fell because pestilence had destroyed nearly the whole of its defenders.

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down and give it up, but that Sipah-Sālār refused to listen to his words, and gave him a rough and stern reply. Hulākū left a numerous force there to invest it, but, after holding out for three or four days, the Sipah-Sālār agreed to surrender it, on the lives and property of all within being guaranteed. On Monday, the 26th of Zī-Ḳa'dah, 654 H., it was given up. The people asked, according to the terms of surrender, for three days' grace to enable them to remove their effects; and, on the fourth day, the Mughals poured in, and commenced to sack the fortress. The catapults on the walls were thrown down and destroyed, the gates removed to a distance, and they began to demolish the defences. On the following day Hulākū came up to inspect the place, and much was he astonished at beholding that fortress and the mountain on which it stands. "Alamūt is a mountain, which they have likened unto a camel kneeling, with its neck stretched out upon the ground [between a camel—شتر—and a lion—شیر—there is, in *MSS.*, but the difference of a couple of points over and under, but there is a very material difference in their significations, whatever Von Hammer may have said, for he must have read it incorrectly or from a poor *MS.*] On the summit thereof, which has but one path leading to it, a fortress was built of such prodigious strength that the like of it has never yet been described. Within had been excavated several reservoirs for storing vinegar, honey, and other drinkables—the word *sharāb*, in the original, does not necessarily mean wine or intoxicating drinks—so that, after obtaining possession of that stronghold, the Mughals were diving into them—and must have come out in a very 'sweet' state from the reservoirs of honey—and finding various articles of property, which the people, in their first alarm, had thrown into them," but the Mughals "in the subterranean chambers and cellars, searching for treasure, did not fall into the wine and honey," *without knowing what was there*, as erroneously stated by Von Hammer, from a wrong reading probably. The greater part of the contents of these magazines, which had been laid in during the time of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh, remained unchanged, and his followers, the Ismā'īlīs, attribute this to the sanctity of his blessing.

The subsequent fate of Khūr Shāh may be related in a few words. By the early part of 655 H., all the Mulāḥidah strongholds in the Ḳuhistān and 'Irāḳ-i-'Ajam, with the exception of Lanbah-Sar and Gird-Koh, were in the hands of the Mughals, but those in Shām had yet to be gained possession of. Hulākū, consequently, continued to treat Khūr Shāh well, and induced him to send his messengers along with Mughal officials into Shām, to request the governors to give them up, whereby they would obtain favour, or otherwise bring down ruin upon the whole of the sect. Khūr Shāh had also become enamoured, it is said by the orthodox Musalmāns, the enemies of the sect, of a base-born Mughal's daughter, and, the matter becoming notorious, Hulākū, on the occasion of the great Shī'ah festival of the 'Ashūrā, bestowed favours upon Khūr Shāh on the last day of the festival, the 10th of Muḥarram, 655 H., and, among these favours, made him a present of the Mughal damsel. The idea that "*Khulagu*" would not have scrupled to have put him to death

taken refuge, but, up to this time, it has not fallen into the hands of the Mughals.*

* The I. O. L. *MS.*, No. 1951, the Ro. As. Soc. *MS.*, and the Bodleian *MS.*—all three—have an interpolation here relating to the death of Mangū Ḳā'ān in Chīn, the same as occurs at page 1223, thus showing that they are copies of the same original, or that the two last are copies of the first *MS.*

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"because he had lately *married a Mongol* woman of low extraction," is absurd, and also that a "*solemn marriage* was ordered." The round-faced, ugly wench was bestowed upon him in the same way as a horse or a slave would be given, but some say that Khūr Shāh actually asked Hulākū for her.

Hulākū had solemnly promised not to harm Khūr Shāh, hence he was well pleased when the latter, who found his promises of favour were all empty ones, asked to be sent to the presence of Mangū Ḳā'ān, still, as the fortresses of Shām had not yet been secured, he would have kept him in play a little longer However, as Khūr Shāh was desirous of going, he despatched him, but took care to detain his offspring, females, and dependants, at Ḳazwīn, and only the Mughal concubine was allowed to accompany him. He was desired to obtain the surrender of Gird-Koh by the way; and, although Khūr Shāh, outwardly, in the presence of his Mughal guardians, did request its commander to surrender, he had before sent secretly to tell him on no account to give it up, as it had been prophesied that in, or by means of, that fortress, their sect would again flourish The commandant, consequently, refused to surrender, and gave a fierce answer, so the Mughals had to proceed on their road unsuccessful Khūr Shāh is said to have quarrelled with his conductors after passing the Āmūīah, and it is added that they came to fisticuffs, and this want of dignity on his part made him very contemptible in the sight of the Mughals. His death is differently related. Some say he reached Mangū's presence, but the Fanākatī and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū say that the truth is that, when he had arrived in the vicinity of Ḳarā-Ḳuram, Mangū Ḳā'ān commanded that he should be put to death This, the Jāmi' ut-Tawārīkh states is the truth, but Rashīd-ud-Dīn does not say that Mangū was at Karā-Kuram These writers, however, appear to have forgotten that the Ḳā'ān was in Chīn at this time, and never returned to Ḳarā-Ḳuram again

Mangū's instructions to his brother were, not even to spare a child of a year old of the race of Kiyā i-Buzurg-Umīd, so, during the absence of that unfortunate Prince, Hulākū gave orders to slay the whole of them, and "neither young nor old were spared, and, of a family, which, for one hundred and seventy odd years, had reigned in Īrān-Zamīn, not a vestige or trace remained"

In Alfī, however, it is stated that a number of Khūr Shāh's offspring and relations were made over to Salghān Khātūn, Chaghatāe Khān's daughter, that she might, according to the law of retaliation, shed their blood, in order to avenge her father who had been killed by Ismā'īlī Fidā-is. See note *, page 1148.

After this Hulākū—with the treachery inherent in the Mughal race—issued commands to the Amīrs in Khurāsān to assemble together, by stratagem, the whole of the Ḳuhistānī Ismā'īlīs, and extirpate them, so that not a trace of them might be left Under pretence of a general levy of fighting men, for the purpose of invading Hindūstān, numbers came in from all the towns and

## AN ACCOUNT OF THE MISFORTUNE WHICH HAPPENED TO THE MUḤTASHIM, SHAMS-UD-DĪN.

This account is derived from a recluse among the recluses of Islām, who is worthy of credit, and is here recorded in order that it may come under the observation of the Sultān of Islām.

This servant of the victorious empire, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, who is the author of this ṬABAḲĀT, on the first occasion that he chanced to undertake a journey into the Ḳuhistān, and saw the Muhtashim, Shihāb, the Ḥakīm, the friend of the Musalmāns, saw, in his presence, a recluse, an aged man of Nīshāpūr, who was one among the esteemed of Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and his mother, the Malikah-i-Jahān—on whom be the Almighty's mercy!—and, during the time of that monarch and his mother, he enjoyed their intimacy and esteem. This recluse used clandestinely to take care of the interests of the Muḥtashim, Shihāb, before the Sultān's throne,[8] and was wont to show honour towards his emissaries; and, such of their important affairs as used to be before the Court, he would get brought to a successful termination.

When the misfortunes [attending the irruption] of the Chingiz Khān arose, and the people of Khwārazm, of the

[8] The later Mulaḥidah were tributary to the Sulṭāns of this dynasty, and had been for some time. See note [4], page 254.

villages of that territory, and the Mughals thus succeeded in trapping 12,000 Ismā'īlīs, the whole of whom were massacred. Towāchīs [Pursuivants or Tipstaffs] were also sent out into every part of the Kuhistān with instructions to kill the heretics wherever they could be found, and all who might aid or shelter them, and they are said to have been "wholly exterminated."

They were not however, for, in 674 H., twenty years after Khūr Shāh surrendered, in the reign of Hulākū's successor, a body of Mulāḥidah, having combined with a son of the late Khur Shāh, and assigned him the title of "the Nau Daulat," seized the fortress of Alamūt; and their outbreak assumed a serious aspect. Ābaḳai Khān sent an army against them, which overthrew them, and the fortress of Alamūt was razed to the ground.

In the present day we hear of a claimant to the spiritual office of this sect, as a descendant of the last of the Mulāḥidah, and, I believe, Magazine articles have even been written on the subject.

Hulākū's mind being now entirely set at rest respecting the Mulāḥidah, he turned his attention to further "ameliorations"—the capture of Baghdād, our author's account of which will be found farther on.

capital, and of Khurāsān, became dispersed, this recluse, for those reasons [above referred to], threw himself into the Ḳuhistān; and, on account of previous obligations, the Muḥtashim, Shihāb, the Ḥakīm, was under towards him, this recluse obtained great favour with him, and received abundant honour and reverence. On the Muḥtashim, Shihāb, being removed from the government of the Ḳuhistān, and his proceeding to Alamūt, when the Muḥtashim, Shams, arrived, this recluse did not obtain the same respect from him; and, as he was not on terms of intimacy with the Muḥtashim, Shams, the absence of Shihāb greatly affected the heart of the recluse. He desired, in order to perform the debt of gratitude [he owed] to the Muḥtashim, Shihāb, to take vengeance upon this Muḥtashim, Shams, who was the displacer of the former, and thereby attain, for himself, the felicity of martyrdom, and also perform an act of holy warfare [upon an infidel].

One day he entered the place of audience of the Muḥtashim, Shams, and represented, saying: "It is necessary to give me a private audience. I have important business, which I will communicate in private." The Muhtashim, Shams, had his audience hall cleared, but the recluse said: "I am not satisfied to proceed lest it should so happen that I might be in the middle of my statement and an interloper might enter, and the matter be interrupted If the Muhtashim will direct that I may fasten the door of the audience hall on the inside, my heart will be freed from that fear" The Muḥtashim replied: "It will be well: it is necessary to put the chain across the door of the audience hall on the inside" The honest [!] recluse got up, and fastened the door on the inside, and came and seated himself down in front of the Muhtashim It was an habitual custom with that Muḥtashim constantly to have a finely-tempered *palārak*[7] poniard in his hand. Sometimes he would place it at his side, sometimes before him, and sometimes he would take it in his hand.

The recluse turned his face towards the Muḥtashim, and said: "I suffer tyranny in thy city and territory. Why

[7] A species of Damascened steel held in great estimation also the damasked water of a sword.

have they placed this poniard in thy hand? [Is it not] this purpose that thou shouldst ward off tyranny violence from the weak and oppressed? Give the wea into my hand that I may see whether it be sharp or r The Muḥtashim, inadvertently, the recluse being an in old man, and thinking that from him no mischief wo arise, gave the poniard into the Darwesh's hand. latter seized it, struck at the Muḥtashim, and infli upon him several severe wounds, in such a manner his body was wounded in several places It was winter season, and the Muḥtashim wore two garment hair [cloth], one over the other; and, the recluse be old and infirm, the wounds proved not so very deep. I the recluse been young, and had it been the sum season, without doubt, the Muḥtashim would have gon hell. Notwithstanding he was wounded, he got up, sei the wound-inflicting recluse, and cried out for assista A number of Mulāhidahs were in the vestibule of the p of audience, and they burst open the door, and came and martyred the recluse—the Almighty reward him!

A cry now arose in the city of Tūn,[8] and the M ḥidahs conspired against the Musalmāns to put those p unfortunates to death, but the Muḥtashim promptly direc so that they issued a proclamation, to the effect t no Musalmān should be hurt in the least, since it wo not be right to slay all the Musalmāns through the of one individual During that short period of tim however, an eminent Imām, and learned man, whom t used to call Imām Najm ud-Dīn-i-Sarbāri, the Rū attained martyrdom, because a Mulḥid was at enmity w him, but of the rest of the Musalmāns not one suffered molestation. Subsequently, command was given so t they impaled the Mulḥid who had killed the Imām.

The object in [relating] this incident was this, that i essential that sovereigns should ever be circumspect a vigilant, and should never leave [their] arms out of th own possession, and should not place confidence in a one.

[8] At page 1107, he says he saw him at Ḳā-in, which was the seat of gov ment, but this, it appears, took place at Tūn. It is not contained in all cop only in the best ones

I now return to the thread of this History.

When they placed Mangū Khān upon the throne, he conferred the dominion of Ī-rān and 'Ajam upon his younger brother, Hulākū; and another younger brother, named Kubilān,[9] after he had returned from the conquest of 'Irāk,[1] he installed over the tribes of Turkistān, and a third brother, Artuk[2] Būkah, he placed as his deputy over the kingdoms of Tamghāj.[3] He [Mangū] then assembled a numerous army, and marched into the country of Chīn,[4] and reached a place where the horses of his forces,

[9] At page 1177, our author styles him Kubilā—قبلا—and here Kubilān—قبلان—as above, the letter 'n,' apparently, being nasal, as in many other words. The Calcutta Printed Text here turns him into Kīlān—قیلان. The name is written rather differently by other authors, as with many other names, particularly with the addition of a final ی often found in these words—Kubīlāe. The letter 'k'—ق—which is the first in his name, is turned into 'Kh' in the book so often referred to herein, which is equivalent to ح or ﮐ but any one who understands a single letter of Oriental tongues knows that "Khubilai" is as impossible as "Khulagu" for Hulākū, and is incorrect, whatever the "Mongol" Professors may say. The Chinese, who spoil all foreign proper names, style him "Hû-pi-lay."

[1] This is a great mistake: we should read Khiṭāe for 'Irāk. Kubīlāe was never sent into 'Irāk on any expedition, and was never in that country in his life. He is said to have been in Kifchāk in Ūktāe's reign. The services on which he was sent in Mangū's reign have been already mentioned.

[2] The Printed Text mistakes this name too, and has Irak or Arak—ارق—for Irtuk—ارتق—and sends Irtuk, sometimes written Artuk, Būkā into Chīn, whereas he was left in charge of the great *urdūs* at Karā-Kuram of Kalūr-ān.

[3] Tamghāj has already been referred to in a previous note.

[4] As I have briefly referred to the principal events in the lives of the preceding Mughal sovereigns, I will here relate, even at the risk of being considered rather too diffuse, the other chief events in Mangū Ķā ān's reign, in order to complete the notice of him, and will compare it with the Chinese accounts, as the names of countries, places, and persons, are so widely different, and as, in other matters, considerable discrepancy occurs, and numerous errors exist.

In the year 651 H., which commenced on the 2nd of March, 1253 A.D., Mangū, being well established on the throne, determined upon making fresh conquests in the east and west, or rather, to speak more correctly than the Oriental chronicles of these events, to secure possession of the countries which had been but partially subdued. Accordingly, in this, the second year of his accession, Mangū made a great feast or banquet at the ancient *yūrat* of the Chingiz Khān. After it was over he nominated his youngest brother, Hulākū, to march into Ī-rān-Zamīn, some of whose proceedings have been already described, and his middle brother, Kubilāe, into the countries of the east, and the Ko-yāng, Mūkalī, the Jalā-īr, was despatched along with him [as his guide and preceptor]. This well-known leader's title is not "Guyaneg." Ko-yāng, the name the Khiṭā-īs called him by, signifies great and trustworthy.

After they had set out from Karā-Kuram, with the army, by the direct route,

**through the insalubrity of the climate, and want of forage,**

apparently, they found grain and forage excessively scarce. They accordingly despatched information to the Ḳā'ān, stating that it would be impossible to proceed by that route, and asked permission to march by another road into Ḳarā-Jāng [قرا جانك]. This is the tract of country which Rashīd-ud-Dīn, quoting Al-Bīrūnī, mentions. After noticing Dīw-gīr and the Ma'abar in the Dakhan of Hind, he says: "There is also another large territory which is Gandhār, and called by the Mughals Ḳarā-Jāng or Ḥāmil [حامل], and its people are descended from Hindī and Khiṭā-ī [parents]. In the reign of Ḳubilāe Ḳā'ān it was subdued by the Mughals. On one side it joins Tibbat, on another, the frontier of Khiṭāe, and on the third, Hind. Learned men have said that the people of three different countries are particularly celebrated for three different things: Hind for its numerous armies, the territory of Gandhār for its elephants beyond computation, and the Turks for horses."

I have previously narrated the Fanākatī's account of the geography of some of these parts [see note *, page 912], and the names of various countries of Khiṭāe, Chīn, and Mahā-Chīn, but it will be well to mention what refers to this very tract under discussion again, as great discrepancy exists with regard to the mode of writing the name of it. The Fanākatī says: "To the S. W. of Khiṭāe is another country, which they—the people of it—style Dāe-liū [دايليو—in one *MS.* written 'Dāe-kū—دايكو], and the Mughals call it Gandhar [كندهر—another *MS* has Gandah har—كنده هر]. This country with us—the writer's native country, Māwarā-un-Nahr, and Turkistān—is known as Ḳandhār [قندهار]. It lies between Hind and Tibbat, and in one half of it the people are black [dark], and in the other half, white [fair]. The Mughals call all this white half Chaghan-Jāng [چغان جانك], and the other Ḳarā-Jāng.

It is doubtful what the meaning of Jāng is, in fact it is very doubtful what is the correct word, for it is written جانك—جابك—جاىك—جانك—and جامك which may be read in various ways, but if one take the first form—جانك—in which perhaps it is chiefly written, it may be read, in the absence of vowel points, Jānak, Jānag, Jānk, or Jāng, and from its being used with chaghān and ḳarā, which are Turkish words for white and black, it must, without doubt, be Turkish likewise. I am doubtful, however, whether the last form given above—جامك—Jāmak, is not, after all, the correct word. I have taken some trouble to search it out in several works, and am sorry that there should still remain any doubt upon it.

But, from comparison, we arrive at some other facts. The Fanākatī and some others say, that, east of Khiṭāe, the Chīn of the Hindūs, and Jāḳūt of the Mughals, inclining south-east, is an extensive country called Manzī [منزي—it is also written in some *MSS* مري and منري—and sometimes, by the Fanākatī also, نيوا or منوا] by the Chinese, Mahā-Chīn by the Hindūs, and تنكناش—Tingnāsh by the Mughals.

This latter name too, as I have previously remarked, is written in so many different ways that it is difficult to determine which is the most correct. It is written تنكناش—Tingnāsh—in several very correctly and carefully written *MSS*, also تنكباش Tingbāsh—بيكتاش—Bīktāsh, تنكتاش—Tingtāsh, تنكناس—Tingnās, and the like, but I believe, after all, that the way in which it is written in the "Nuhzat-ul-Ḳulūb" is the correct one, namely, نكياس—Ningīās, or نكايش—Ningāīsh. This country is said, by the Fanākatī and others, to be separated from Khiṭāe or Chīn by the Ḳarā Mūr-ān or Black River, that its capital was Khūnsāe [خونساي] or Khunsāe [خنساي], that *it is also called* Ḳarā-

were perishing. He despatched swift messengers into Tur-

Jāng by the Mughals, and Dāe-līū in the language of Khiṭāe—that is, by the Chinese. Consequently, from these various statements, Nıngāīsh or Tingnāsh is the Karā and Chaghān Jāng and the Gandhār of the Mughals, which constitute the Manzī and Dāe-līū of the Chinese, the Mahā-Chīn of the Hindūs, and Kandhār of the Musalmāns of Turkistān and Māwarā-un-Nahr

I now return, after this necessary digression, to the request of the Ko-yāng, Mūkalī, to enter this territory of Karā-Jāng, or whatever it may be. His request was complied with, and he entered that territory with his forces, plundered it, and obtained what his troops were in want of I notice, in ELLIOT, vol. 1, page 63, that "Waihind, capital of Kandahár, *west of the Sind*," is said to be called "Karájáng" by the "Moghals." This is *a little* out of the way, and must be an error certainly

This army under Kubīlāe and Mūkalī was "to enter Khiṭāe [which nearly all historians say was finally subdued in Ūktāe's reign, and that the Āltān Khān disappeared or hung himself. See note at page 1139], Karā-Jāng, Tibbat [تبّت—doubtful: the word is written ست—قويت—and يوست], Tingkūt, Solīkā or Sūlīkā [سوليقا], Kolī [كولي], and parts of Hind which adjoin Chīn and Mahā-Chīn."

The Chinese say that "Mengko," as they style Mangū, made his brother Hû-pi-lay, governor of all the territories south of the great Kobī or Desert, that is, Tartary bordering on the Great Wall of China, Lyan-tong, and the conquered provinces of China. In Decr, 1252 A D. [Shawwāl, the tenth month of 650 H ], Hû-pi-lay was directed to attack Tai-li-Fû in Yun-nan, and took along with him the general Hû-lyang-hotay [Mūkalī ?], and Yanshī [Maḥmūd, Yalwāj ?].

About the same time envoys arrived at the *urdū* from Intû or Hintûs [Hind], to render homage. This was about the very time that Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, the cousin of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, left his fief of Tabarhindah, withdrew from Hind, and proceeded to the presence of Mangū Kā'ān See pages 695, 784, 792, 798, and note [4], page 1223

In the same year—650 H.—Mangū Kā'ān began to consider in what direction he should himself lead an army, and, therefore, he held another great feast at which the Shāh-zādahs and Amīrs appeared. This was held at a place called Kortūkūk Jīwan [قورتوقوق جيون]—the Jīdan [جيدان] doubtless, referred to in note [9], page 912, para. 4—which is situated in the middle of Mughalistān. This is the place where, according to tradition, Kūblah Khān, the eighth of the Būzanjar dynasty [see the note on the descent of the Turks, Tāttārs, and Mughals, page 896, para. 6], and his followers, danced so much in the hollow of a tree, after he had obtained success over the Tāttārs, and the Āltān Khān's forces, when he avenged his brother, Ūkīn-Barkāk's death.

At this feast, Mangū was advised by Dārkāe, the Gurgān [one of the sons-in-law of the Chingiz Khān], an Amīr of the tribe of Angīrās-Kungkūr-āt Mughals, to invade Tingnāsh or Bīktash [Ningāīsh]. Dārkāe added, as a reason for invading it, that it was near by, was *bāghī*, that is to say here, unreduced and independent, and that it had hitherto been disregarded by them. This was not correct, however, if, as previously mentioned, the Mughals call this Tingnāsh or Bīktāsh by the name of Karā-Jāng, for that was invaded and plundered by the Mughal troops under Kubīlāe and Mūkalī, the Ko-yāng, just before.

Mangū Kā'ān, in reply to this advice, remarked, that each of his uncles and

kistān and Māwarā-un-Nahr, and called for horses for his

brothers had subdued some country or other, and he would do the same [he had already done so in the campaigns in the west under Bātū Khān, but before he succeeded to the throne], so, in the sixth year of his reign, in Muḥarram, 652 H.—February, 1254 A.D.—he determined to go to war with Tehukan [possibly, Tehūkang], the Faghfūr—the particular title given by Muḥammadan writers to the ruler of Chīn, but what language it is, is not said. Mangū accordingly left Artūḳ—or Artūgh—sometimes written Irtūḳ and Irtūgh—Būḳah, his next younger brother, in charge of the *ulūses* and *urdūs*, and associated with him his eldest son, whose name is written in many ways equally uncertain—اورمكتاش—Aormaktāsh, اورنكتاش Aorangtāsh, and اورنكياس—Aorangīās, but, as he makes no figure whatever in history, it is immaterial.

Respecting these events, the Chinese say that, in February, 1253 A.D. [the last month of the year 650 H. The year 651 H. commenced on the 2nd March, 1253 A.D.], "Mengko" assembled the Princes and Grandees at the river Onon, and determined upon sending armies to make further foreign conquests, "one into India and Kashmīr, another into Korea, and a third against the Khalīfah," which was to be the most numerous, under his brother "Hyu-le hû" [Hulākū]. Among the generals was "Kakan [the Manjanīḳ-chī?], son of Ko-chey, son of Ko pan-yu," who were generals of the Chingiz Khān, a native of Ching, dependent on Wha-chew, in the district of Si-gan-Fû, capital of Shen-si, a very learned man.

"Hû-pi-lay" [Kubīlāe] had assembled his forces the previous year [1252 A.D.—649-50 H.], at Lin tau-Fû, in Shen-si, entered Sew-chwen, and, by difficult roads, through mountains and by precipices, reached the river Kin-sha or Kyang. At this period, great part of Yun-nan was ruled by Princes independent of China. Tali had a king of its own, and he was taken, with that city, in December of that year. "Hû-pi-lay" subdued several neighbouring Princes, and reached Tibbat, where several others submitted to him. After this he returned to his government, leaving Hû-lyang-hotay [the Ko-yāng, Mūḳalī?] in command.

Again, in 1254 A.D. [652 H., which commenced on the 20th Feby., 1254], the Chinese writers state that "Mengko" again assembled the Princes and Grandees at the source of the river Onon, made many new regulations, and ordered the commanders of troops in China to lay in great magazines of provisions in such parts of Ho-nan as had walled cities. Hitherto the Mughals had only made incursions into Sew-chwen to pillage, and had often to retreat, and, many times with loss, for want of subsistence [as in Kubīlāe's case, to which this evidently refers], and "Mengko" directed the general Wang-te-ching, son of Wang-shi-hyen, to inclose several towns, and lay in stores of provision.

In June, 1256 A.D. [this would be the beginning of Rajab, the seventh month of the year 654 H.], another great feast was held, and "Mengko" received the homage of several Princes of Yun-nan, as well as of neighbouring Princes and Sulṭāns of the west.

Then it is related that "Mengko considered the *urdū* at or near Ḳarā-Ḳuram was inconvenient for holding *kūriltāes* and keeping his Court, and so he directed a Chinese Bonza, named Lyew-ping-chong, to select a place in Tartary, which might henceforth be the capital of his dominions. Ping-ching, who was a man of great learning and of scientific attainments, made choice of a place, to the east of the city of Whan-chew, called Long-kang; and there a city was

army. Trustworthy persons related, on this wise, that his

built, which was called Kay-ping-Fû, and, afterwards, Shang-tû : yet Ḳarā-Ḳuram [although neither a city nor town] still continued to enjoy a jurisdiction of greater extent "—it was still the *asl yūrat* of the Chingiz Khān.

*The* foundation of this place therefore has been wrongly ascribed to Ḳubīlāe, who founded Khān-Bāligh, instead of to "Mengko," but that it was more convenient, as to position, than the vicinity of Ḳarā-Ḳuram, and Kalūr-ān, is absurd, unless for the convenience of his *eastern* subjects and dominions alone. There may have been another reason, and an important one. Ḳarā-Ḳuram depended a great deal on provisions brought from a long distance, and, should supplies, by any chance, have been cut off, famine would have arisen, as was subsequently proved.

This new capital, "Kay-ping-Fu," afterwards "Shang-tû," is apparently the Shandu, and Ciandu of Polo, "Xandu" in Ramusio, and "Ions" of Hayton. "It stood," it is stated, "in the country of Karchin on the river "Shan-tû," N.N E. of Pekin, and "seems to be," says a writer in ASTLEY'S "COLLECTION," "*Chau-nayman-suma*, which is one of three ruins marked in the Missioners' map, on the river Shangtû" Hayton calls it Ions "Passing out of the gate, Hi-foug-kew in Pe-che-li, you find yourself in Karchin, Ohan, Naman [Nāemān], and Korchin It is divided into ten standards, and the country of the Mughals of Korchin extends to the *Sira Mur-ān*—the great river Sira Mūr-ān in the Mughal language signifies a great river, and *Pīrah* a smaller one."

To continue the Chinese accounts before returning to the Mughal records quoted by the Musalmān writers, in whose time the Mughals had to a considerable extent become Musalmāns likewise, they say that, in 1257 A D. [the year 655 H began on the 18th January, 1257 A D.], "Mengko" sent orders to his generals in Se chwen, Hu-quang, and Kvang-nan, to prepare to attack the Song [empire] on all sides, resolving to begin himself with the first, that is to say, Se-chwen, which therefore is equivalent with Tingnāsh [Ningāish] of the Musalmān writers, Mahā-Chīn of the Hindūs, and Manzī of the Chinese, as described by the Fanākatī and others After the month of July [the seventh month of 655 H ] he appointed his brother, Alipû ko [Irtūḳ or Irtūgh Būḳah], in charge at Karā Kuram " There is some discrepancy between the Musalmān and Chinese dates, because he was appointed in the first month of 652 H , as before mentioned. "*In the same month*, Mengko" set out, reached the mountain of "Lewpan in Shen sī," where the Chingiz Khān died [which place, as stated before ,at page 1087, was situated on the frontier of Tingnāsh, or Ningāish, and Khūrjah]. He was scarcely arrived there when he understood his brother Hû-pi-lay, with his family, and without any attendance, in the manner of a criminal, had come, in order to submit himself to the Ḳā'ān. This news so affected "Mengko" that the suspicions he entertained against him were removed and he was completely forgiven " I shall refer to this matter presently.

"Hû-pi lay" was directed by "Mengko" to return to his government, and prepare for the siege of Vu-chang-Fu, the capital of Hû quang, then to march to Hang-chew, the metropolis of Che-kvang, and the empire of the Song ; and the general Chang jau was nominated to command under him

I will now return to the Mughal accounts from where I left off, when, early in 652 H —about March or April, 1254 A.D —Mangū appointed Irtūḳ Būḳah to remain in charge of the great *urdus* and *ulūsis*, along with his eldest son, but some say his son Serkī

lieutenants and governors, who were in Turkistān and Mā-

To enumerate all the names, and give all the details, respecting those Shāh-zādahs, Amīrs, and troops, which accompanied him, and the preparations made, would occupy far more space than can be afforded here: at some future time I hope to do so. Suffice it to say that they included a great number of Shāh-zādahs, Amīrs, and forces, both of the Dast-i-Chap—the left hand—and Dast-i-Rāst—the right hand—which latter they style [i e the territory they occupy] Jāūkūt or Jākūt, which signifies the forces of Khiṭāe, Tingkūt, Khūrjah, and Sūkankā [سوکنکا], because the Mughals, in their dialect, used to call those parts Jāūkūt or Jākūt. The army of Mangū Ḳā'ān amounted, it is said, to the immense number of 600,000, one half of which belonged to the Dast-i-Chap, and whose leader was the Shāh-zādah, Ṭaghāchār [there is no such name as "*Thugatshur*"], son of Ū-Tigīn, the younger brother of the Chingiz Khān.

As Mangū issued forth on his way, he received the news of the death of the Nū-yīn, Belkūtāe, half brother of the Chingiz Khān, who had attained the age of 110 years, and who had done good service in the latter's time. Mangū also received an account of his brother Ḳubīlāe's movements with his forces; and that, as Ḳubīlāe, at this time, was indisposed—he was afflicted with gout, or *dard-i-pāe*—if he were allowed to take repose for a time, it would be well. Ḳubīlāe was permitted, accordingly, to return to his *urdūs*, as a temporary measure, to get better

This evidently is what the Chinese histories refer to as a disagreement between the brothers, and Ḳubīlāe's being suspected, and forgiven, but the Musalmān writers never so much as hint at anything of the kind, and the two accounts are wholly contrary to each other. Although Ḳubīlāe had permission to retire to his *urdūs* he did not do so, but again returned to his post. It was at this time likewise, that Shīrāmūn, who was not to be trusted, was put to death before Ḳubīlāe departed. Perhaps it is this incident that the Chinese writers got hold of

Having set out, in the summer of 653 H —about June, 1255 A.D.—Mangū reached the boundaries of the territories of Tingkūt and Tingnāsh or Bīktāsh [Ningāīsh], at the place named Afwān or Afūān Shān [افوان شان—it was Lewak Shān—لوق شان before. See note, page 1088], within the confines of Tingnāsh or Bīktāsh [Ningāīsh], which is the place where the Chingiz Khān died.

Towards the latter part of the year he moved forward for the purpose of attacking the Masūl [مسول] Ḳahluḳah or Pass, and forced it. With little effort he subsequently captured twenty fortresses, and subdued a territory known as Khān-Sindān [خان سندان—in one copy of Alfī the first word is Jān—جان], and, having taken possession of the whole of it, turned his face towards a great fortress [a fortified city] called Mūlī Sāng [مولی سانك]

There is considerable discrepancy with regard to the name of this place, caused by the careless copying of scribes, and the facilities which the Arabic characters offer for making mistakes when carelessly written In the best written copies of Alfī and the Fanākatī, respectively, it is Mūlī-Sāng, as above, and Dolī-Shāng [دولی شانك], while in other copies of the former, and in other works, it is مولی سانك—مولی سانك—and مولی سانك without points. The place in question is the Ho chew of the Chinese historians, and Ho-chew or Ko-chew of the Jesuits' map

Before setting out into those parts, he had despatched the Nū-yīn, Ṭaghachār, with a numerous army, by way of the great river called Ḳā'ān Ling [قاان لنك],

warā-un-Nahr, in a very short space of time—less than

that he might reduce to submission the fortified cities of Fang-ching [بانگ چنگ] —the words are without points, and may be meant for Māng[مانگ]-ching—and Māng-Fūn [مانگ فون]. Taghāchār reached the foot of that fortress [the last mentioned place], and invested it for a week, but, during that time, having obtained no sign of success, he marched away, and returned to his own *urdūs*. Mangū Kā'ān was excessively wroth at this proceeding, and vowed he would punish Taghachār in such a way that others should take example therefrom, but he did not live to do so.

The place before which Mangū Kā'ān sat down in 654 H., was, according to the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, "a fortified mountain of prodigious height and circuit, and furnished with all things necessary to withstand an enemy Winter came and passed, and spring set in, and the summer of 655 H. arrived [the summer of 1257 A.D.]. The excessive heat brought on a pestilence among the troops, and most of his army perished. Mangū, who, for a long period, had been investing this strong place, took to drinking deeply, in order to ward off the danger of catching the disease, but his health gave way in consequence, and he was taken ill, and died eight days after, in Muḥarram—the first month—of 656 H. [about the middle of January, 1258 A.D.] on the banks of the Kobīghah Mūr-ān [کوبیغه موران], after a reign of eight years." The circumstances related by our author, although very brief, contain some interesting particulars respecting these events, which no authors I have been quoting mention.

There is considerable discrepancy, too, and some doubt, concerning the date of Mangū's death.

Alfī, and its authorities, the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, the Fanākatī, and the Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh, say it happened in 655 H. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar says it took place in 654 H., while Guzīdah and Faṣīḥ-ī say it was in 657 H, and that he reigned nine years, and was forty-eight—some say forty-six—when he died. The Fanākatī says his reign was six years and two months

The last of these dates—657 H.—is undoubtedly correct, because his brother, Hulākū, in Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 655 H., sent Khūr Shāh, Bādshāh of the Mulāḥidah, to his camp, after obtaining possession of Alamūt, and, by Mangū Kā'ān's command, he was put to death by the way Mangū, therefore, could not possibly have died in 654 H, nor in the first month of 655 H Another proof is that Hulākū sent the news to Mangū of the capture of Baghdād, and the murder of the last Khalīfah, together with an account of events which had happened in 'Irāk in 656 H, and which news reached him. Therefore, allowing for the immense distance which separated the brothers, the first month of 657 H.—January, 1259 A.D.—is, evidently, the more correct date. Our author, who finished his history in the fifth month of 658 H.—about the end of February 1260 A.D.—appears to have very recently become aware of his death by report

I must now give the Chinese version of these events for the sake of comparison. "Hû-lyang-hotay" having made conquests in the countries bordering on "Yun-nan," subsequent to his subjugation of Tibbat in 1255 A.D—653 H.—penetrated as far as "Tong-king," and "Kochin-China," then comprehended under the name of "Gan-nan," ruined its capital, and plundered the country. He was returning to "Tali," when "Mengko" ordered him to join "Hû-pi-lay" in the siege of Vû-chang-Fû [capital of the province of Hû-quang].

"Mengko's" forces entered "Se-chwen" in three bodies, each in a different direction. As soon as the army passed the mountain of "Lû-pan" [this i

one week—purchased 80,000 horses from Samrḳand and

the Chinese name for the place where the Chingiz Khān died], "Po-li-cha," a great Tartar [Mughal] lord, was appointed to command the first body, Mu-ko, the Ḳā'ān's brother, the second, while "Mengko" commanded the third, and took the route of Han-chong-Fū in Shen-si. He was vigorously opposed by the troops of the Song in Se-chwen. "Mengko" now sent on, in advance, Nyew-lyen of the Chanchu tribe, whose father and grandfather were greatly renowned in the army, in the beginning of the year 1250—656 H.—to obtain information. He learnt that Ata-hû, the Mughal general in Ching-tû-Fû, was in great extremity, being invested on all sides by the Song. He, Nyew-lyen, having reached Ho-chew, resolved to succour Ata-hû, but his efforts were of no avail, for the Song took it, and Ata-hû died. Nyew-lyen, now grown desperate from want of success, posted himself between the Song army and Ching-tû, to which he immediately marched, and soon after succeeded in gaining possession of it. Finding that the Ḳā'ān had reached Kang-chong-Fû, he left the city in charge of another officer, moved to Mahû, and sent forces to facilitate "Mengko's" passage of the river Kyan-lin by a bridge of boats. The other two bodies of troops having rejoined him, Long-gan-Fû was captured, and Lan chew [now Pau-ning-Fû] surrendered. The general Hû-lyang-hotay entered China, on his return from Gan-nan, by Tung-quin, moved forward to Quang-si, and seized Quey-lin-Fû, the capital of that province. The Chinese were surprised to find him penetrate as far as Chang-sha, a city of Hu-quang, which he invested in the beginning of 1259 A.D., equivalent to the first month of 657 H., which ended on December 16th of that year, and which completely agrees with the year given in Guzīdah.

On the first day of the same year, 1259 A.D.—the 28th of December began the year 657 H.—"Mengko" reached the mountain Chong-quey, where the Chalar [Jalā-īr], To-whan, affirmed that the war in Se-chwen would turn out unfortunate from heat and moisture, which would destroy the troops, and advised a retreat. Pa-li che, the Orla [Arlāt], said that To-whan spoke thus through fear, and advised the Ḳā'ān to continue the campaign; so "Mengko" determined to continue the war, and to invest Ho-chew, which he accordingly did in February. Nyew-lyen advanced to co-operate with him, and constructed a bridge of boats near Fû-cheu-Fû, while another leader went and took up a position near Quey chew, on the borders of Hû-quang. An attack was repulsed on Ho-chew in February, another in March, while, in April, there was thunder and rain for twenty days. One day, however, the Mughals succeeded in scaling the walls, and made great slaughter among the defenders, but they were finally repulsed. A Chinese general attacked the raft bridge, at Fû-cheu-Fû, and got to Kon-chin-Fû, eight leagues S.S.E. of Ho-chew, collected 1000 barques to ascend to Kya-ling [Kyan-lin?], but was attacked by a Mughal force, and pursued to Chong-king. The Mughals were, however, still much harassed by disease, want, and sallies. In July "Mengko" resolved to assault it with his best troops, and carry it at any cost. On the 10th of August the Ḳā'ān visited the works, and gave orders for scaling the walls the following night. The Mughals gained the top of the walls, but were repulsed with great slaughter, and even pursued. "Mengko," in desperation, now ordered a general assault, and went in person to direct it. A storm arose at the time, and during the attack several ladders were blown down. On this, a fearful carnage ensued, vast numbers of the Mughals perished, and among them was the Ḳā'ān, whose body was found pierced with many wounds.

Bu<u>kh</u>ārā, and, adding them to those which they had purchased in Upper Turkistān, despatched them [to Mangū <u>Kh</u>ān's army].

They also related, that, after some time, the king of <u>Ch</u>īn brought such an immense army, as cannot come within the compass of number or computation, and, in the end, Mangū <u>Kh</u>ān, and his army, were overthrown, and reached a mountain [range] round about [nearly] the whole of which range was the sea, and morass; and, in that mountain [range], Mangū <u>Kh</u>ān, with the whole of the Mu<u>gh</u>al army, perished from famine.

The reign of Mangū <u>Kh</u>ān was nine years.[6]

Thus fell "Mengko," at the age of fifty-two, after a reign of nine years. Such is the Chinese account, which is very different from that of the Mu<u>gh</u>als.

To return to the Mu<u>gh</u>al accounts. Mangū's son, Asūtāe A<u>gh</u>ūl, leaving the Nū yīn, Ḳand-ḳāe—قندقاى—in command of the troops, took up the coffin of his father, and conveyed it to his *urdūs* [the *urdūs* of his four wives]; and, for four days successively, they made mourning for the late Ḳā'ān. The first day in the *urdū* of Ḳunḳāe [قنقاى] <u>Kh</u>ātūn, who was also called Ḳoludī [قولدى], and Ḳolūdī [قولودى], the daughter of the Gurgān or son-in-law of the <u>Ch</u>ingiz <u>Kh</u>ān, Ūkdāe, son of Bartū, of the Angīrās tribe. This <u>Kh</u>ātūn had born Mangū two sons, the eldest, Bāltū, and the youngest [he is said previously to have been Mangū's eldest] Aurmaktā<u>sh</u>, Aorangtā<u>sh</u>, or Aorangiās, and one daughter, Māyālūn by name.

The second day, the corpse was removed to the *urdū* of Tuwāw-<u>ch</u>īn [تواوچين], who is also called Tānāw-<u>ch</u>īn [تاناوچين], and Tūrā-<u>ch</u>īn [توراچين], but all these names are more or less doubtful, of the tribe of Bāyāūt. She bore him a son, Serkī, also written <u>Sh</u>erkī, previously alluded to.

On the third day it was conveyed to the *urdū* of Ūghūl-Kūīmi<u>sh</u> <u>Kh</u>ātūn, the Ūīr āt, who had accompanied him on this expedition. She was of the family of his mother, Sīūr-Ḳūḳībī Bīgī, and was a woman of strong mind and force of character. At first she had been betrothed to Mangū's father. She used to style Ḳubilāe and Hulākū, her husband's brothers, "*farzands*," or sons, and they paid her great respect. She bore no son, but had two daughters.

On the fourth day the corpse was taken to the *urdū* of Kasā [كسا] <u>Kh</u>ātūn. She was of the tribe of Īljīkīah or Īljīkīn, an offshoot of the Kungḳūr-āts, and bore him a son named Asūtāe, previously mentioned.

The first and third <u>Kh</u>ātūns were free born, the two others were handmaids, but there were many others of lesser note. On each day, in each *urdū*, the coffin was placed upon a throne, and they made lamentation over the corpse. After the mourning ceremonies, the body of the Ḳā'ān was buried at the place called Būlḳān or Būrḳān—'l' and 'r' being interchangeable—Ḳāldūn, which is styled the Yakah Ḳurūḳ, that is to say, "the exclusively prohibited [spot]," at the side of the <u>Ch</u>ingiz <u>Kh</u>ān, and Tūlūī or Tūlī <u>Kh</u>ān, his grandfather and father.

[6] Our author has forgotten to notice, or would not notice, a remarkable

**May Almighty God prolong the reign of the present**

**matter concerning the Dihlī kingdom, which happened in the reign of his patron, and during the reign of Mangū Ḳā'ān.**

**Early in 646 H., Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, the** ***elder brother*****, it must be remembered, of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, who had hitherto been feudatory of Ḳinnauj, was made feudatory of Sanbhal and Badā'ūn, this last being one of the most important fiefs of the Dihlī empire, but, without proceeding thither, he became frightened at something which our author conceals, and fled, by way of Sihnur, towards Lohor [see pages 684 and 818].** His flight may have been caused through fear or suspicion of Ulugh Khān, in whose hands the whole power now centred, and who very shortly after married his daughter to the Sulṭān What Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, subsequently did, or whither he went, is also made a profound mystery of. Lohor, too, is mentioned at this period in connexion with him, after its never being once mentioned since its capture and sack by the Mughals, in 639 H, when it was lost to Dihlī.

A few months after this Prince's flight, in the eighth month of the same year, we find the Sulṭān moving with his forces as far as the river Biāh—which then flowed in its old bed—and his marching back again, but why he marched, and what his army did, is not mentioned anywhere by our author, but it was, without doubt, connected, in some way, with his brother's flight

Again, in 650 H, the Sulṭān set out, intending to march to Ūchchah and Multān [pages 692 and 825], but only reached the banks of the Biāh when the Rayḥānī plot broke out [pages 693 and 826], and Ulugh Khān was banished to his fiefs. This was in 651 H Nothing more is mentioned about Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, until 652 H, when we find him, in combination, with Ulugh Khān, and other Maliks, advancing towards the capital, in order, it would seem, merely to upset the Rayḥānī faction; and then our author says [page 830], that the Sulṭān's brother "came from the side of Lohor," but where he had been all this time, from 646 to 652 H, is not allowed to transpire In another place [page 700], however, it seems that more than the upsetting of the Rayḥānī faction was intended, for we are told that "a party of Amīrs now interposed *between the two personages*"—the Sulṭān and his brother—and after, that "Lohor *became* the fief—not that the Sulṭān *conferred* it—of Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh" In another place [page 793], we are told that Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunḳar, who had left Hind and gone into Turkistān, to the *urdū* of Mangū Ḳā'ān [see note [5], page 1198], returned with honour from thence, and went to Lohor, and joined the Prince [Jalāl-ud-Dīn] there, but that disagreements arose between them, and the Prince "retired in disappointment, and his dependents and followers fell into the hands of Malik Sher Khān's train" From this time Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, disappears from the scene, and is heard of no more

Fortunately a few others throw some light on what our author keeps so dark. Among them the Fanākatī says, that several of the great Mamlūks of the late Sulṭān, I-yal-timish, rebelled against his son, Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, and set up another in his place, as though he had been actually reigning He says, in fact, that Raẓiyyat was set up by Ulugh Khān, but the date he afterwards gives, which is quite correct, shows that he has confused the names a little, and refers to Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, whom he afterwards mentions as having been set up by Ulugh Khān. Then he continues:—"Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn fled from Hind, and, in 651 H, presented himself in the *urdū* of

;ān of Islām to the end of the existence of mankind, preserve the Khān-i-A'ẓam, Ulugh Khān, in power authority, to the end of the world! Āmīn.*

,—HULĀKŪ, SON OF TŪLĪ, SON OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN.

[ulākū ⁷ is the brother of Mangū Khān, and Tūlī [his

;ū Ḳā'ān, and Ḳutlugh Khān [this may be Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd 's step-father who afterwards caused such trouble, as he was in Hind up to the close of 655 H.], and Sunḳar [Sher Khān-i-Sunḳar. He did leave his nd retire into Turkistān at this very time, in 649—650 H. See pages 695 '92], out of fear of Ulugh Khān, followed Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn. Mangū ı commanded that a befitting grant should be assigned to the latter, and a pẖ was issued to the Nū-yīn, Sālī, then in those parts [in the tracts on the ι, and as far east as the Bīāh—the present Panj-āb], to aid him with his troops. κ Jalāl-ud-Dīn returned therefore, and he was permitted to take possession e districts of Luhāwūr [Lahor], Kūchah [also written Kūjah—کوجه—and ys mentioned in connexion with Banīān. See pages 627 and 750], and ιarah, which parts were then subject to the Mughals, and thus he contented :lf with a little out of much"

bruquis, curiously enough, confirms the above. He says that about the of June, 1254 A.D.—about the fourth month of 652 H.—when the Ḳā'ān a great assembly at Ḳarā-Ḳuram, at which a number of ambassadors ded, he noticed the ambassador from the Sulṭān of India. This could be her than Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, and his party, or Sher Khān-ιkar, for it is quite certain that no ambassador was ever sent from ι by Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh. They brought with them, as a pre- eight leopards, and ten hounds for coursing, which were taught to sit on ιorses' buttocks. The same traveller also says he returned for six weeks ame road westward, along with this very ambassador, and then he struck ι the left—the east. It is a pity he has not mentioned the ambassador's :.

ιat this account is correct is without doubt, from what our author allows to ιe him Well might he say that Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas' ūd Shāh, ʏanced from the side of Lohor," that "some of the Amīrs interposed een the two personages," and that "Lohor became his fief." The early ry of the kingdom of Dihlī has yet to be written The history of a try is not to be rendered correctly from the accounts of a single author, ιgle extracts from two or three authors merely. See also pages 793, 862, 863.

I hope this is a sufficient proof to show that this work was written in ιn Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's reign, and not in that of his successor, although, like ι more, it is not contained in the Calcutta Printed Text.

I need not tell the Oriental scholar, who can *read* the letters of the Persian ιbet for himself, that the first letter of this name is simple *h*—هلاکو—Hu- , the only variations of which are—هولاکو—Hūlākū—هلاکوی—Hulākūe, and -Hulā'ū, as our author sometimes writes it; but, for the information of · who cannot read the original for themselves, and have to trust to trans- ns, second-hand, or mere compilations from the works of foreign translators

father] was the youngest of the Chingiz Khān's sons. When the Chingiz Khān crossed the Jīḥūn into Khurāsān, he despatched Tūlī towards Nīshāpūr, Hirāt, and Marw; and Tūlī took all those cities, and destroyed them. Trustworthy persons related, that Tūlī was a good-looking youth; and, when he returned from Khurāsān to Turkistān, he died, leaving four sons,[8] as has been previously recorded.

When Mangū Khān, son of Tūlī, ascended the throne, he despatched Hulākū into the countries of Ī-rān and 'Ajam, and assigned those territories to him; and the armies which were in 'Irāk, and the troops which were in Turkistān, Khatlān, Ṭāe-kān,[9] and Ḳunduz, and the forces which were in the territories of Ghūr, Khurāsān, Hirāt, and the Garmsīr, were all directed to obey the command of Hulākū. On Hulākū's entering Khurāsān he chose Bādghais[1] as his head-quarters, and the Maliks of the different parts of 'Ajam presented themselves before him.

The Mughal army of Jurmāghūn, which was in 'Irāḳ, was continually fighting and carrying on hostilities with the troops of the Lord of the Faithful, but, on no occasion, and in no wise, was it able to gain the superiority over the forces of the Khalīfah's capital; and the infidels used continually to be defeated, more particularly in their attempts to take the city of Ṣafahān [Iṣfahān]. It occupied the infidels fifteen years before they were able to gain possession of that city. If the Kāẓī of Ṣafahān had not attained

of various nationalities, whose meanings and words too may have been misunderstood, I must remark [for some one to explain to them] that to produce "*Khulagu*" the word must be written كهلاكو or خلاكو or كهولاكو or خولاكو which no one has ever yet seen written—not even a Schiefner in "Mongol" Quartremère spells it Houlagu, and Von Hammer, Hulaku How D'Ohsson may spell it I am unaware, as I have not seen his work, but, however it may be, the first two letters are *hu*, and not *kh* See also "*Mongols Proper*," page 193

He left eight sons, but Mangū, Ḳubīlāe, Hulākū, and Artuḳ Būḳā, were the best known among them

[9] Ṭāe-ḳān of Tukhāristān is undoubtedly meant here, which is in the same territory as Ḳunduz

[1] The Pro-Mughal writers say—as previously mentioned—that he was obliged to remain all the winter of 652 H in the district or territory of Shiwarghān, a tract of country then in a much more flourishing condition than now. Bādghais too was a flourishing district, and within a short distance of Hirāt and its fruitful and formerly populous, but recently devastated, territory, of which it was, [illegible], a dependency Our author's statement here is the more likely of the two.

martyrdom, the infidels would not have found it possible to take that place, for the army of Jurmāghūn, and the Nū-yīn, Khainā,[2] for a period of fifteen years, continued to carry on hostilities, and to wage war before the gate of that city and its environs. During this entire period of time, the people of Ṣafahān kept the city gates open, so that, night and day, the gates used not to be closed; and, through the great valour and spirit of the holy warriors of Ṣafahān, the Mughals did not have the power of entering the city, until a party of powerful renegades seduced an individual from the right path to assassinate the Ḳāẓī, saying: "It is necessary to kill the Ḳāẓī because the trouble and annoyance of defending the city is caused by him." After they had martyred the Ḳāẓī the city was taken.

When, in the year 655 H., the Amīr-i-'Alam [Lord of the Standard][3] of the rightful Khalīfah, *Al-Musta'ṣim*[4] *B'illah*, the Lord of the Faithful—God reward him!—whose name was Sulīmān Shāh, the Aiyūbī Turk-mān—on whom be the mercy of the Almighty!—entered 'Irāk with the troops of the Khilāfat, he defeated the Mughal forces which were in the territory of Āẓarbāījān, and in 'Irāk, and sent great numbers of Mughals to hell, so that the Mughal troops were unable to stand before Sulīmān Shāh, and the forces of the Khalīfah's dominions.[5] They [the Mughals]

[2] This name does not occur in the other works I have been quoting. It is written in several different ways—حيا—حانون—حاتون—حيا—حيا ونّى and even حيا. The doings of Jurmāghūn are not given in any detail by the Pro-Mughal writers, because there were no successes to record, and Isfahān is *never once mentioned* from the time of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, up to this period, an interval of twenty seven years, which is significant.

[3] Lord of the Standard, equivalent to the Gonfalonier under the Popes, in the middle ages. The Amīr-i-'Alam commanded the troops of the Khilāfat.

[4] The text, in every instance, has المعتصم—Al-Mu'taṣim—and in several other works, including the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, the name is thus written, but the majority of others have المستعصم as above, which is correct.

[5] After Hulākū had finished with the Ismā'īlīs in the Ḳuhistān and Alamūt, he set out towards Lanbah-Sar, but, finding it was not likely to be soon taken, left a considerable force to invest it, under Jā-īr Būḳā, and marched towards Ḳazwīn, whither his and other families had been sent, and encamped within seven leagues of it, on the 27th of Ẓī Ḥijjah, 654 H. Subsequently, in Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 655 H., he moved from the vicinity of Ḳazwīn, and marched to Hamadān, where the Nū-yīn, Tānjū, the Bausūt, from Āẓarbāījān, presented

despatched swift messengers to Hulākū, in Khurāsān, and sought aid from him. Hulākū got ready the forces of Khurāsān, both Mughal and others, and determined to march into 'Irāḳ, and set out towards it.

## ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF THE CAPITAL OF THE KHILĀFAT.

When Hulākū set out towards 'Irāk, the Malik of Mauṣil, whom they were wont to style Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Lū-lū [6]—on whom be the Almighty's curse!—had consented to receive a Mughal Shaḥnah [Intendant] The Atā-bak, Abū-Bikr,[7] son of Sa'd, ruler of Fārs, likewise had a Shaḥnah, and had agreed to pay tribute to the Mughals;

himself Hulākū was not well disposed towards that great leader, on account of some reflection he had made, and he had therefore summoned Tānjū to his presence. He said to him · "Since thou hast been occupying the place of Jurmāghūn, what hast thou done? what ranks hast thou broken? what rebel hast thou reduced to submission? and what enemy hast thou made a friend?" Tānjū bent the knee, and replied "During this period of time I have committed no fault, and what was in the power of my hand to do, in that I have not been sparing of myself. Among other things I have taken a certain fortress and a certain town, and cleared all the tracts between Rai and Rūm and Shām, but, in consequence of the difficulty of the road to Baghdād, and the great number of the troops of the Khilāfat, in the neighbourhood of that city the Mughal troops have been guarded from disaster, and now the sovereign has the option and power of commanding whatever he may please" The fire of Hulākū's ire cooled on his hearing these words, and he said to Tānjū "It behoveth thee to proceed towards the frontiers of Shām and Rūm, and that thou shouldst subdue them, as far even as the sea of Maghrib [some say, to the sea of Yūnān]." Tānjū accepted this task, and, the very same day, set out towards Rūm, into which he carried slaughter and devastation Farther on it is stated that he was recalled, and, while on the march, directed to move against Baghdād Early in Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 655 H — April, 1257 A D —Hulākū prepared to invade 'Irāḳ-i-'Arab, and attack Baghdād He first turned towards Tabrīz, and reached it on the 12th of Rajab. Having remained there one month and a half, during which the Mughals carried fire and sword into Kurdistān, he again turned towards Hamadān, which—the neighbourhood of which—he reached on the 10th of Ramaẓān. His camp was formed in the open country about Hamadān, near to Khānah-ābād, "which is a verdant plain of Kurdistān," and there he began to get ready his forces for the coming struggle It was from this place that he despatched his envoys with an insolent message to the Khalīfah, which will be referred to farther on

[6] Amīr Badr-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Faẓāil-i-Lūlū, who was originally an Armanī [Armenian] slave.

[7] See page 180

and from both of these rulers bodies of cavalry arrived to the assistance of the infidel army. The infidel forces gathered around Hulākū in 'Irāḳ, and turned their faces towards Baghdād.

The Lord of the Faithful, Al-Musta'ṣim B'illah, had a Wazīr, a *rāfiẓī* [a shī'ah heretic] of bad religion, and his name was Aḥmad, the 'Alḳamī.* Between him, the Wazīr, and the eldest son of the Lord of the Faithful, who

* 'Alḳamah is the name of a city in Afrīkah, or Mauritania, and the name of a man. It is also the coloquintida, and is used to signify anything very bitter. 'Alḳamī here refers to a native of 'Alḳamah.

Mu'ayyid-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of 'Abd-ul-Malik, the 'Alḳamī, at the time of Al-Musta'ṣim's accession to the Khilāfat, held the office of Ustād-i-Dār, and was suspected, by many, but not by the Khalīfah himself, of being much against his accession, and of wishing to have set up the Khalīfah's brother instead. In 642 H., the Wazīr, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, a very aged man, was removed from office, and Ibn 'Alḳamī was installed as his successor, a most unfortunate act, and the chief cause of the downfall of the Khilāfat.

The new Wazīr was an eloquent man, of vast attainments, and who, in the composition of poetry and prose, had no equal. He was generous and liberal, and clever in the administration of state affairs. In this office he had no partner or associate, and the government was under his entire control; but he was a Shī'ah in faith, and thus an enemy to the house of 'Abbās. He did not consider that the other officials of the Court paid him that respect and attention which he thought he was entitled to; and, by innuendo, they were wont to reproach and rail at him as a heretic. The Khalīfah was cognizant of all this, and used to prohibit them from behaving in such a way towards the Wazīr; nevertheless, he nourished in his heart hatred towards the Khalīfah, his family, and the rest of his Court, but he took good care to conceal it so that not a soul suspected what was contained within his heart. Matters went on in this manner until the eldest son [by some writers, the brother] of the Khalīfah, the Amīr, Abū-Bikr, who, through his father's weakness of character, had been permitted to assume to himself the protectorship of the orthodox Sunnīs, with more zeal than was perhaps advisable, despatched a body of troops to the suburb of Karkh of Baghdād, which was known as the *mahallah* of the Shī'ah's of the Ahl-i-Bait, to quell a serious disturbance which had broken out there between the Shī'ahs and Sunnīs, the Shī'ahs having killed a number of the Banī Hāshim dwelling in the same suburb. In doing this, the Amīr, Abū-Bikr, was severe, and allowed his men to treat the Shī'ah women as though they were the women of infidels captured in war, carrying them seated before them on their horses, through the bāzārs of Baghdād, bare-headed and bare-footed. When the Wazīr became aware of this, the bridle of his heart's secret nearly escaped his grasp, and, in his rage, he vowed within himself, that, even if he perished in the attempt, he would wreak revenge upon all Sunnīs for this act of the Khalīfah's son.

Day and night he pondered the matter in his mind, and communed within himself, and deliberated how best he could bring about the destruction of his benefactor, his family, and the Sunnī people. At this time he discovered that

was named Amīr Abū-Bikr, enmity had arisen on account

Hulākū Khān, after having completed the downfall of the Mulāḥidahs, had been commissioned to invade 'Irāḳ-i-'Arab, and reduce the Khalīfah. Considering this a great piece of good luck, the Wazīr resolved to profit by it. He forthwith set to work to render the design of the Mughals successful, and enable them to gain possession of Baghdād without trouble and without delay, by opening communication with Hulākū, and giving him all the information he could.

He accordingly represented to the Khalīfah saying: "Thank God, the Lord of the Faithful this day is at peace with all the different rulers. All of them are loyal and subservient to him; and, at all times, they pray for his prosperity and security, and in no way desire to encounter the forces of the Khilāfat. In truth, the Khalīfah is without rival and without adversary. Now it seems contrary to forethought and prudence, under these circumstances, that such an expenditure should go on every year from the treasury for the payment of so many troops; and, if the Lord of the Faithful will permit, I will despatch the various officers of the troops to different localities in the Khalīfah's dominions on civil duties, and the troops may be disbanded, whereby a great advantage will accrue to the finances, and a vast deal of treasure be saved" This sounds like modern stump-oratory.

At this time, 124,000 efficient cavalry were kept up by the Khalīfah, and paid out of his treasury, without counting the contingents of the vassals of the Khilāfat, and the unfortunate Khalīfah, in his love of wealth, considering all this was for his advantage, permitted the traitor to carry out his scheme After a short time this was completed, and the capital almost denuded of troops. The traitor now communicated again with Hulākū, and despatched an agent secretly, expressing his sincerity and loyalty, and urging upon him that he should, on no account, give up the attempt to subdue 'Irāḳ-i-'Arab, and capture Baghdād, which could easily be accomplished, and that his services were at his entire disposal Notwithstanding the proofs and arguments he gave in his communication, Hulākū, for some time, did not place much faith in the traitor's words, but, when Ibn 'Alḳamī continued to send communications, and to importune him on the subject, Hulākū consulted with another traitor—the Khwājah, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, the Tūsī, who had, by this time, gained complete ascendancy over him, and a high position in Hulākū's confidence and service. He, being one of the great 'Ulamā of the Shī'ah sect, and having his own private revenge to satisfy by the downfall of the 'Abbāsīs, entered into the conspiracy with zeal, especially after Ibn 'Alḳamī had communicated direct with himself also The Khwājah pretended that it was necessary to consult the aspect of the stars before determining on the campaign, and this he was directed by Hulākū to do. His report may be imagined he stated that he had carefully carried out his observations, that the result was favourable, and that it was predicted that the time was at hand for the Khalīfah, Musta'ṣim, to be made captive, and that Baghdād and 'Irāḳ-i-'Arab would be subdued by his servants, without much trouble or difficulty

Hulākū's first move was to despatch his envoys to the Court of the Khalīfah with an insolent and arrogant message, on the 10th of Ramaẓān, 655 H., upbraiding him for not having rendered aid, which he accused the Khalīfah of having promised, in the operations against the Mulāḥidahs, and of falsehood in consequence His insolence was, no doubt, the greater, knowing that the Khalīfah's own Wazīr was his friend and ally The threats of the barbarian

of the despoiling of the *rāfiẓīs* who inhabited Karkh, and

and his demands were, among other matters, that the Khalīfah should beware of manifesting impotent rage, and should neither strike his fist against an iron spike, nor attempt to plaster over the sun with mud mortar, otherwise he would deeply regret it, and sovereignty would turn away its face from him. "Our advice is," he said, "that thou shouldst demolish the defences of Baghdād, fill up the ditch, make over the direction of state affairs to thy son, and present thyself before us, in order that thou mayest dwell in safety from the wrath of God. If thou art not coming thyself, send thy Wazīr, the Sar Dāwat-Dār, and Sulīmān Shāh—the two latter, especially the last, were the mainstay of the state, and chief obstacle in the traitor's way—in order that our messages, without detriment or addition, may reach thee; for, if thou dost not give thine ear to our friendly exhortations and advice, get thy forces ready, and prepare for war, for we have girded up our loins to fight with thee, and are ready. Further understand, that, when we shall reach Baghdād, whether thou art in the heavens above or in the earth beneath, they will bring to thee our preremptory command, which is like unto fate's."

The Khalīfah's reply, transmitted through his own envoys, a mixture of admonition, boasting, and defiance, concluded: "Listen, young man, therefore, to the admonition we have given thee, and retain it in thy mind; and go back again whence thou camest, otherwise prepare for war and come." The Mughal envoys, on their return, were met outside the city by a great mob, who insulted and reviled them, and even spat upon them, in hopes that the Mughal envoys might do or say something which they might turn into a pretext for laying violent hands upon them. Here again was an opportunity for the Wazīr. hearing of the disturbance, he, at once, despatched a body of his household slaves to guard the envoys, and conduct them safely out of the danger, and they, on their return to Hulākū's camp, related all the good offices of the Wazīr on the occasion

The Khalīfah's envoys, on the other hand, were angrily dismissed, with fresh threats, from the halting-place of Panj-Angusht, and their report of what they had seen and heard made the Khalīfah feel anxious and downhearted. He consulted with his Wazīr, whose traitorous conduct was, of course, wholly unknown to him. He advised that the Khalīfah should make use of the great wealth he possessed, and endeavour, by means of it, to ward off this calamity, and that liberal presents should be sent. For the Khān, a thousand bales of the finest fabrics, such as silk, fine linen, cloth, and other valuable wares and commodities, a thousand *bakhtī* [hairy, double-humped] camels, and a thousand fine 'Arab horses caparisoned befittingly, and, for the Mughal Shāh zādahs and great Amīrs, presents suitable to their rank and degrees.

The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh puts a piece upon this, in order to flatter his Mughal patron no doubt, and says that the Wazīr—who, according to his account, was an innocent lamb—advised that the Khalīfah, his master, "should make apologies" to the barbarian, Hulākū, "insert his name in the Khutbah, and stamp the coin with his name;" that the Khalīfah was willing to do this, but that Mujāhid-ud-Dīn, and others, with whom the author of that work associates all the knaves and vagabonds of Baghdād, "out of animosity to the Wazīr, prevented it." That city, however, is not the only place where traitors have taxed patriots, who would not sacrifice "their countries' interests," with owing their influence to the support of knaves and villains, which terms were, at the same time, alone applicable to themselves.

the Mas͟h-had* of Mūsā-i-Ja'far—God reward him!—and the son of the Lord of the Faithful, the Amīr, Abū-Bikr, had slain some of them, and despoiled them. Out of revenge for this, the Wazīr of the K͟halīfah's Court, who was a *rāfiẓ* of bad religion, showed hostility towards the Lord of the Faithful; and, in secret, and clandestinely, he wrote a letter to Hulākū, and entered into collusion with him, and besought the infidels to advance. The Kurd troops, and forces of 'Irāḳ,[1] by way of dismissing them, he [the Wazīr] sent away from Bag͟hdād, in different directions, and represented on this wise to the Lord of the Faithful, saying—"A peace has been entered into with the infidels, and we have no need of troops" After Bag͟hdād became denuded of troops, suddenly, the infidel Mug͟hals arrived in its environs.

They had taken forcible possession of a bridge [of boats] from the Malik of Mauṣil, and fixed it so as to command Bag͟hdād, and then passed the Dijlah [Tigris]. The fortress [fortified town] of Takrīt [above Bag͟hdād] was an

At first, the K͟halīfah was inclined to follow the Wazīr's advice, and gave him instructions to prepare the presents, but, had they been sent, no good result would have arisen. The Sar Dāwat-Dār [Head or Chief Ink-bearer, or Chief Secretary, as he may be called, and, by some writers, styled the Dāwat-Dār-i-Kūc͟hak, or Under-Ink-bearer, or Secretary], Mujāhid-ud-Dīn, I-bak, was hostile to the Wazīr, Ibn 'Alḳamī—he knew the Wazīr was a traitor—and represented to the K͟halīfah, saying: "Between the Wazīr and the K͟hwājah Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Ṭūsī, the chief adviser of Hulākū, the most perfect understanding exists, and he, in consequence of identity of religious belief, always desired the ruin of the house of 'Abbās. Now the Wazīr wishes, for his own purposes to make it appear to Hulākū that he is, personally, loyally inclined towards him, and so he gives this advice, and also in order to cast the other Amīrs and the soldiers of the K͟hilāfat, into trouble and calamity" A number of other officials, who were not well inclined towards Ibn 'Alḳamī, also supported the Sar Dāwat-Dār in this view, and they influenced the K͟halīfah against adopting the Wazīr's advice. The Sar Dāwat-Dār further advised that the disbanded troops should be forthwith recalled and concentrated, and the defences of the city made secure. It was now too late, however; and the weak and unfortunate K͟halīfah was still unconvinced of the diabolic wickedness of the Wazīr.

* Mas͟h-had—a tomb, a place of martyrdom. The city in K͟hurāsān, which appears in the maps under the meaningless name of *Meshed*, is *the* Mas͟h-had of another of the Muḥammadan saints.

[1] The Calcutta Printed Text invariably turns the Kurds into کرد and here instead of the Kurd troops and forces of 'Irāḳ, we have "*lashkar-hāe gird-bar* [which is redundant] *gird-i-'Irāḳ*—the forces which were round about 'Irāḳ."

excessively strong place; and the holy-warriors of Takrīt issued forth, and set fire to the bridge of boats, but, the following day, the Mughals again repaired the bridge, and martyred the Musalmāns.[9]

The son of the Lord of the Faithful, Amīr Abū-Bikr, and the Amīr-i-'Alam [Lord of the Standard] of the Khilāfat, Sulīmān Shāh, the Aiyūbī Turk-mān—who for a period of thirty years had wielded the sword against the Mughal infidels, and had achieved many holy expeditions [against them], as by the canons of the faith enjoined—these two [personages], in concert, on several occasions, had attacked the infidels, and overthrew the Mughal troops.[1] On the first occasion, they drove the Mughals from the environs of Baghdād, and pursued them as far as Ṣafahān [Iṣfahān], and despatched many of the infidel army to hell. This Amīr-i-'Alam of the Khilāfat, Sulīmān Shāh,

[9] Part of the garrison of Takrīt: the fighting men of the city and fortress. This affair is again referred to farther on.

[1] This is quite true, notwithstanding the note by the learned Sub-Editors of the Calcutta Printed Text, noticed at page 711. On this subject the Tārīkh-i-Alfī, Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, and others, say that it is quite correct, for, in the beginning of the reign of Ūktāe Ḳā'ān, Jurmāghūn, who was one of the Mughal Shaiṭāns [Devils], twice attempted to push on to Baghdād, and, on both occasions, was defeated, and his Mughals fled before the 'Arab, Kurd, and Turk, troops of the Khilāfat. On this account the Mughal soldiery did not evince much alacrity or valour in fighting against the Baghdādīs, and were really afraid of them—in truth, it appears that, on all occasions, when energetically opposed by the Musalmāns, and sedition did not help them, and where their stratagems and treachery were not successful, the Mughals were beaten by anything like equal numbers; but the Musalmāns, unfortunately for them, were a divided people, and, when the people of one religion, or of one country, are divided in their counsels, nothing but evil and ruin can ensue.

The fact that the Mughals did not, at the period in question, very eagerly desire to encounter the Khalīfah's forces, may be gathered from the reply of the Nū-yīn, Tānjū, to Hulākū, when he demanded of him what he had effected since he had succeeded Jurmāghūn in his command, previously narrated. At that time, the Khalīfah used to keep up a large force of efficient cavalry, at, and around his capital, and these the traitor Wazīr managed to disband and disperse to their homes.

It was on account of the success hitherto of the Baghdād troops that Hulākū found it was necessary, for Mughal prestige, or even for their safety, to attempt the conquest of 'Irāḳ-i-'Arab, but it is probable he would not have attempted it so soon, had not the traitor entered into secret communication with him, and made known his plans, for, previous to these communications, Hulākū is said to have been in some anxiety respecting the upshot of a campaign in that quarter.

the Aiyūbī, was a Malik of the tribes of the Anboh,[4] and they are a sept of the Turk-māns, and exceedingly spirited and warlike; and the left wing of the Khalīfah's forces was their post. During a period of thirty years, from the time of Jurmāghūn's [first] entering 'Irāḳ,[5] up to this period, he [Sulīmān Shāh] was wont to engage in conflict like as Rustam-i-Dastān[6] had done in the age of ignorance—the Almighty be gracious to him!—and 'Alī-i-Murtaẓā in the [early?] days of the true faith—May God reward him!

Hulākū,[7] having been overthrown the first time, on the second occasion gathered together troops from all Khurāsān and 'Irāk, both horse and foot, consisting of infidels, renegade Amīrs, and captives;[8] and, at the solicitation of the *rāfiẓī* Wazīr—God's curse upon him!—turned his face towards Baghdād. That accursed *rāfiẓī* minister, since he entertained in his heart and disposition treason and apostacy, had dispensed with the Kurd forces which were in the Madīnat-ul-Islām, Baghdād, and the Christians[9] likewise, in secret, having taken measures with Hulākū, had written letters to him, and had solicited the

[4] The best copies of the text have انبوه as above, others ابوه. There is a ḳaṣbah of the first name, on the top of a mountain range, a dependence of Dīlam, in Gīlān. It is probable that the Anboh tribe of Turk-māns were in some way connected with the 'Usmanlī Turks, and then, as now, a stumbling-block in the path of hordes of northern barbarians.

[5] In the year 628 H. See page 1115, and note [5], para. 5.

[6] See note [7], page 422.

[7] This is a mistake. Hulākū had not been overthrown, because he had never encountered the Baghdād forces, but the other Mughal leaders had, Jurmāghūn in particular, as already noticed. He may mean some portion of Hulākū's force.

[8] Infidels refer to the Mughals, but there were contingents in Hulākū's army which the Muhammadan subject states had to furnish—contingents from Kirmān, from Abū-Bikr, the Atā Bak of Fārs, from Mauṣil—Badr-ud-Dīn, Lūlū, its ruler, is said by some to have joined his camp at this time—and the troops of other subordinate rulers. Captives refer to those prisoners pressed into the Mughal service.

[9] Our author uses the word *Tarsā*, which is generally applied to the Christians, but it likewise signifies an unbeliever, an infidel, a Gabr, a worshipper of fire, a pagan. None of the authors I have been quoting accuse the Christians of any hand in the treason, and the only time in which they are indirectly mentioned by a few of them is, when the Patriarch of the Nestorians, as one of the Khalīfah's envoys, proceeded to the Mughal camp to seek for peace.

appearance of the infidel hosts. The Maliks and slaves of the Khalifah, who have been [styled] Sulṭāns,[1] had become aware of the Wazir's machinations, and once had shown to the Khalifah a letter which the Wazir had written to Hulākū, and they denounced the nature of his designs. The reason was this, that between the Wazir and the Sar Dawāt-dār [Chief Secretary], Sulṭān Mujāhid-ud-Din, Ī-bak, there was dissension and enmity, and he [the Sar Dawāt-dār] was cognizant of the hostility of the Wazir towards the Khalifah's son, Amir Abū-Bikr, on account of his slaying the *rāfizis* [previously mentioned]; and this fact he was wont to bring to the blessed hearing of the Khalifah. When the Wazir became aware of the purpose of the Sar Dawāt-dār, he represented to the Khalifah in this way, saying: "The Sar Dawāt-dār desires to remove thee from the Khilāfat and to raise Amir Abū-Bikr to that position;"[2] and, as the Lord of the

[1] The word Sulṭān here does not mean a sovereign prince: it is a mere title given by the Khalifahs to great vassals, and to governors of provinces, and some of the household slaves, under the last Khalifahs. After Burāḳ, the Ḥājib, had murdered his master and benefactor, sent his head to the Mughals, and possessed himself of Kirmān, as usual with up-starts, he wanted a title, so tendered his allegiance to the Khalifah as well as the Mughal ruler, and solicited the title of Sulṭān from the former. The reply he received was, that it was not usual, with the Khalifahs, to grant that title, except to a Bādshāh, or a vassal who entertained not less than 30,000 efficient cavalry in his own immediate pay. Subsequently, however, Burāḳ obtained it. BARON DE TOTT, in his work, which contains much useful information on the Turks, Tāttārs, and Mughals, says, with respect to its application in recent times, that the word Sulṭān is only used as a title of birth appropriated to the Ottoman Princes born on the throne, and to those of the Chingiz Khān's family, in the same way as Mirzā is applied to the house of Timūr. See note to page 898, where Irdam-chī or Īradam-chī, the equivalent of Mirzā, is referred to, and the reason for this title is explained.

[2] This was a mere ruse on the part of the traitor Wazir.

I wrote the whole of these notes *before* going through this portion of the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārikh, because I suspected, from what I knew of other portions of "the great Raschid's" History, and from its being dedicated to Hulākū's great grandson, that the events respecting Baghdād, and the fall of the Khilāfat, would *not be faithfully* related; and I am not mistaken in my suspicions. There is not a word—not a hint even—about the notorious treason of the Wazir, and he is made to appear a very lamb-like and innocent person, while a loyal servant of the Khalifah, like the Sar Dawat-Dār, is made out to be a traitor, who, surrounded by a considerable force, consisting of all the knaves, and villains, and scum of Baghdād, whom he is said to have taken into his pay, intended to dethrone the Khalifah, and set up another member of the

Faithful had become aware of the endeavours on both sides, he used not to pay any attention to the words of either party in their efforts against each other.

When therefore the Maliks laid before the Khalifah the letters which the Wazir had written to Hulākū, he replied: "These must be the doings of I-bak, the Dawāt-dār: besides, the Wazir would not act in this way." The Maliks were disheartened at this reply, until, when Hulākū had arrived within ten *kuroh* [about twenty miles] of Baghdād, Sulīmān Shāh, the Amir-i-'Alam, and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, son of Fath-ud-Dīn, the Kurd, who was the champion of the Dār-ul-Khilāfat, and who led the right

house of 'Abbās, which plot the innocent Wazir having discovered made known to the Khalīfah! The writer then, unintentionally perhaps, lets the cat out of the bag. He says the Sar Dawāt-Dār was sent for, taxed with the crime, and admonished, but he replied: "If any crime shall be *proved* against thy slave, here is his head, and here is a sword, but it is the Wazīr who is a traitor, who has been in constant communication with Hulākū, whose spies are continually passing to and fro, and, in order to lead us away from his own treason and screen himself, has falsely accused me." This statement, in the eyes of Rashīd-ud-Dīn, is a proof of the Sar Dawāt-Dār's wickedness!

Rashīd-ud-Dīn then goes on to assert that the Sar Dawāt-Dār still continued to entertain his army of knaves and villains, and the Khalīfah, being afraid of him, gave orders to assemble troops to put him down! Then he tells us that the affair was peaceably settled, and that "the Dawāt-Dār's name was *inserted* in the Khutbah next after that of the Khalīfah, which statement I should not credit if all the "great Raschids" under the sun had said so. He is careful not to mention the Wazīr's letters to Hulākū: these proceedings are kept close, as well as the constant communication by other means, and the dispersion, by that traitor, of the Khalīfah's forces. Our author shows what the facts were, as to the so-called plot to dethrone the Khalīfah, as known in his day, and he is a contemporary writer.

The meaning of the Perso-'Arabic word Dawāt Dār has been already explained: its literal signification is bearer of the ink-case, which contains ink, pens, and seals, but what a "*little Dewatzar*" may be among "Mongols Proper," who can tell?

The garbled accounts of these events show, that, however learned and talented he was, Rashīd ud-Dīn's statements, where his Mughal patrons and his own interests are concerned, are not to be trusted, and dishonesty in an author, when apparent, ought to be pointed out. He was a Wazīr too, and had plotted against a rival who was put to death, and was himself put to a most cruel death, by Abū Sa'īd, the great great grandson of the very Mughal Prince whose perfidy and barbarity he glosses over, and whose success was chiefly, if not wholly, owing to the aid he received from the arch traitor Ibn 'Alkamī, the Wazīr of the unfortunate Khalīfah. Rashīd-ud-Dīn was accused of having administered poison to Ūljāītū Sultān, and it is very probable that he was a Shī'ah as well as the traitor Ibn 'Alkamī, and Nasīr-ud-Dīn, the Tūsī, and hence his concealment of facts.

wing of the Khalīfah's troops, held counsel upon the state of affairs with Sulṭān Mujāhid-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the Sar Dawāt-dār, the Mustanṣirī,[3] saying: "Matters have gone too far, a potent enemy is close at hand, and an adverse Wazīr has plotted with the foe. It is necessary that it be communicated to the Lord of the Faithful in order that he may devise some expedient to repel the infidels." Mujāhid-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, replied: "I have said everything that was possible on this subject, but it has made no impression upon the blessed ear of the Khalīfah. I can do no more than to request permission for a private audience for you. Do you make a representation to the effect [you have mentioned]." Malik Sulīmān Shāh, the Aiyūbī Turk-mān, and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, son of Fatḥ-ud-Dīn, the Kurd, represented to the Khalīfah the arrival of the enemy, and solicited that means might be devised for his repulsion. The Khalīfah replied: "The Wazīr hath been spoken to: it behoveth ye to request a reply from him." Both withdrew from the audience-hall of the Khilāfat despairing.

The Nū-īn, Tājū [Tānjū],[4] with 80,000 infidel cavalry, from the side of Ārān and Āzarbāījān, obtained a bridge [of boats] belonging to the Malik of Mauṣil [Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Lūlū], and, in order to command Baghdād, fixed it near to Takrīt. The holy-warriors of Takrīt sallied out of the town and fortress, and entirely consumed the bridge[5] constructed by the Mughals, and despatched great numbers of the infidels to hell, while a few Musalmāns attained martyrdom. The following day, the Mughals repaired the bridge, as has been previously recorded, passed over,[6]

[3] That is to say he had held the office during the Khilāfat of Al-Mustanṣir B'illah

[4] Written Tājū in one of the oldest and best copies of the text, and in others, as previously noticed, Bājū, Bājūn, Nājū, Bākhū, and Mājūn, but as to the correctness of Tānjū there is no doubt whatever In his account of the Saljūks of Rūm our author, or his copyists rather, also style him Tājū. See page 162.

[5] How could it be repaired, if totally or entirely burnt?

[6] Here the Printed Text, as well as the I O L. *MS*, No 1952, and the Ro. As Soc. *MS* have يكديگر—"one another"—instead of بگذشتند—"they passed over or crossed," and make, as may be imagined, an unintelligible jumble of the sentence. The Printed Text also has Dijlah for Ḥillah—a river for a town! The town lies on the west bank of the Dijlah, facing the supposed site of ancient Babylon

and pushed on towards Kūfah, Ḥillah, and Karkh, and martyred the people. Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, son of Fatḥ-ud-Dīn, the Kurd, and Mujāhid-ud-Dīn, the Sar-Dawātī, with 20,000 horse from Baghdād, crossed the Dijlah [Tigris], and summoned all the men of Karkh and other towns to aid them, and fought a battle with the infidel army. As the forces of Islām contained a great number of infantry,[7] they stood firm, and received the attack of the infidels, fought valiantly, and forced them back. The army of the infidel Mughals sustained an overthrow, and great numbers of them went to hell.[8] Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, son of Fatḥ-

[7] The Hamilton *MS* of the Text abruptly ends here, and contains no more than when and where the *MS* was copied. It is minus just twenty-six pages. I notice it again in my Preface.

[8] The Pro-Mughal writers materially differ with respect to some of these events, but, with others, their statements tend to illustrate what our author says, and make his accounts stand out more clearly, and therefore I must give a few extracts.

Having dismissed the Khalīfah's envoys, who brought the reply to his insolent message to the Khalīfah, from his camp at Panj-Angusht, Hulākū's next move was to get possession of the fortresses in the difficult and mountainous tract between Hamadān and the Siwād of Baghdād. He accordingly began to enter into communication with another traitor, on a smaller scale than the Wazīr, whose name was Husām-ud-Dīn, 'Akah, the Ḥākim of the fortress of Dar-i-Tang, which, from its name—the difficult or narrow passage—refers to some fort guarding a pass leading into the plain of Baghdād. He had some cause for discontent against the Khalīfah's government, and at once complied with Hulākū's summons to attend him. Ḥusām-ud-Dīn was received with distinction, and many favours were conferred upon him, including the strongholds of Wurūdah-Dujz and Maraḥ-Dujz, and several other forts, which did not belong to the Mughals to give. He was allowed to return to Dar-i-Tang, where he had left his son, the Amīr-i-Sa'd, in command; and, at once, proceeded to send bodies of his retainers to obtain possession of the forts in question, and put garrisons of his own in them. The forts appear to have belonged to the Amīr-i-'Alam, Sulīmān Shāh, because Ḥusām-ud-Dīn is said "to have gathered about him the soldiers of Sulīmān Shāh, and in that way hopes, long nourished, were fulfilled." Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, having now effected his purpose, asked the Ḥākim of Arbil, Ibn Ṣalāyah, the 'Alawī, to make his peace with Baghdād and the Khalīfah's *dīwān*. He stated that he had been proof against all Hulākū's offers, and that, if the Khalīfah "would make his heart strong by encouragement, and would detach a body of cavalry to support him, he would raise a force of 100 000 infantry among the Kurds and Turkmāns around, occupy all the routes in front of Hulākū, and prevent a single Mughal from approaching Baghdād." The Wazīr *is said* to have acquainted the Khalīfah with this offer, but no further notice was taken of it. It would not have suited Ibn 'Alḳamī's plans, and, therefore, he doubtless was the cause of the offer not being accepted. He, without doubt, communicated it to Hulākū, for the latter, soon after, despatched the Nū-yīn, Kaibūḳā, with

ud-Dīn, the Kurd, earnestly urged the pursuit of the Mughals, saying: " It is requisite to pursue the routed

30,000 men, against Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, and had recourse to the usual perfidious measures in order to get him into his power. Kaibūḳū sent a message to Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, saying that he was on his way towards Baghdād, that expedition having been determined upon, and that Ḥusām-ud-Dīn's presence was required in order to consult with him. Unaware of the snare laid for him, Ḥusām-ud-Dīn fell into it. After Kaibūḳā had got him into his camp, he told him, "in order to show his sincerity," to muster all his family, dependents, and retainers, from the forts and elsewhere, so that they might be enumerated, and the amount of revenue, to be paid for them, fixed. Still did Ḥusām-ud-Dīn comply, unaware that Hulākū knew all. His family, dependents, and soldiers, with the exception of such as were in some of the forts with his son, being secured, Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, now that it was too late, found that his secret was known; and he gave up all hope of life. He was further called upon to give orders for the fortresses to be destroyed, as "an undoubted proof of his loyalty," and, being hopeless, he complied, after which, he and the whole of his people were massacred, with the exception of those with his son. Kaibūḳā returned triumphant to his master's camp. The Amīr-i-Sa'd, Ḥusām-ud-Dīn's son, refused to give up the forts in his possession, and held them for some time. At last, he evacuated them, and retired to Baghdād. He was received with much favour, and subsequently was killed in defending the city against the Mughals.

This feat accomplished, Hulākū, after he had been again in communication with the traitor Wazīr, and with the Khwājah, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, the Ṭūsī, at his elbow—I have not space for all the prophecies of the Court Astrologer, Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, of calamities to happen, in case of attacking Badghād, but the Ṭūsī was in favour of advancing, and the Mughal augurs and astrologers declared all portents favourable for it—gave orders to make preparations for the campaign, and the Bahādur, Sūnjāḳ, was directed to cross the Dijlah, to the northward of Baghdād, in order to effect a junction with the Nū-yīn Tānjū, who, as already mentioned, with the Amīrs and troops previously under Jurmāghūn's command, was marching, on the right hand, through Āẕarbāījān, for the purpose of invading the territories of Shām, Ḥalab, and Rūm, but whose march had been stopped, and he had been directed to turn to his left, move by way of Arbīl and Mauṣil, where there was a bridge, and effect a junction with Sūnjāḳ. The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says Tānjū's *yūrat*, at that time, was in Rūm, and that he had lately defeated the Saljūḳ Sulṭān at Koshah-Dāgh, but this is somewhat different from the statements of others already briefly mentioned.

The Shāh-zādahs, Bulghān or Bulghā, Tūtār, and Ḳūlī, all grandsons of Jūjī Khān, and Būḳā Timūr's forces, were also directed to advance on the right, from the district of 'Abbās-ābād [west of Hamadān: in some Histories, Asad-ābād], and join Sūnjāḳ. These junctions having been effected, this combined force was to approach Baghdād from the west, through the tract afterwards called the "Garīwah of Sūntāe, the Nū-yīn." The Nū-yīn, Kaibūḳā, Ḳadsūn, and Ilkāe, or Ilkā, or Ilkān, as he is also named, were to move towards Baghdād through Khūzistān, and approached it from the south-east, while Hulākū, himself, with the centre, advanced towards the city from the eastward, by way of Khānḳīn.

The Jāmī'-ut-Tawārīkh states that Hulākū reached Dīnaūr, which is three

infidels, so that, with this victory even, the remainder of them may be brought under the sword;" but Mujāhid-ud-Dīn, the Sar-Dawātī, delayed in pursuing;[9] and, that night, the Musalmāns encamped upon that same spot.

days' journey from Hamadān, on the route to Baghdād, with the intention of marching thither, as early as the 9th of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir—the fourth month—of 655 H., but returned from thence to Hamadān again, and reached it on the 12th of Rajab—the seventh month—of that year; and that, on the 12th of the latter month, he despatched his agents to Baghdād with threatening messages for the Khalīfah. Why Hulākū should have made this retrograde movement is not said, but, in all probability, it was because the traitorous Wazīr's schemes, which "the great Raschid," so glaringly, conceals, were not quite ripe for execution, and in order to put the loyal servants of the Khalīfah off their guard.

Early in Muḥarram—the 11th, according to some accounts—656 H., but Zī-Ḥijjah, the preceding month, and twelfth month of the preceding year—655 H., appears to be the most correct—within the period prescribed, Tānjū, by way of Dajayl [lit. 'branch'] or Dajaylah [the district of Dajayl, at present, lies on either side of the old bed of the Dijlah above Baghdād. Dajayl is also the name of the Little Tigris], crossed the Dijlah, and reached the Nahr-i-'Īsā [the canal or rivulet of Jesus]. The MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK states that "Karkh [which is a suburb of Baghdād] is very well inhabited, and considerable traffic is there carried on . . . On the western side is a canal or stream called Nahr-i-'Īsā, a branch of the Furāt, which, passing by Baghdād, falls into the Dijlah."

When the Khalīfah became aware of this, he nominated Fatḥ-ud-Dīn, son of Alankū, with Mujāhid-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the Sar Dawāt-Dār, the Mustanṣirī, and Ḳarā Sanḳur, who were the leaders of the Khalīfah's troops [the Dawāt-Dār was a civilian, not a soldier—the names given by our author, who was the contemporary of these persons, are far more trustworthy], with 20,000 horse, which the Fanākatī magnifies into 30,000 men, fought a battle with Sūnjāḳ, and Būḳā Tīmūr's forces within the limits of Anbār, before the Kūshk [castle] of Manṣūr, above Madrūkah, on the east bank of the Furāt, within nine farsakhs of Baghdād. Alfī says the Mughals in the first charge turned their backs and fled before the Khalīfah's troops. The Fanākatī, to flatter the Mughal pride, says they "fell back" as far as Shīrīyah, in the district of Dajayl, when they were joined by Tānjū and his troops, and then compelled the Baghdād troops to fall back.

[9] The Pro-Mughal writers make out quite the contrary, but I prefer our author's version. Their statements are to the following effect:—

Fatḥ-ud-Dīn [This is incorrect. Fatḥ-ud-Dīn is *the father's* name. 'Izz-ud-Dīn is the son's, as our author mentions], Alankū, who was a man of experience, on whose head the dust of the battle-field had fallen, when he saw that the Mughals, without having had many men killed, turned their backs and fled, suspected some stratagem on their part, and therefore forbade the Baghdādīs to go in pursuit, but Mujāhid-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the Sar Dawāt-Dār [poor fellow! the Pro-Mughal writers put all faults upon him], who, besides being without any experience in such matters, was in the revenue department of the state, thinking this proceeding on the part of ['Izz-ud-Dīn, son of] Fatḥ-ud-Dīn arose from fear of the Mughals, said to him: "Dost thou consider that

In the vicinity of that place there was a stream, which they [the inhabitants] call the Nahr-i-Sher [the Lion's Canal].[1] It is cut from the river Furāt [Euphrates], and the land through which it flows is somewhat elevated, while the place in which was the Musalmān encampment was low ground. During that night, the accursed *rāfizī* Wazīr despatched a body [of men], and turned the water of that

debts of gratitude towards the Amīr-ul-Mūminīn are to be paid in this way, that thou shouldst hold back thy hand when the enemies of the Khalīfah have been beaten and overthrown? It is advisable, before the infidels shall have received assistance, and they regain strength, to pursue them, and give tranquillity to the mind of the Amīr-ul-Mūminīn respecting them." Hearing this foolish speech, ['Izz-ud-Dīn, son of] Fath-ud-Dīn gave orders to follow in pursuit of the Mughals. When the Baghdādīs had passed beyond the margin of the suburbs [the scene of the action was some distance from the suburbs] into the open country, the Mughals faced about, and the engagement was renewed, and continued until the 'Abbāsī mantle of darkness [the 'Abbāsī colour was black] covered the opponents, when the battle ceased, and both sides bivouacked for the night, opposite each other. During that night the Mughals, by cutting a dyke, let in the water of the river Furāt, so that the whole of the plain where the Musalmāns were encamped became flooded with water, and the greater number of them were drowned in their sleep. They were attacked in overwhelming numbers in the morning, and ['Izz-ud-Dīn, son of] Fath-ud-Dīn was killed in the engagement, and Mujāhid-ud-Dīn returned to Baghdād with three persons. The Fanākatī says the Mughals cut the dyke of a considerable river—آبی—in rear of the Khalīfah's troops, and the whole plain was laid under water. Our author's statement here is preferable, no doubt. The Pro-Mughal writers take away the credit of this act from their ally, the traitor, but it is evident that some one, who knew the locality, and who was well aware how easily the country might be laid under water, must have had the principal hand in the matter: the Mughals probably helped.

The next morning, which was the 'Ashūrā—the 10th of Muharram, 656 H.—according to the Fanākatī—but Alfī mentions these events as taking place a month earlier—the Mughals threw themselves upon the Baghdādīs—the few which survived—and overthrew them. ['Izz-ud-Dīn, son of] Fath-ud-Dīn, son of Alankū, and Kara Sunkar, and 12,000 men, besides those drowned and smothered in the mud, perished on that occasion, and the Sar Dawāt-Dār, Mujāhid-ud-Dīn, I-bak, with only a few persons, reached Baghdād in safety.

[1] This word may be *shīr*—the Canal of Milk—according to the vowels used with it, but I have no means of pronouncing which of the two names is right, but the above is the more probable. The Calcutta Printed Text has شهر—*shahr*—"city," "of lion" or "milk" twice, because the word نهر—*nahr*—canal, rivulet, etc.—is something like شهر in MS., and yet "shakk" and "Furāt" is used with it! The account of the canals in the neighbourhood of Baghdād by Captain Felix Jones, I.N., in the "*Bombay Geographical Transactions*," may contain some information on this subject, but, in ancient times, the Dijlah or Tigris, north of, or above, Baghdād, flowed farther *west* than at present.

canal upon the encampment of the Musalmāns; and the whole was flooded with water, and their arms and armour were all spoiled, and they became quite powerless. The next morning, at dawn, the army of the infidels returned, and another battle ensued; but the Musalmāns, from the extreme misery and affliction of the preceding night,[2] were

[2] Here too, the Printed Calcutta Text contains a great blunder, and has zaḥmat-i-sipāh—affliction, trouble, etc., of the soldiers—instead of zaḥmat-i-shabānah, as above.

Respecting the investment, and final operations against Baghdād, and the downfall of the Khilāfat, there are many conflicting accounts, especially in the matter of detail, and according as the writer was a Sunnī, a Shī'ah, or an Official under the Mughal sovereigns or otherwise; but all materially differ from our author, who wrote at the very time the events happened, and whose valuable account they either never saw, or would not consult or quote. The subject is an important one in the history of Islām, and, therefore, I shall give some extracts from the various Histories I have mentioned at the beginning of this Section, for the information of those who may not have access to all the works referred to. I also do so because there are some accounts, lately given to the public, extracted from foreign histories of the "Mongols," which are, without doubt, partially, and after a manner, compiled from some of the Histories I have quoted, but which, apparently, to judge from the very fantastic manner in which the events, the names of persons, and places, have been metamorphosed, have not been properly understood by the foreign translators, owing, possibly, to incorrect or defective *MSS.*, or have suffered by translation at second hand.

Subsequent to the defeat of the Khalīfah's troops, after the inundation of their camp, and the rendering of most of their weapons useless in the month of Ẕī-Ḥijjah, 655 H. [the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says the 11th of Muharram 656 H., a month too late], the audience tent of Hulākū—equivalent to the "Head-Quarter Camp" in military parlance—was pitched opposite Baghdād on the east side. The appearance of the Mughals filled the city with consternation, and sleep forsook the eyelids of the inhabitants, in their anxiety respecting the issue, and the prospect of their deliverance. The Khalīfah directed that the gates should be closed, and the ramparts and bastions guarded and secured. The Amīrs and confidential officers of the Khalīfah, such as the Amīr-i-'Alam, Sulīmān Shāh, and Mujāhid-ud-Dīn, the Sar Dawāt-Dār, and the household slaves, and, in fact, the men of the city, generally, came forth on the walls and towers prepared for action. Next day [the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, contrary to all others, keeps Hulākū inactive from 11th to 22nd of Muharram, which is not correct], early in the morning, the standard of Hulākū was raised, and, during the whole of that day to evening, a fire of arrows, flasks of combustibles, stones from catapults and slings, and a storm from other missiles, continued, during which a great number were killed and wounded on either side. Each party maintained its position during the night, and began the fight the following morning. In this manner the fighting went on with little intermission for a space of *fifty days* [the Fanākatī, who says twelve days, only begins the operations in the middle of the following month], when a number of the Sayyids [Shī'ahs] of Ḥillah, such as Majd-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan, son of Tā-ūs, Sadīd-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, son of Muṭahhar, and others, despatched a spokesman of their own people, with a letter to Hulākū, the purport of which

**defeated ; and the Maliks of Islām, broken and discomfited, retired across the Dijlah, and took up their position**

was, that it had become known to them, from the sayings of their forefathers, more particularly from the Amīr-ul-Mūminīn, and Imām ul-Murtaḳīn, 'Alī, son of Abū-Tālib—on whom be peace!—that, during this year [656 H.], Hulākū would become predominant over 'Irāk-i-'Arab; and that the Ḥākim of that territory, which was to say, the 'Abbāsī Khalīfah, would fall into his hands; that they tendered their fealty and submission, would carry out such commands as he might be pleased to issue, and would not place foot out of the pale of obedience to him.

The effect of such sedition, at such a crisis, may be imagined. Rather than not destroy their co-religionists of the rival sect, they would sacrifice anything. What did they care for the massacre of hundreds of thousands of innocent people by the Mughal barbarians, or the slavery of their country? was not Hulākū "a divine figure from the north"? and was not his sole object the "amelioration" of the condition of the Musalmān people? Hulākū was overjoyed. He treated the bearer of the letter and his companions with great honour, and sent back along with them a person of his own retinue, named Tūklah, as Shaḥnah of Hillah, along with the Amīr Yaḥyā, the Nakhjūānī. By this means the Sayyids of Hillah escaped all the misery and affliction of this troublous time, and "remained safe," to quote the words of one writer, "under the protection of the Most High."

A body of 100 Mughal infidels was sent to Najaf to act as a guard to the tomb of the Khalīfah 'Alī, by way of flattering the Shī'ahs.

According to other accounts, after the Nu-yīn, Tānjū, and the Bahādur, Sūnjāḳ, became victorious over the forces of Baghdād, after flooding their camp, they, having crossed the Dijlah, advanced towards the city, and took up a position on the river banks, on its western side, about the middle of the month of Muḥarram, 656 H.—and the date of the letter, given in note [7], page 1261, proves its correctness—but the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā and Alfī have the month of Zī-Ḥijjah, 655 H., and the latter, by way of making it more certain, adds, "which is 645 of the Riḥlat." In the direction of Naḥāsīah and Ṣar-sar, Kaibūḳā, and the other leaders along with him, also pushed forward towards the devoted city. Hulākū, leaving such of the families—for the Mughals took their families with them—and heavy materials, as he had brought with him, at Khānḳīn [Lat. 34° 21', Long. 45° 22'], now advanced by quick marches, and took up a position on the east side, where, on the 15th of Muḥarram—but other accounts, already referred to, say in Zī-Ḥijjah—the last month of 655 H.—his audience tent was set up; and, like ants or locusts, the Mughal forces [including Musalmān contingents from Kirmān, Fārs, and the other parts of the Khwārazmī empire which had fallen under the Mughal yoke, who were, consequently, forced to aid against the head of their faith and co-religionists] gathered round the city. On the left, or south side of the city, opposite the Burj-i-'Ajamī—or 'Ajamī bastion, the Nū-yīn, Kūkā Īlkān, the Amīrs, Tūtār and Ḳūlī, took up their position facing the Kul-wāẓī gateway, while Bulghā, Arḳtū, and Shīrāmūn, occupied the open space before the gateway of the Sūḳ-i-Sulṭān—the Sulṭān's Market-place. Buḳā Tīmūr was on the side of the Ḳal'ah, near the place called the Dolāb-i-Baḳul, while Tānjū and Sūnjāḳ held a position on the west side, at the place where the 'Uẓdī hospital was situated.

A simultaneous attack was commenced on Wednesday, the 23rd of Muḥar-

and encamped at Ba<u>gh</u>dād, at the place where the gre Sanjarī *masjid*[8] and *kasr* [castle] are situated. On tl army of the accursed infidels reaching that place, Sulīmā <u>Sh</u>āh, the Aiyūbī Turk-mān, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, the Kur

ram, 656 H [the Fanākatī says, Tuesday, the 22nd, but those dates we Wednesday and Thursday, unless counted as terminating at noon], when t sun was in the constellation of Aries The fighting went on for a considerabl time, until most of the walls and ramparts were destroyed by the discharg of stones from the catapults—a "bombardment" by means of catapults, as is termed in the "*Mongols Proper*," is certainly something new in the art war—and great anxiety arose in the mind of the <u>Kh</u>alīfah, seeing that he h not the power sufficient to resist the invaders.

The Fanākatī also says, but his statement is not correct—he has great "compressed" events here -that the fighting continued for twelve day during which the Mu<u>gh</u>als were occupied in slaughtering and pillaging, b this could only possibly refer to the suburbs, for the Mu<u>gh</u>als were not yet possession of the place That writer also says that, during this period, Sulim <u>Sh</u>āh, the Ka'īd of the <u>Kh</u>alīfah's troops, and his dependents and followers, we slain, and that the Mu<u>gh</u>als also slew the Amīr-i-Ḥāj--the Superintende and Conductor of the Pilgrims—the eldest son of the Sar Dawāt-Dār, an that their heads were sent to Mauṣil, thus showing that he has anticipat events

To return to the account in Alfī and others Finding himself powerle the <u>Kh</u>alīfah is said to have sent out the Wazīr, Ibn 'Alkamī—and the Jāslī or Patriarch of the Christians [Nestorians], according to the Jāmi'-ut-Tawarī] —with a message to Hulākū saying, that he hoped he would keep his form promise Hulākū, in reply, said· "I made that agreement at Hamadā Now that I have reached Ba<u>gh</u>dād, and the sea of discord, sedition, an tumult, has become lashed into waves, how can I possibly content myself wi one Wazīr? The recompense required is this, that the <u>Kh</u>alīfah should lik wise send to me Sulīmān <u>Sh</u>āh, and both the Dawāt-Dār-i-Kū<u>ch</u>ak an Buzurg the Chief and Under Secretary, and Keeper of the Seals"

The <u>Kh</u>alīfah's envoys returned to the city with this reply, and, the ne day a deputation of illustrious and learned men [according to Ra<u>sh</u>īd-ud Dī the traitor Wazīr was included] proceeded to Hulākū's camp to endeavour obtain favourable terms of peace, but he sent them away, and the flames war again blazed up, and continued for another six days. The fighting w obstinate, and great numbers, on both sides, were killed. On the seven day, Hulākū, consequent on the arrival in his camp of the deputation abo referred to, and the stubborn defence, caused seven *farmāns* to be written ou which were fastened to as many arrows, and discharged into as many quarte of Ba<u>gh</u>dād, the purport of which *farmāns* was· "Sayyids, Ḳāẓīs, 'Ulam Officials, Merchants, and persons who do not fight against us, will be safe an secure from our rage and vengeance"

Consequent on the receipt of these *farmāns*, a great number of scum patriots among the Ba<u>gh</u>dādīs deserted their posts, and gave up fighting and, by this means, the Mu<u>gh</u>als were enabled to approach the Burj-i-'Ajam and drive out of that important post the weak number now left to defe the walls on that side.

[8] The masjid and castle erected by Sulṭān Sanjar, the Saljūḳ.

and Mujāhid-ud-Dīn, the Sar-Dawātī, presented th
selves in the Khalīfah's presence, and represented, sayi
"The enemy has reached the city gate, and we have
a few horsemen along with us in Baghdād, while
number of the infidels is 200,000 or more. It will be
that the Lord of the Faithful should embark on boar
vessel, and give directions for placing his treasures,
his family, on ship-board; and we will likewise attend
Lord of the Faithful in the vessel, and push down
Dijlah as far as the limits of Baṣrah; and, in those isla
we will take up our abode until such time as delivera
cometh from Almighty God, and the infidels be v
quished." [4]

The Khalīfah mentioned this matter to the Wazīr;
that accursed minister represented to the Lord of
Faithful, saying: "I have entered into a peace with
Mughals, and there is no necessity for leaving [Baghd.
They [the Mughals] are going to present themsel
before the Lord of the Faithful. If my word is
believed, it is necessary that the Amīr, Abū-Bikr [
Khalīfah's son], should be sent out in order that he r
understand the inclination of Hulāū." This counsel
with the approval of the Khalīfah, and he sent out
son. The accursed Wazīr secretly despatched a c
fidant of his own to Hulāū, saying: "Treat the Amīr, A
Bikr, with great consideration, and pay him much re
rence and respect, and send out and receive him, in or

[4] The islands in the deltas, near the mouth of the combined rivers w
fall into the Persian Gulf, are referred to here

This is what the Pro-Mughal writers turn into the Dawāt-Dār's self
deserting his benefactor in his straits They say, that, when the Dawāt
saw that there was no other way of escape than instant flight, he, withou
knowledge of the Khalīfah, embarked with his dependents—some even go s
as to say that 10,000 men were with him—and dropped down the r
When the boats arrived opposite the Ḳaryah-ul-'Ukāb [village of the Ea
called by some the Ḳaryah-ul-Ghaffār, a body of the Il-Khān's [Hulāū
troops, under Bāḳā Tīmūr, which had been detached to guard the road
Baṣrah, and the Madāyin, and prevent the passage of vessels, discovered th
With discharges of stones from catapults, and flasks of burning naph
the Mughals compelled him to turn back, after they had succeeded in captu
three boats, all on board of which they slew, and plundered the propert
them, and the Sar Dawāt-Dār, after a thousand stratagems, succeeded in re
ing Baghdād again The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh asserts that this act causec
Khalīfah to determine to submit, as he could not trust his own Amīrs!

that the Khalīfah may have reliance, and thy object will be gained." [5]

[5] At this time, the Khalīfah, who had become resigned to loss of country and possessions, despatched Fakhr-ud-Dīn, the Dāmghānī, and Ibn Darwesh, with a few rarities, as offerings to Hulākū, saying: "We will acknowledge dependency, and submit," but he paid no attention to the message; and they returned repulsed and disappointed.

Next day, the 27th of Muḥarram, the Khalīfah's son, Abū-Bikr-i-Abū-l-Faẓl—called Abū-l-Faẓā'il by some—with a body of grandees, the chief men of the Khalīfah's Court, proceeded to Hulākū's camp, bearing presents of great value, by way of *pesh-kash* or tribute, but they also had to return without being received; and the traitor Wazīr returned with them to the city. The same day [the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says, the first day of Ṣafar, which was on a Thursday] Hulākū despatched another traitor, the Khwājah, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, the Ṭūsī, in company with one of the Mughal officers, to communicate with the Wazīr, urging that the latter, along with Ibn Jauzī and Ibn Darwesh, should, by all possible means, pacify the minds of Sulīmān Shāh, and Mujāhid-ud-Dīn, the Sar Dawāt-Dār, because they were the cause of the Khalīfah's resistance. The Amīr, Sulīmān Shāh, was, indeed, and had been, the bulwark of the faith of Islām against the infidel Mughals, which they did not lose sight of. The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā says, that, to complete the usual system of Mughal perfidy, "Hulākū even sent to them a deed of immunity and a safe conduct; and, *nolentes volentes*, they were induced to proceed to the Mughal camp." The author of the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh also details this shameful act of Mughal treachery without the least remark, as though it were a mere every-day affair, and a very pious action.

Hulākū, however, wanted more victims—the cup of treachery on the part of the barbarian monster was not quite full—so he despatched Sulīmān Shāh and the Sar Dawāt-Dār, into the city again, in order that they might bring out, along with them, their families, kinsmen, dependents, and retainers, pretending that he was going to despatch them, along with some of his own forces, against Miṣr and Shām. This further duplicity appears to have thrown them off their guard, and made them trust to the word of a Mughal prince. They returned, and brought out their people, and a great number of the soldiery of Baghdād and other persons, in hopes of saving themselves, came out along with them to Hulākū's camp. On their arrival there, they were all distributed among the different bands of *Ṣadhahs* and *Dahhas*, and, shortly after their return thither, an arrow from the city—for hostilities do not seem to have been suspended during these negotiations—struck a Hindū [probably a native of Hind, but not necessarily, although possibly, a worshipper of idols, is here meant] Bitikchī, in the eye, and destroyed it. [Von Hammer, by some error, turns this upside down, and says that *an Indian* struck out the eye of one of the principal emirs!] As this man was one of Hulākū's chief officials, he was so enraged that he ordered his troops to the assault, and to strain every nerve to capture the city. He then directed the massacre of the Sar Dawāt-Dār, and his family, connexions, and kinsmen, and all the fugitives who had accompanied him and Sulīmān Shāh from the city, while the Amīr-i-'Alam, Sulīmān Shāh, the Turk-mān, who had so often overthrown the Mughals, was brought fettered, together with his family, kinsmen, and personal dependents, to the foot of the barbarian's throne. He demanded of the Musalmān warrior: "Thou art an astrologer [doubtless the Ṭūsī Khwājah,

On the Amīr, Abū-Bikr's, coming forth [from Baghdād], and reaching the camp of Hulāū, a throng[6] of people, infidels and Musalmāns, went forth to receive him, and observed the usages of service. When he reached Hulāū's place of audience, the latter advanced about four paces to receive him, treated him with due ceremonial, conducted him to, and seated him in, his own place, and himself reclined on the knees of reverence[7] in his presence, and said: "I am come to present myself [before the Khalīfah], and will pay homage [to him]. My uncle, Barkā, has become a Musalmān at the hands of the Shaikh, Saif-ud-Dīn, the Bākhurzī, and I was, then and there, going to become a Musalmān likewise, but I inquired among my Amīrs: 'who is the greatest among the Musalmāns?' and they directed me to the Court of the Khilāfat, in order that, at the hand of the Lord of the Faithful, I might become a Musalmān."

also an astrologer, had furnished this information], and art acquainted with the propitious and unpropitious aspects of the heavenly bodies, the degrees and minutes, the rising and setting of the stars, and the like, how was it that thou didst not perceive thine own inauspicious day, and wherefore not warn thy benefactor, so that he might have acted accordingly, and not have become so shattered and broken?" The unfortunate Sulīmān Shāh replied "Alas! it was the misfortune of the Lord of the Faithful that he gave not ear to the words of his faithful servants, but listened to those of a traitor." In short, after some taunting on the part of the Mughal, and words of proud defiance on the part of Sulīmān Shāh, he and his family, kinsmen, and personal dependents, were also massacred, to the number of seven hundred persons. These events are said to have happened on Friday, the 2nd of Ṣafar

After the murder of the Amīr-i-'Alam, Sulīmān Shāh, and the Sar Dawāt-Dār, Mujāhid-ud-Dīn [some say the Dawāt-Dār-i Kūchak, and the Sharāb-Dār, or Purveyor of Drinkables, were also massacred on this occasion], their heads were sent, by Hulākū's command, to Mauṣil, to Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Faẓā'il-i Lūlū—the "diplomatic and wily old gentleman" of the "*Mongols Proper*"—by the hands of the latter's son, Malik Ṣāliḥ, who was then in the Mughal camp, because great love and friendship existed between Sulīmān Shāh and his father The Mauṣil ruler was directed to have the heads suspended from the gates of Mauṣil. Badr-ud Dīn-i-Lūlū, was greatly afflicted, and wept involuntarily, but, as he had submitted to the Mughal yoke, he was obliged to comply to save himself from destruction

[6] The printed text leaves out the word جماعت and so turns out the *whole* of Hulākū's host

[7] This is not unlikely, as part of the treachery at which the Mughals were such adepts, in order to throw dust into the eyes of the Khalīfah's son, and so make sure of trapping his father Most of the Pro-Mughal historians, and particularly Rashīd-ud-Dīn, only seem anxious to conceal how much the success of Hulākū and his hordes was owing to the traitor Wazīr.

Having introduced these sweet expressions into the discourse, the Amīr, Abū-Bikr, placed credence on these deceitful, poisoned, words; and returned from thence, well pleased, to the presence of the Lord of the Faithful, and related all that he had seen and heard. The cursed Wazīr now said: "It is advisable that the Lord of the Faithful, himself, should move out, in great state and solemnity, surrounded by the cavalcade of the Khilāfat, in order that Hulāū may be able to observe the ceremony of receiving him, and perform the rites of homage" Notwithstanding the Maliks of Islām—God reward them!—exhorted the Khalīfah, saying: "It is not well to show such confidence;" still, as the decree of destiny, and divine mandate, had come down, the dissuasions and exhortations of those Musalmān holy-warriors were of no avail, and, in the end, fate was using the whip of wrath behind the horse of the Khilāfat, until the Lord of the Faithful went forth, on horseback, accompanied by twelve hundred distinguished and eminent persons of the city, consisting of Maliks, Ṣadrs, 'Ulamā, Grandees, Merchants, and the officials of the State. When they reached the camp of Hulāū, the accursed Mughal, the Khalīfah and the train with him were stopped, the whole [of the latter] were separated from each other; and they [the Mughals] seized the Lord of the Faithful. He [Hulāū] commanded him, so that, in his own handwriting, the Khalīfah was compelled to issue his commands to the rest of the eminent men who had remained behind at Baghdād, in such wise, that they came out from the city [to the Mughal camp], until the whole were seized, and the Mughals martyred the whole of them.[8]

[8] The investment having now continued for *nearly two months*, the difficulties of the Khalīfah increased, and the simple minded Musalmān Pontiff again turned for counsel to the traitor within his own house, and snake within his own bosom, who was bringing destruction upon himself, his race, and the Muḥammadan people He inquired of the traitor Wazīr what had best be done to escape from this calamity He replied that the Mughal troops and Tāttār soldiers were already very strong in point of numbers, and that reinforcements were continually arriving, while the weakness of the servants of the Khilāfat daily became greater, and that there were not forces enough in Baghdād to defend it and[1] repulse the Mughals, and that therefore it was advisable "that the Khalīfah should abandon hostility and resistance, and proceed to the presence of Hulākū; open his hoards of treasure and valuables,

## Here, respecting the putting to death of the Amir, Abū-Bikr, the son of the Khalīfah, there are several statements ;

and, by means of them, guard his honour and good name from hurt and injury, since the object of Hulākū, in coming to Baghdād, was to obtain wealth." Further, the arch-traitor stated that, by some means or other, after the Khalīfah should have entered into "terms of concord and amity, this dissension might be changed into friendliness ; in fact, into connexion and relationship, by a pearl out of the family of the Chingiz Khān being strung on the string of matrimony with the Khalīfah's eldest son, and another pearl from the Khalīfah's family being united to the son of Hulākū, which connexion would be, as it was in the time of the Saljūks, of immense advantage to the state and to religion, a source of dignity, strength, and grandeur [¹], and, at the same time, would save very many people from slaughter and pillage "

The Mujāmi'-ul-Khiyār states that it was the pretence that he had arranged all this with Hulākū, and only required the Khalīfah's presence to confirm the alliance, that induced the unfortunate Musta'sim B'illah to trust himself in the barbarian camp

When the Khalīfah, who had now become so lost in amazement, and so stupefied by his misfortunes, as to be incapable of distinguishing villainy from goodness, and could not calmly consider what these words contained, perceived that all hope was gone, he resolved on going out to the Mughal camp, contrary to the prayers and exhortations of his faithful subjects , and accordingly, on Sunday, the 4th of Safar, 656 H —the 9th of February, 1258 A D — accompanied by three sons [but some say, two, and some, four—Abū-Bikr-i-Abu-l-Faẓā'il, 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān, 'Abd-ul Manaḳib-i-Mubārak, and 'Abd-ul-Manāzil, called, by some, Abū-l-'Abbās-i Aḥmad], and a body of about 3000 persons, consisting of Sayyids, Ecclesiastics, Ḳāẓīs, Philosophers, Doctors of the Law, Amīrs, and other Grandees and Officials, in short, all the most distinguished personages of the centre of Islām, he moved out of the city On reaching the canvas curtain before the entrance of the audience tent of the barbarian, Hulākū, the Khalīfah, with his sons, and four or five attendants, were permitted to pass in, but the rest were forbidden, and were distributed among the soldiery.

"When the sight of the Mughal, Hulākū," writes one of my authorities, "fell upon the Khalīfah, Al Musta'sim B'illah, as is the custom with the perfidious, he did not look crossly upon him, but made the usual [complimentary] inquiries with warmth, in such wise that the Khalīfah and his sons were hopeful of good treatment therefrom After these inquiries, Hulākū turned his face towards the Khalīfah, and said 'Send a person into the city so that the men may throw down their arms, in order that we may have them numbered ' The Khalīfah, accordingly, despatched a person, in order that a proclamation might be made, in his name, to the effect that whoever wished to save his life should lay down his arms, and set out for the camp of the Īl-Khān, Hulākū " Consequent on this having been done—and, doubtless, at the suggestion of the traitor Wazīr—the greater number of the people laid down their arms, and set out for the Mughal camp , and all who proceeded thither fell under the ruthless swords of these infidels

Such infatuation as marked these last events is scarcely conceivable, after so many proofs of Mughal treachery, but the Musalman people were now without a head

**but God knows the truth. One statement is this, that they martyred him, and the Amīr-i-'Alam, Sulīmān Shāh,**

Hulākū having got the Khalīfah into his power, sent him to Kai-būḳā's camp, at the Kul-wāzī gate, where a tent was pitched for him, and he was placed in charge of a guard, and the Mughal leader gave orders, at dawn the following day, to make a general massacre of the people of Baghdād. The broad and deep ditch was speedily filled up, part of the walls thrown down, there being no opposition whatever, and the Mughals, soon after, began to pour into the city, and the work of slaughter, violation, pillage, and destruction, began. This was ruthlessly carried out; and the Ḥaram-Sarāe—the private dwelling—of the Khalīfahs, which, for five hundred years, had been the place of prostration of the Musalmān peoples, was so utterly demolished that no one would have imagined that a habitation had ever existed there. The other buildings of Baghdād—the masjids, mausolea of Musalmān saints and Khalīfahs, the palaces, hospitals, colleges, and libraries—were all given to the flames; and places adjacent, constituting a vast extent of suburbs, were completely sacked and devastated.

Guzīdah states that, during the massacre, a Mughal named Mīānjū, in one small street of the city, found upwards of forty motherless sucking-babes; and, thinking to himself, that without mothers' milk they would perish, *put them to death* to deliver them from their suffering!

I pass over the accounts given by some Oriental writers respecting the hoards of treasure, to get at which the rack was freely used, but I cannot pass over, without comment, the statement that "*Mustassim*," who had given up all hope of life, and who did not know at what hour the order for his murder might be given, "*begged to be allowed to keep* 700 *wives* [Musalmāns can only have four at one time, but concubines are unlimited] upon whom neither sun nor moon had shone, and *was allowed to select* 100," as we are told in the "*Mongols Proper*." What could he do with 100 wives, when he and his sons were kept in a tent under a Mughal guard, and allowed but four or five attendants for himself and them? Was he to leave his 100 wives for the sun and moon to shine upon in the camp among the brutal Mughals?

This is a specimen how History may be travestied, and of "taking up the mattock" to "complete the work which the pioneer can only begin." This little episode is taken from some foreign translation of "the great Raschid's" Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, but the meaning of Rashīd ud Dīn was either not caught by the translator, or the author of the "*Mongols Proper*" misunderstood it. The words of Rashīd ud Dīn, after his mentioning that directions were given to number the Khalīfah's *ḥaram*—the exact meaning of which word should be duly weighed—it is not solely the place wherein wives and concubines dwell, but the home of mothers, grandmothers, aunts, daughters, and female relatives as well, including sons' families, and sometimes daughters'—and that it was found to contain 700 *females* and concubines, and 1200 domestics, are: "When the Khalīfah [who had been conducted to his own palace on the 9th of Safar, according to Rashīd-ud-Dīn] found what was going on, he implored saying, 'The inmates of the *haram*, on whom neither sun nor moon has shone, spare unto me' [بمن بخش i.e. pardon or spare them for my sake]." Hulākū said: "Out of the 700, choose 100, and give up the rest." The unfortunate Khalīfah chose 100 females, consisting of his relatives and kinswomen [including his mother, aunts, sisters, wives, and female children,

the Aiyūbī, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, son of Fatḥ-ud-Dīn,* the Kurd, and Mujāhid-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the Sar Dawātī, all four of them; and some [persons] narrate, that, when the Amīr, Abū-Bikr, returned to the presence of his father on coming back from the camp of Hulāū, at the time the Lord of the Faithful was setting out [to proceed thither], the Amīr, Abū-Bikr, did not accompany him, and that he [subsequently] left Baghdād, and proceeded into Shām [Syria] by way of the desert. Others again state, that he was martyred, after he had, in the presence of Hulāū, uttered harsh and taunting words; and the words are [said to have been] these. The Amīr, Abū-Bikr, said: "It was supposed by us that, as thou hast high birth, thou mightest be an honourable man, and that thou wouldst be a high-minded monarch; and we placed reliance on thy word. Now it is obvious that thou art neither a monarch nor a man, since thou hast acted thus perfidiously, for kings commit not perfidy" Hulāū commanded so that they martyred him. On the other hand, some state, that the Amīr, Abū-Bikr, commanded one of the great Sayyids that they should take him towards Āẕarbāijān, and said that he would remain there some time, until, in freedom and in honour, after Baghdād became tranquil, command would be issued[1] [as to what it would be advisable to do]. When that venerable Sayyid had taken the Amīr, Abū-Bikr, some stages on the way towards Āẕarbāijān, a number of renegades represented to Hulāū, saying: "Thou hast made a

and the females of the families of his sons], who were allowed to issue forth with him when he was removed, and were thus to be saved from slavery to those barbarians, but what subsequently happened to them, with one or two exceptions, has not transpired The fate of the remaining 600 may be easily conceived—much the same as, but certainly not worse than, helpless Turkish women have suffered, and are still suffering, in these days of "crusaders," "ameliorators," Bulgarians and Cossacks

* The Calcutta Printed Text, and the *MSS.*, from which it has been printed, kill the father, Fatḥ-ud-Dīn, who, in the former, is styled "*Gud*"—گرد—again, while the name of his son, who was killed, is left out altogether. The father probably had been dead half a century, after the manner of the father of Muḥammad, the 'Arab conqueror of Sind, namely, Ḳāsim, whom some translators and compilers make the conqueror instead of the son, and without being conscious of the blunder, in the same manner that Bakht-yār-ud-Dīn, the Khalj Turk, has had the credit of being the conqueror of Lakhaṇawaṭī, instead of his son, Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad See note [1], page 548.

[1] Respecting the future affairs of the Khilāfat, he meant.

mistake. If the Amīr, Abū-Bikr, should reach Āzarbāijān in safety, all the forces of Rūm, Shām, and Maghrab, will flock round him; and, undoubtedly, he will take his revenge." Hulāū [on this] despatched people of his own in pursuit of the Amīr, Abū-Bikr; and they brought him back, and Hulāū martyred him, but God knows the truth. The Almighty reward him [Abū-Bikr] and the whole of his family! Amīn.

## ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRDOM OF THE LORD OF THE FAITHFUL, AL-MUSTA'ṢIM B'ILLAH—THE ALMIGHTY REWARD HIM!

For some time, the infidel Mughals desired to detain the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Musta'ṣim B'illah. There were a great number of Musalmāns among the Mughal forces, and they declared. "If Hulāū should pour out the blood of this Khalīfah[2] on the ground, both he, and the Mughal army will be swallowed up in an earthquake; and therefore it behoveth not to slay him." The object of these Musalmāns was this, that the Lord of the Faithful should remain alive; for, among all, hesitation arose about putting the Khalīfah to death The Malik of Mausil, Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Lūlū—God's curse upon him!—and other infidels,[3] represented to Hulāū, saying: "If the Khalīfah continues alive, the whole of the Musalmāns which are among the troops, and other [Musalmān] peoples who are in other countries, will rise, and will bring about his liberation, and will not leave thee, Hulāū, alive." The accursed Hulāū was frightened at this, saying. "If the Khalīfah continues to live, an outbreak of the Musalmāns may take place, and, if he is slain, with the sword, when his blood falls upon the ground, an earthquake will take place, and people will be destroyed;" so he proposed to put the Khalīfah to death after a different fashion. He gave orders therefore so that they enfolded him in a [leather] sack for holding clothes, and kicked his sacred

[2] Instead of Khalīfah, some copies of the text have *tabakah*—dynasty

[3] Referring to the Musalmān contingents from the subject states in the Mughal camp.

person until he died—May the Almighty reward him and bless him![4]

[4] Some Historians affirm that the Khalīfah died of starvation, while others say—as our author stated a century before any Pro-Mughal author wrote—that Hulākū consulted with his confidants and chief officers about putting him to death. Some said that, if he should escape from the present danger, assistance would reach him from the whole Musalmān world, and that troops would gather round him from every part of Islām, and great sedition and trouble would arise. This advice Hulākū considered was given out of loyalty to him, and he determined to have the Khalīfah put to death. Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, the Astrologer [this is the "Hossam ud din," who is "*probably* a Muhammedan," of the "*Mongols Proper*"; but did any one ever hear of any Ḥusām-ud-Dīn who was not a Musalmān?], who was allowed admission to the presence of Hulākū, caused it to be made known, that, if the Khalīfah should be put to death by the Mughals, the world would become overspread with darkness, and that the portents of the judgment day would appear, and many other similar things he stated, which filled the superstitious mind of Hulākū with fear and dread. He therefore consulted with the Khwājah, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, the Ṭūsī, the Shī'ah, and ally of the traitor Wazīr, who also laboured for the downfall of the 'Abbāsīs, and he replied, saying: "No such portents arose when Yaḥya [St. John the Baptist], the Innocent, was put to death, when the Prophet, Muhammad, died, and when the Imām, Ḥusain, was unjustly martyred; and, if Ḥusām-ud-Dīn asserts that such as he states will arise if an 'Abbāsī is put to death, it merely shows his excessive simplicity." Others said that no sword could possibly be dyed with the Khalīfah's blood.

The Khalīfah left the city, and came to the Mughal camp [Guzīdah says, contrary to others, that he was put to death *two* days after he came out], on Sunday, the 4th of Ṣafar, 656 H.—9th of February, 1258 A.D.—as previously mentioned. Of this date there is no doubt whatever, but there is some discrepancy with respect to the date of the last act in this tragedy. Some say that, on the following Wednesday, which would be the 7th, the Khalīfah was summoned to the presence of Hulākū, while others say it was the 6th. The Fanākatī says the 10th, without mentioning the day, which was Saturday, while some say Tuesday, the 16th of Ṣafar, but the 16th was on a Friday, and others again say it was Tuesday, and others Wednesday, the 14th of that month, equal to the 18th of February. As, in the east, the date commences after noon, as in nautical time, it is evident that the date was the 14th of Ṣafar, and that it was Wednesday, as I shall afterwards show. That same day Hulākū had moved his camp from near the city to a position close to the Dih-i-Waḳf, and the Dih-i-Jalābiah; and thither the Khalīfah was conducted from the tent, in which he had been under a guard at the gate of Kul-wāẓī, to the camp at Dih-i-Waḳf. Giving up all hope of life, and expecting speedy martyrdom, he asked permission to be allowed to go to the bath, that he might perform his ablutions anew. Hulākū directed that five Mughals should accompany him, but the Khalīfah objected to "the society of five of the infernal guards," referring to the XCVI. Chap. of the Ḳur'ān, verse 18.

On that same day, the Khalīfah, with his four sons [the *Ro. As. Soc. MS.* of the Fanākatī merely says "his eldest son"], together with their servants, were ordered to be put to death. Notwithstanding the assurances of the Khwājah, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, the Ṭūsī, the superstitious mind of the barbarian feared lest what

The Amīr, Abū-Bikr, the Khalīfah's son, and the Amīr-i-'Alam, Sulīmān Shāh, the Aiyūbī, they likewise martyred,

had been predicted might come to pass if the blood of the Khalīfah should be shed. He therefore directed that he should be rolled up in felts, and that, in the same manner as the felt-makers beat the felts in making, he should be beaten to death, and every bone in his body broken. This mode of punishment, from what has been already stated, was not unusual among the Mughals [see note at page 1185] The Mujāmi'-ul-Khiyār says, like our author, that the Khalīfah, and his sons, were sewn up in bullocks' hides, and kicked to death.

Thus was the thirty-seventh and last of the Khalīfahs of Baghdād, of the house of 'Abbās, martyred at the village of Waḳf—there never was such a pl... as "*Vacuf*"—towards the close of the day, on Wednesday [our Tuesday afternoon or evening], the 14th of the month of Ṣafar, 656 H., at the age of forty-seven, but some say forty-six years and three months, and others forty-three years and three months His reign occupied sixteen years and nearly three months; and the Khilāfat of the house of 'Abbās had lasted 523 years, eleven months, and one day His sons, and other offspring, and the whole of his family and kin were also massacred, two days after, and utterly exterminated according to the generality of the Pro-Mughal writers, but our author, who, evidently, had correct information respecting these events, gives an interesting account of the subsequent death of the Khalīfah's daughter farther on; and he likewise states that a son, a mere infant, also survived We also know that fifteen Khalīfahs of the house of 'Abbās, subsequently, filled the office of Khalīfah, in Miṣr. See note [3], page 1259

The author of the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, with great apparent glee, asserts that the youngest son of the Khalīfah, Mubārak Shāh, so called, was *given to* Ūljāe Khātūn, *one of* Hulākū's Khātūns, who accompanied him into Ī-rān-Zamīn, and that she sent him to Marāghah that he might be with the Khwājah, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, the Ṭūsī, and that she [subsequently?] gave him a Mughal wife, who bore him two sons

The third day after the above tragedy was enacted, on Friday, the 16th of Ṣafar [the third day before Friday would be Wednesday, for the date of the Khalīfah's death], Hulākū commanded that the massacre, pillage, and devastation, should cease [Von Hammer, who has reversed the events, says the sack and pillage commenced *four* days before the Khalīfah's death, and continued for *forty* days after '], and he came to view Baghdād The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh differs here again considerably from other Histories. It states that the massacre began on the 7th of Safar, and terminated on the 9th, on which date Hulākū entered the city, and that he moved from near Baghdād and encamped at Dih-i-Waḳf and Dih-i-Jalābīah on the 14th of Ṣafar, the same date as that on which the Khalīfah was put to death

Nearly all the inhabitants of Baghdād had been massacred, but the few which remained now began to appear in the bāzārs and the shops; and command was issued to remove the dead from the streets, and bāzārs, and for them to be buried.

Ibn 'Alḳamī imagined, up to this time, that the good offices he had performed for Hulākū, and the aid he had rendered him in destroying his benefactor, and the people of Baghdād, would have been rewarded with the government of that city and its territory, but Hulākū had now made as much

until the whole of the Amîrs and Maliks of the Court of the Khilāfat, with the exception of the little son [1] of the Lord of the Faithful, were made martyrs of.

Hulāū seized all the treasures of Baghdād, the enumeration of, and amount of which wealth, the pen of description

use of the traitor as he required, and took no farther account of him otherwise than to despise him for his base ingratitude, and to be convinced that no faith could be reposed in one who had betrayed his benefactor The Bahādur, 'Alî, a Turk or Tāttār Musalmān, was made Shaḥnah or Intendant of the city and territory, as a reward for his intrepidity, because, out of the whole of Hulākū's army, he was the first to place foot within the walls of Baghdād. Fakhr-ud-Dîn, the Dāmghānî, was made Sāḥib-i-Dîwān, but Ibn 'Amrān, another traitor, was made Ḥākim or Governor of the Baghdād territory, which Ibn 'Alḳamî hoped to have obtained as his reward. During the investment, Ibn 'Amrān had helped the Mughals by supplying them with grain and forage from the neighbouring district of Ya'ḳūbah, where there were immense quantities stored. He was a man of the very lowest class, and was the menial servant of the 'Āmil or Revenue Officer of Ya'ḳūbah, and, among other duties, he used to shampoo his master's feet—I have not space for a full account of him here—and the learned Ibn 'Alḳamî was placed in a subordinate position as Wazîr, under this boor. Now that it was too late, the late Wazîr became a prey to shame and remorse; and, bitterly regretting his misdeeds, lived, for a short time, brooding over his disappointment, shunned, and treated with contempt and disdain by the people of Baghdād, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours to get any one to notice him. He was soon after laid on the bed of sickness, brought on by the state of his mind; and he died in less than two months after the martyrdom of the Khalîfah, on the 11th [Rashîd-ud-Dîn says the 2nd] of Rabî'-ul-Ākhir, 656 H. His son, Sharaf-ud-Dîn, was afterwards installed in the subordinate office to which his father had been nominated, under Ibn 'Umrān

But why need any one, who can read the originals for himself, say so? Are we not told in the "*Mongols Proper*" [p. 201], that "*Khulagu appointed governors to take charge of the captured city,*" and that "*Ibn Alkamiyi, the vizier, retained his post. He is accused of treachery by the majority of the Moslem historians* ["the majority" which the writer has seen in translation probably. What Musalmān author does not accuse him of treachery, except the partial historian, "the great Raschid"?]. *Of the sect of Rafizis, it was natural that he should delight in the overthrow of the Abassidian dynasty and the reinstatement of that of Ali* [Where and when, and who was the first person of the dynasty of "Ali" reinstated?] . . . *He* [*Ibn ul Alkamiyi*] *died three years after the capture of Baghdad,*" etc., etc Such is history!

The number of people, who fell during these massacres, has been omitted by several authors. Some say 800,000 perished, but the number generally quoted is the enormous amount of 1,800,000, which includes not only the ordinary inhabitants of the city, but also those of the extensive and populous suburbs, and the unfortunate people from the country round, who, in a similar case, as we have witnessed, lately, having been stripped of house, home, and property, fled to the capital city of their country for refuge from the barbarian invaders.

[1] See note [2], page 1259.

could neither record, nor the human understanding contain, and conveyed the whole—money, jewels, gold and gem-studded vases, and elegant furniture—to his camp. Such of these as were suitable for Mangū Khān [Ḳā'ān],[6]

[6] There is, as previously mentioned, some discrepancy among the *Histories* and Historians I have been quoting in these notes, respecting Mangū Ḳā'ān's death, but it seems strange that such discrepancy should exist. There is no doubt whatever that *Baghdād* fell in Safar, 656 H., but the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū state that Mangū Ḳā'ān died in Ramaẓān, 655 H., just six months before that event took place. Yet in Guzīdah, Faṣiḥ-ī, the Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, and in other works, it is recorded that "the Īl-Khān [Hulākū], after the capture of Baghdād, despatched a vast quantity of the best of the plunder, and other valuable things of 'Irāḳ-i-'Arab, and 'Irāḳ-i-'Ajam, to his brother Mangū—which our author had already stated the best part of a century before any Pro Mughal author wrote—under the charge of the Nū-yīn, Shīktūr [the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, referring to his departure, styles him Hūlājū, but, when mentioning the receipt of the news of Mangū's death, calls him Shīktūr also], with the good news of the fall of Baghdād, and a full account of his proceedings, and informing him that he intended to march towards Miṣr and Shām. When his envoys reached the throne of Mangū Ḳā'ān, and delivered their message, Mangū was overjoyed, exalted Hulākū of his royal favour, and permitted the envoys to set out on their return." These two statements are widely different from each other, and the only way to reconcile them is, as is stated in the Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh, and some other Histories, that Mangū Ḳā'ān died early in 657 H., and not in 655 H., as in the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, for the news reached him in the last month of the year 656 H.; and, if we only consider the immense distance that separated the brothers, and the time it must have taken to convey the news from the Yangtsī to the Euphrates—to Ḥalab, where Hulākū then was—we can pretty clearly arrive at the correct date.

I must now, however, say a few words on another remarkable event which happened in the middle of 656 H.—the year before Mangū's death, and which, correctly, belongs to Mangū's reign—the erection of the Observatory on a high hill north of Marāghah, more particularly, because his ferocious brother, merely because he happened to have carried out his sovereign's instructions, has had the chief, if not the sole credit, among European writers and translators especially, of the good work, and the love of scientific research, while Mangū's attainments are unknown. Hulākū, however, is said to have had a great passion for alchemy, and expended vast sums in its pursuit. We are informed, in the "*Mongols Proper*," in almost every page of which D'Ohsson's History is drawn upon, that "Mangu" had sent, with his brother, "Khulagu," an astrologer styled "Hossam-ud-din, who had been sent as his adviser," and that "Hossam was probably a Muhammedan!" Farther, that "Nassir ud din, a famous astronomer, was ordered by Khulagu to build an observatory," etc., and that *he* "had impressed upon Khulagu the necessity of forming new astronomical tables," etc.

The facts are these—and I quote my authorities almost in their own words—that, out of the whole of the sovereigns of the Chingiziah dynasty, Mangū was the only one who nourished a great and sincere love of science, more particularly of mathematics. His study was Euclid, several of whose problems

with some of the females of the Khalīfah's *ḥaram*, together with a daughter of the Khalīfah, he [Hulāū] despatched towards Turkistān; some [things ?] were sent, as presents, and as his portion, to Barkā, the Musalmān, and some Hulāū himself retained.

Trustworthy persons have related, that what reached Barkā he refused to accept, and that he slew the emissaries of Hulāū; and, on this account, enmity became established between Barkā and Hulāū.[7] With respect to such things as he [Hulāū] sent to Mangū Khān, when that property, and money, reached the city of Samr-

he had solved; and, from the great interest he took in astronomy, he earnestly desired that, during his reign, an observatory should be erected. He had, previously, commissioned Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Ṭāhir, son of Majd-ud-Dīn, Al-Bukhārī, to carry out some important observations, but, on account of the paucity of appliances and instruments, and the defective acquaintance with the subtilties and niceties of mathematics, several important astronomical matters still remained doubtful.

At this period, the eminent acquirements of the Tusī Khwājah, Nasīr-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, were famous even in those parts—in Turkistān and Tamghāj. The Khwājah, at this time, used to dwell in the fortresses of the Mulāhidahs: he had been long and liberally patronized by the last few Khudāwands of the sect, had composed his famous work on ethics—the Akhlāk-i-Nāṣirī—in the fortress of Maimūn-duz, and dedicated it to one of the Muhtashims of the order. When Mangū Ḳā'ān despatched Hulāku into Īrān-Zamīn, at the time of taking leave of each other, he said to Hulākū, "No doubt you will meet with the Khwājah, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn of Tūs, who is now among the Ismā'īlīs [some writers say that he was among them against his will, but, as I have already shown, this is erroneous]. Treat him with honour and favour, and send him to me." When the Tūsī reached Hulākū's presence, the latter, on account of the great distance which separated him from his brother, who had left his *urdū* for the territory of Manzī, put off, from time to time, sending the Khwājah to the Ḳā'ān's presence; and, by degrees, he became so much taken up with him himself, and found him so useful, in combination with his brother Shī'ah, the traitor Wazīr of Baghdād, as already narrated, that, at last he determined to retain him about his own Court, and in his own service. Hearing from Hulākū the objects of the Ḳā'ān, the Khwājah himself proposed to Hulākū to carry them out in Āzarbāījān, and he was furnished with a mandate accordingly. Four other astronomers and mathematicians were associated with him in the erection and furnishing of this observatory—Mu'ayyid-ud-Dīn, 'Arẓī, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Marāghī, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Akhlāṭī, and Najm-ud-Dīn, Kazwīnī, and, in the 57th year from the accession to sovereignty of the Chingiz Khān, the Raṣad-i-Il Khānī was erected, and important observations began to be carried out. I have no space for farther details here: hereafter, if time permits, I hope to enter more fully into these subjects.

[7] For some account of these matters, see the notice of Barkā's conversion, farther on.

ḳand, the daughter of the Khalīfah—God reward her!—requested permission from the authority sent in charge of them, saying: "The mausoleum of one of my ancestors is situated in the city of Samrḳand, namely, that of Ḳuṣam, son of 'Abbās: permit me to go and visit his tomb." The intendant in charge acceded to her request; and that innocent [creature] proceeded to the mausoleum of Ḳuṣam, son of 'Abbās,[8] and celebrated the usual rites observed on paying a visit to a tomb, performed a prayer of two genu-flexions; and, bowing her face to the ground, prayed, saying: "O God! if this Ḳuṣam, son of 'Abbās, my ancestor, hath honour in Thy presence, take this Thy servant unto Thyself, and deliver her out of the hands of these strange men!" The door of compliance was opened; and, then and there, in that act of adoration, she transmitted her pure soul to the Most High God. God reward her and bless her, and her ancestors, and all martyrs of the true faith!

The author of the Tārīkh-i-Mukaddasī, in the Section [entitled] "Kawā'īn," and in the mention of the outbreak of the Turks, quotes a tradition from 'Abd-ullah-i-'Abbās—on whom be peace! He says: "'Abd-ullah, son of 'Abbās,[9] took oath and said, 'the Khilāfat of my posterity

[8] Ḳuṣam, son of Al-'Abbās, accompanied Sa'īd, son of the Khalīfah 'Uṣmān, who held the government of Khurāsān, and who had been despatched, at the head of an army, into Māwarā-un-Nahr. Ḳuṣam died in that territory, and was buried, at Ṣamrḳand.

Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, otherwise Mīr ā Ḥaidar, the Doghlātī Mughal, says in his History respecting the names of certain cities mentioned in previous Histories as formerly existing in parts of Central Asia, referred to in note at page 889, para. 4, that he himself visited a well-known place in Mughalistān, which is known by the name of يومغال—Yūmghāl—where there was a cupola still standing, with part of an inscription remaining, which he read—"Shāh Jalīl, son of Ḳuṣam, son of 'Abbās"—the rest was wanting, and indicated that that was the tomb of the son of the very Ḳuṣam above mentioned.

[9] Here occurs a very good example of the use of the iẓāfat instead of, or for, *bin*, son of. The late Mr. W. H. Blochmann, M. A., in his "*Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal*," says that "the use of the iẓāfat, instead of bin or pisar (son), is restricted to poetry, *and does not occur in prose*," and took exception to my use of it. At page ۲۳۱ of the Printed Calcutta Text, line second from the bottom, are the following words: از عبد الله عباس. . . . روایت میکند where the iẓāfat is understood for *son of*, and in line three from the top of the following page are these words . . . عبد الله بن عباس سوگند یاد کرد. Now, as "Mawlawis Khadim Hosain and Abd Al-Hai" are

will continue up to such time as Turks of ruddy countenances, whose faces will be broad like unto a buckler, shall overcome their dominion and grandeur.'" Therefore, 'Ulamā have all [from time to time] given an interpretation respecting this prediction. Some have said that they might be Musalmān Turks, and others have said that they might be from the tribes of the Turks[1] of the empire of Chīn, who would subdue the land of Ī-rān, 'Irāḳ, and Baghdād; but unto all the sages of the world, and 'Ulamā of the race of Adam—God reward them!—it [now] became manifest that the latter interpretation was the correct one, and that the downfall of the seat of the Khilāfat would be wrought at the hands of the infidels of Chīn[2]—the curse of the Almighty be upon them!—because the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Musta'ṣim B'illah—God reward him!—attained martyrdom at the hands of that race.

May the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, who, up to this present time, continues as usual to read the Khuṭbah in, and adorn the coin with, the name of that lawful Imām and Khalīfah,[3]

the editors of that Printed Text, under the supervision of Colonel W. N. Lees, LL.D., and it comes from Calcutta, where the "Turani idiom" is so much cultivated, one must give these learned men credit for knowing something of that idiom, and that, if the text, as it stands, was not considered right by them, they would not have allowed the words to remain as they are. I may add that the Calcutta Printed Text agrees, in this instance, with several *MSS* copies of the text, and that the only variation is that a few copies leave out the *bin*, intending iẓāfats to be used in both instances.

[1] *That is to say the descendants of Turk, which, according to their own* traditions, the Mughals are. This prophecy seems different from that which the Sayyids of Ḥillah referred to. See last para. of the note at page 900.

[2] Our author continually styles the Mughals infidels of Chīn.

[3] It appears to have been considered necessary to do this until such time as a successor—a Khalīfah and Imām—should be installed.

This is a pretty good proof that, at Dihlī, they were not quite so "singularly ignorant," nor "strangely indifferent," as appears to have been supposed:—"While the throne of the Khalifs became an idle symbol, and the centre of Islám was converted into a ghastly camp of Nomads, the latest Muhammadan conquest 'in partibus infidelium' must have been singularly ignorant of, or strangely indifferent to, the events that affected their newly-conceded allegiance [?], as the name of the martyred Must'asim [sic] was retained on the Dehli coinage for some forty years after his death."—Thomas: "PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLI," page 255.

After the capture of Baghdād, those of the 'Abbāsī family who escaped the sanguinary Mughals fled into Miṣr; and there, the ruler, Malik Ṭāhir-i-Band-ḳadār, acknowledged Aḥmad, son of Ṭāhir, brother of the late Khalīfah, as his successor to the Khilāfat, at a great meeting assembled for that purpose,

be long preserved and maintained upon the throne o sovereignty, for the sake of the honour of the martyrs o the family of 'Alī and of 'Abbās, and the souls of th Lords of the Faithful, through the mercy of Him who i the Most Merciful of the Merciful!

After Hulāū had sacked Baghdād, and had caused th people to be martyred, he made over those that remaine to the Wazīr,[4] and assigned him a Mughal Shaḥnal [Intendant] that he might cause them to be collecte together. When the accursed Wazīr returned again t Baghdād, and had collected some of the people, an located them therein, some of the servants of the Khalīfah who had retired into the *Wādī*,[5] and remained alive, to th number of about 10,000 horsemen,[6] collected, and, suddenly

and then and there did homage to him, on the 9th of Rajab, 659 H. H assumed the title of AL-MUNTAṢIR. The ruler of Miṣr furnished him with a army and all things befitting his position, and despatched him, at his ow particular request, towards Baghdād, which the new Khalīfah hoped t recover. He however encountered a Mughal army within the limits of Anbā and was slain, after an obstinate battle, in 660 H. Some say he disappeared and was no more heard of. He was succeeded on the 26th of Safar, 660 H by Abū-l-'Abbās-i-Aḥmad, son of Ḥasan, son of Abū-Bikr, son of 'Alī, wh was with him in the battle, and escaped into Miṣr. He took the title of AL ḤĀKIM, and filled the office of Khalīfah for upwards of forty years. He die at Ḳāhirah, in 701 H. Thirteen successive Khalīfahs of the same famil filled the office; and the last, AL-MUTAWAKKIL-'ALĀ-ULLAH, was take prisoner by Sulṭān Salīm, the first of that name, of the 'Uṣmānlī sovereign when he defeated the Miṣrīs in 922 H. The Khalīfah was taken away t Constantinople, where he was allowed a pension, and was treated, as long a he lived, with all possible respect. With him the family of 'Abbās becam extinct—at least, as far as could be discovered—and from that time, down t the present day, the 'Uṣmānlī Sulṭāns claim the office of Khalīfah—th spiritual as well as the temporal authority—and as being the guardians of th holy places, and all Muḥammadan sects but the Shī'ah acknowledge th authority.

[4] Not according to the Pro-Mughal writers. Farther on our author say Hulākū had him put to death.

[5] Low-lying ground or valley, the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, als the channel of a river, marshy ground near rivers abounding in canes o reeds.

[6] In some copies 2000. Nothing of this is mentioned by the Pro Mugh writers, as may be easily imagined. Rashīd ud-Dīn however states that th Sū-yin Ilkā and Ḳarā Būḳā were left at Baghdād, with 3000 [30 000?] Mugh horse, as a garrison, but, certainly, two months after, from some reason or othe Ilkā, "with several Amīrs" along with him, reached Hulākū's camp in th neighbourhood of Hamadān. The son of the Sar-Dawāt-Dār, who succeede in gaining Hulākū's confidence, subsequently served him after the perfidio

and unexpectedly, crossed the Dijlah and attacked Baghdād, captured the accursed Wazīr, and the Shaḥnah [Intendant] whom the infidel Mughals had installed there and cut them both to pieces. As many of the dependents of those accursed ones as fell into their hands, and the whole of the Christians of Baghdād they seized, and despatched all of them to hell, and wreaked as much vengeance upon those accursed ones as they [the Musalmāns] were capable of, and withdrew with all speed. When information of this reached the camp of the Mughals, a body of cavalry was despatched to Baghdād. The remnant of the Musalmāns had departed, and with expedition; and not one among those holy-warriors of Islām was taken.

Some persons relate, that Hulāū, after he had finished the affair of Baghdād and the slaughtering of the Musalmāns, inquired of the Wazīr, saying: "Whence was thy prosperity?" The Wazīr replied: "From the seat of the Khilāfat." Hulāū said: "Since thou didst not observe the rights of gratitude towards thy benefactors, thou art, indeed, not worthy of being in my service;" and he gave commands so that they despatched the Wazīr—God's curse upon him!—to hell.[7]

fashion of the Mughals, which may have some reference to the events our author refers to, but the particulars are much too long for insertion here. Suffice it to say that he succeeded in raising a large Musalmān force, for a particular service, with Hulākū's consent, at Baghdād [according to Rashīd-ud-Dīn, but we must take at their value the partial statements of that writer], with which he escaped safely into Miṣr.

[7] After the capture and sack of Baghdād, Būḳā Tīmūr, brother of Ūljāe, one of Hulākū's wives, was despatched, at the head of a considerable army, to the southward; and, on his reaching the Furāt, opposite Ḥillah, the traitor Sayyids, before referred to, went forth to receive him, constructed a bridge over the river for him and his army to cross, and received the Mughals with delight. Finding them firm in their loyalty [!], in a few days, he marched from thence, and advanced against Wāsiṭ, and reached it on the 17th of Rabī' ul-Awwal, 656 H. The people refused to surrender, and defended the place, but, after considerable opposition, it was captured by assault, and 40,000 persons were put to the sword. Shustar opened its gates; and Basrah, and other places in that part, also submitted to the Mughal yoke. On the 12th of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, Būḳā Tīmūr rejoined the main army; and on the 19th of the same month, the envoys of Ḥalab, who had come to Baghdād, were sent off, bearing the insolent letter, concocted by the Shī'ah confidant and counsellor of the Mughal barbarian—the Khwājah Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, the Ṭūsī. The letter is as follows:—"We reached the camp before Baghdād in the year 656, and the noise of the unsparing men was terrible. We challenged the sovereign of that

## ACCOUNT OF THE MARCH OF HULĀŪ TOWARDS ḤALAB AND SHĀM.

Hulāū, the Mughal, after he had satisfied his heart on the matter of Baghdād, moved towards Ḥalab, Mayyā-

city, but he refused to come; and upon him is verified the saying: 'We seized it with a frightful violence' [ḲUR'ĀN: lvi, 88] We said to him, 'We have pressed thee to submit thyself to us. If thou wilt, then wilt thou find peace and happiness' [Ibid. lxxiii, 16]: 'if thou refusest, thou wilt experience shame and misfortune. Do not act like the animal which, with his feet, discovered the instrument of his death [and heeded not], or as he, who, with his own hand, cut the partition of his own nose. Thou wilt then be of the number of those whose works are vain, whose efforts in this present life have been wrongly directed, and who imagine they do the work which is right' [Ibid. xviii., 103-4]. Nothing is impossible to God. 'Peace be with the man who follows the way whither God directs'!" [Ibid xxxv. 18]

Soon after the events related above Arbīl was invested

After the capture of Baghdād, on account of the excessive heat and thirstiness of that territory, Hulākū, without making any longer stay there, marched from his camp at the Ḳubbah-i-Shaikh-ul-Mukārim, on the 23rd of Ṣafar, and returned to Khānḳīn, where he had left a part of his *urdū* and heavy war materials By this time, the treasures of Baghdād, and the valuables taken in the fortresses of the Mulḥāidah, and such other plunder as had been carried away from the frontiers of Rūm, Arman, Karkh, and other parts, had been collected there, in the royal treasury, which, along with his adviser, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, son of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, the Ṣāḥib or Wazīr of Rai, Hulākū despatched towards Āẕarbāījān Malik Majd-ud-Dīn, the Tabrīzī, who was one of the ingenious and skilful men of that country, was directed to construct a strong fortress on a mountain on the shore of the little sea of Ūrumī and Salmās—the Lake Ūrumīah—and to melt down all this treasure into *bālish* or ingots—the only thing in the nature of coin ever mentioned in the accounts of the Mughals at this period—and place them for safe keeping in the new stronghold

Hulākū then marched from Khānḳīn on his return to his *urdū* near Hamadān, and, after some time, marched into Āẕarbāījān. After he reached Marāghah, Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Lūlū, ruler of Mauṣil, presented himself at the end of Rajab, 656 H.—July, 1258 A D —being then over ninety years of age, to pay homage He was favourably received, for he also had acted a traitorous part in aiding—under compulsion, as a vassal of the infidels—the enemies of his faith He was allowed to depart, shortly after, on the 6th of Sha'bān. On the 7th, Sulṭān 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kai-Kāūs of Rūm arrived—the Rauẓat-uṣ Ṣafā says he joined the Khān's camp at Tabrīz before the advance to Baghdād—and, next day, was followed by his brother, Rukn-ud-Dīn 'Izz-ud-Dīn had exasperated Hulākū, because he had ventured to oppose the Nū-yīn, Tānjū, and his forces, but, by a simple stratagem of his own, which flattered the vanity of Hulākū, and the countenance of the latter's Christian Khātūn, Duḳūz or Dūḳūz, he was forgiven On the 14th of the same month, the Atā-Bak, Sa'd-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, the Ṣalghūrī ruler of Fārs, also presented himself in the Khān's camp, "to congratulate him on the capture of Baghdād"

fāriḳīn, and Āmid.* This territory they style the Diyār-i-

About this time command was given to construct the Raṣad-i-Īl-Khānī, or Īl-Khānī Observatory, referred to in a previous note.

When Hulākū proposed to move against Baghdād, he detached the Nū yīn, Arḳtū, with a considerable force, against the exceedingly strong fortified town of Arbīl [Arbela of European writers, some fifty miles W. of which the Macedonian Alexander defeated Dārā the Persian], held by Tāj-ud-Dīn, son of Ṣalāyah, styled the Lord of Arbīl. He, on being summoned, came down, and submitted, but, although he attempted to induce the Kurds, who inhabited and garrisoned it, to submit, they would not hear of it, and reviled him for proposing it. All Arḳtū's endeavours to take it were fruitless. He sought aid from Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Lūlū, but, before his help came, the Kurds sallied out, burnt the Mughal catapults, and slew a great number of the enemy Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Lūlū, having arrived to his aid, advised him to retire, and give up the attempt to take it then ; but to wait until the heat compelled the Kurds to retire to the higher hills before any further effort was made, as it would be impossible to take it by force, though it might be obtained by stratagem. Arḳtū accordingly gave up the attempt, and retired to Tabrīz, leaving Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Lūlū to gain possession of it, when the Kurds should have retired to the higher ranges from the excessive heat, after which he was to destroy the defences. This was subsequently done ; and the Kurds retired into Shām. The unfortunate Tāj-ud-Dīn was made the victim of the refusal of the Kurds to surrender the place , and he was taken to Hulākū's presence, and, by his orders, was butchered

* The envoys having returned from Shām with unfavourable replies from the Amīrs and Ḥākims of that territory, Hulākū determined to march against them. Previous to his entering Ī-rān-Zamīn, the Sulṭān of Ḥalab, the Malik Un-Nāṣir, had despatched his Wazīr, Zain-ud-Dīn, Ḥāfiẓī, to the *urdū* of Mangū Ķā'ān, tendering his homage, and in return received a *farmān* couched in conciliatory and favourable words—the Fanākatī says a *yarlīgh*, confirming him in his dominions, and a *pāezah* of exemption from tribute. When Hulākū entered Ī-rān-Zamīn, Un-Nāṣir still continued to express his loyalty and submission, but, secretly Nevertheless, his proceedings became known to the other rulers in Shām, and they conspired against him ; and he was forced to seek aid from Hulākū, and fled to his camp These facts urged the latter still more in his determination to reduce those rulers to submission Before setting out, he informed Malik Badr-ud-Dīn i-Lūlū, that he should excuse him from accompanying him on this expedition, on account of his great age, but that his son, Malik Ṣāliḥ, should be sent in his place [with a contingent, as a hostage for his father] His son arrived in due time , and Turkān Khātūn, daughter of the unfortunate Sulṭān, Jalal ud Dīn, Khwārazm Shāh, who had been brought up, from an infant, in the Ḥaram of one of the Mughal Khātūns, and who had been sent along with Hulākū, by Mangū's command, in order that he might bestow her in marriage on some suitable person in Ī-rān-Zamīn, was united to him

Hulākū now put his troops in motion from Āẓarbāījān. The Nū-yīn, Kaibūḳā, was despatched at the head of a strong force, forming the van , the troops under the Nū-yīn, Sūnjāḳ, formed the right of his army, while the Nū-yīn Tānjū led the left [Rashīd-ud-Dīn says Tānjū and Sangḳūr led the right] , and, on the 22nd of Ramaẓan, 657 H —20th September, 1258 A D , Hulākū set out with the centre, or main body, towards Shām

**Bakr; and this is the country of the son of Shihāb-ud-**

On reaching the Ālā-Tāḳ, or Tāgh, or Dāgh, all three of which forms are correct, he was much pleased with the pasturage thereabouts, and gave it the name of Lanba [also written Labnā]—Sāghūt [ساغوت لبا or لنبا], and, in a place therein, built a Sarāe for himself. It lies a few miles to the west of Bāyazīd, a place often mentioned of late, and near the N shore of the Lake Wān [vul Van], near the head waters of the eastern branch of the Furāt, [Euphrates], and, by way of Akhlāṭ, he entered the territory of the Kurds. They were particularly obnoxious to the Mughals, for they had, under the banner of the later Khalīfahs, routed them on several occasions, and wherever they were found they were mercilessly butchered. On reaching the Diyār-i-Bakr, Hulākū first despatched his son, Yūshmūt, with the Nū-yīn, Sūntāe, against Mayyā-fāriḳīn [Martyropolis], and Mārdīn, while Malik Ṣāliḥ was sent against Āmid [Amadia], but certainly *not* without a Mughal, and a Mughal force, to look after him Our author, however, distinctly tates, that Malik Ṣāliḥ was with the Shāh-zādah, Yūshmūt, at the investment of Mayyā fāriḳīn Hulākū then proceeded to reduce Rūḥah, and, after little ffort, gained possession of it He then attacked Danīsur, Ḥarrān, and Nisībīn, took them by storm, massacred the people, and sacked the places. He then crossed the Furāt, and, suddenly and unexpectedly, appeared before Halab The inhabitants, aware of the strength of the place, resolved to efend it It was closely invested, and held out for a week, but, after that me, it was assaulted and captured in Zī-Ḥijjah, the Mughals having effected lodgment at the Bāb-ul-'Irāḳ, or 'Irāḳ Gateway. the citadel held out for rty days after that. Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Sāḳī, who was acquainted with the ace, was put in charge of the city and fortress, and the Bakhshī, Tūkal, as made Shahnah [Intendant]. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, however, states at Hulākū, aft r promising the people of Ḥalab safety for their lives and operty to induce them to surrender, made a general massacre of them, and cked the city during seven days. The capture of the strong fortress of ...am, west of Ḥalab, next followed; and the inhabitants, although their es had been solemnly promised them, were all massacred. On leaving Ḥalab, wever, a general complaint was made against Fakhr ud-Dīn's tyranny, and was put to death; and the Wazīr of the Malik-un-Nāṣir, Zain ud-Dīn, ifiẓī, before referred to, was put in charge of the administration After this, ulākū prepared to attack Damashḳ, but the authorities there, having taken rning from the fate of Ḥalab, made overtures, on the arrival of the van of army, through certain Bulghārī merchants, and submitted With the pitulation of Damashḳ, all Shām came under the sway of the Mughals.

It was at this juncture that the Nū-yīn Shiktūr or Shiktūr, who had been spatched by Hulakū to his brother's presence after the capture of Baghdād ashīd-ud-Dīn, when mentioning the despatch of Mangū's share of the under, says the Nū yīn, sent in charge of it, was called Hūlājū], arrived in camp, near Halab, having come with all possible speed, bringing him the ings of Mangū Ḳā ān's death Hulākū's sorrow was great, but he kept it cret within his own breast, and suddenly resolved to return into Āẕarbāījān, expectation that troubles would arise respecting the succession. He set out thout further delay, leaving the Nū-yīn, Kaibūḳā, the Nāemān, to guard his nquests in Shām; and reached Akhlāṭ, 24th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 658 H.

In a "*History of Persia*," by Sir John Malcolm, the author, quoting Des ugnes, states [p. 423, vol I] that "Hulakoo" was "desirous of returning

Din-i-Ghāzi-i [9]-Malik-ul-'Ādil, of Shām, and his [the son's] itle is Malik-ul-Kāmil. He is a man of great godliness nd sincere piety.

The cause of Hulāū's proceeding into that territory was his. The son of Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzi was Malik of Mayyā-fārikin, Mārddin,[1] and Āmid, and these three owns [cities] and fortresses of that territory appertained o nim. When the army of Jurmāghūn, and the Nū-in, Tājū [Tānjū], who subdued Arrān, Āzarbāijān, and 'Irāk, arried their incursions to the frontiers of this territory, he Maliks on those confines all requested Mughal Shaḥ-iahs [Intendants], and this son of Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzi—the Malik-ul-Kāmil [Muhammad]—determined to proceed and reach the presence of Mangū Khān, [and did so,] and, from him, he obtained a special honorary dress.[2] The eason of his obtaining it was this, that, at a drinking party, Mangū requested the son of Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzi o drink wine, and he refused, and did not drink it.[3] Mangū Khān inquired of him the reason of his refusal.

o Tartary to take possession of the government of his native country," now ecome "vacant," but that "the defeat of his general by the prince of the Mamelukes [Mamlūks?] compelled him to abandon the design," etc., etc This however is as far from being correct as the statement at p... 382 of the ame volume, that "Hulakoo" was "*the son of Chenghiz*" See last para. of ote [2], at page 1279.

[9] If I did not put an izāfat here, which stands for "son of," I should make a reat blunder The person referred to is styled Al-Malik-ul-Muzaffar, Shihāb-d Dīn—by some entitled, Taki-ud Dīn-Al-Ghāzi son of Al-Malik-ul-'Ādil, Abu Bikr, son of Aiyūb, son of Shādi, Al-Kurdī, and, consequently, Shihāb-d-Dīn-Al-Ghāzi was a nephew of Sultān Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf The Malik-l-'Ādil, during his lifetime, entrusted the government of the different parts of is kingdom to his sons, of whom he had several, but this particular branch ever ruled over Shām or in Miṣr The Malik-ul-Kāmil, Muḥammad, succeeded his father as ruler of Mayyā-fārikin and its dependencies, in 642 H. ee page 226 See also Calcutta Text, page ٣٣٣, line 11.

[1] Mārddīn was under a different ruler at this period, but he may, previously, ave been subject to Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzi See note [3], page 1275, para 13.

[2] It is stated in Alfi that the Malik-ul-Kāmil was the first of any of the rulers f those parts to proceed to the presence of Mangū Kā'ān, in consequence of hich he was received and treated with great honour. He subsequently re-eived a *yarligh* confirming him in his territory, and a *pāezah* or exemption om all taxes and public burdens. The *pāezah* was not peculiar to the Mughals.

[3] The word used is "sharāb," not necessarily wine, but drink of any sort. Here, however, intoxicating drink is referred to, probably the Mughal beverage, ermented mare's milk.

He replied: "Because it is forbidden by the Musalmān religion; and I will not act contrary to my faith." Mangū Khān was pleased with this speech, and, in that very assembly, invested him with the tunic he had on, and showed him great honour. From this incident it appears that the dignity inherent in the Musalmān faith is, everywhere, advantageous, both unto infidel and Musalmān.

In short, when Hulāū was appointed to proceed into the land of Ī-rān, Mangū Khān commanded that the Malik-ul-Kāmil should return towards 'Ajam along with Hulāū, and they reached the territory of 'Irāḳ. Hulāū determined to molest Baghdād, and had directed the Malik-ul-Kāmil, son of Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzī, that, from his territory, he should bring 7000 horse and 20,000 foot to Baghdād, and render assistance. The son of Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzī replied: "The extent of my forces is not so great that it is possible to furnish such a number: more than about 2000 horse and 5000 or 6000 foot I am unable to bring." Hulāū importuned him in demanding a larger number of cavalry, and the Malik-ul-Kāmil persisted in his reply, and Hulāū, in secret, said to his Wazīr,[4] who was a Musalmān, an eminent man of Samrkand: "It seems to me that Kāmil meditates rebellion in his mind, and that he will not join with us, and it is necessary to put him to death." The Samrḳandī Musalmān Wazīr was fond of the Malik-ul-Kāmil, and he, secretly, acquainted him with this idea and design. The next day, the Malik-ul-Kāmil went to Hulāū and asked permission to go out hunting. He set out from that place [where they then were], accompanied by eighty horsemen of his own; and, with the utmost expedition, got out of the Mughal camp, and pushed on towards his own country, so that, in the space of seven days, he reached it, and gave orders to put to death all the Mughal Shaḥnahs [Intendants][5] in his territory, by pinning them against the

[4] The Calcutta Printed Text leaves out Hulāū here, and so, as that text stands, the Malik-ul-Kāmil said this to his Wazīr: not Hulāū to his Minister! The Editors must have been much enlightened from their own version. The same text is defective a few lines farther on.

[5] Located in his cities and territory. The text is defective here, in all copies, respecting these Shaḥnahs. Here the best British Museum Text ends, all the rest being wanting

walls by means of five spikes—one mortal one being driven into the forehead, and four others into the feet and hands.

When three days passed, since his disappearance, Hulāū became aware of the fact of his flight; and despatched horse and foot in pursuit of him, but they did not find him, and again returned.

The Malik-ul-Kāmil, son of Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzī, when he reached his own territory, despatched emissaries to the presence of Ẓahīr, the Malik-un-Nāṣir,* and solicited his assistance, and that he would assemble his troops and come [along with him] to the seat of the Khilāfat, Baghdād. The Malik-un-Nāṣir agreed to aid him; and the son of Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzī [i. e. the

* The Calcutta Text is deplorably bad here again, indeed throughout this Chapter.

When it became known that Hulākū meditated hostility towards the Khalīfah, and had prepared to move against Baghdād, the Malik-ul-Kāmil, Muḥammad, as might naturally be expected, could not look on calmly with folded arms and see the successor of his Prophet, and head of the Musalmān faith, assailed, and the seat of the Khalīfah's power, and centre of Islām, captured, and sacked by infidels. He therefore had gone to the Malik-un-Nāṣir, ruler of Shām, and endeavoured to induce him and others to join him with their forces, and march to the Khalīfah's support, as our author also states, but the Malik-un-Nāṣir showed carelessness, selfishness, and negligence, in the matter until it was too late, and the opportunity lost.

This ruler must not be confounded with the Malik-un-Nāṣir, Dā'ūd, son of the Malik-ul-Mu'azzam, Sharaf ud-Dīn, 'Īsā, who was a grandson of the Malik-ul-'Ādil, Saif-ud-Dīn, Abu-Bikr [brother of Sulṭan Ṣalaḥ ud-Dīn, Yūsuf]: the titles of these Kurdīsh Princes are so much alike that they are liable to be confused. The ruler of Ḥalab and Sham, here referred to, is the Malik-un-Nāsir, Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn, Yūsuf [not Ẓahīr, he was named after his great grandfather], son of the Malik-ul-'Azīz, son of the Malik-uz-Ẓāhir, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Abū Manṣūr-i Ghāzī, third son of Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf. The Malik-ul-'Azīz died in 634 H., and was succeeded by the Malik-un-Nāṣir. Rubruquis saw the envoy of the Malik-un-Nasir at Mangū Ḳā'ān's Court. See note ³, page 221.

We are informed, in the "*Mongols Proper*" [page 205], from D'Ohsson, apparently, that "Syria was at this time ruled over by *Nassir Saladin Yussuf*, a great grandson of the great Saladin," while a little farther on [pp. 205-208] we are likewise informed, that his name was "Prince Nassir Seif ud din ibn Yagmur Alai ud din el Kaimeri." This strange jumble of names, probably, is the several ways in which "the embossed bowl" is made by those "specially skilled in their various crafts," but the above, with some other specimens which I have given, seem more after "the case of the western farmer whittling his own chairs and tables with his pocket knife," as we are told at p. vii of that book. Saif-ud Dīn, Al-Kaimari, also written Ḳamiri, was one of the Malik-un-Nāṣir's Amīrs.

Malik-ul-Kāmil, Muḥammad], with the whole of his troops, horse and foot, marched towards Baghdād [to aid the Khalīfah]. On the way he received information of the downfall of Baghdād, and the martyrdom of the Lord of the Faithful. He turned back again with the utmost expedition, strengthened his fortresses and cities, and gave intimation to the nomads of his territory, so that the whole of them sought shelter in places of strength, whilst he himself entered and took up his quarters in the fortress of Mayyā-fāriķin, and prepared for holy warfare against the infidels.

Mayyā-fāriķin is a small city and strong fortress; and to the north of it is a mountain of considerable height, and within the city[7] is a monastery [of Christian priests] which they call Marķūmah, and that Markūmah is a place of sanctity. From the foot of that mountain a large stream flows, and, in the *tag-āb* [low ground where water collects[8]] in which the city stands, much water collects; and, to the south of the city are gardens, and, to the east of it, are tombs. The place has a fortified hill, and walls with ramparts [of stone], and a parapet.[9]

[7] The Calcutta Printed Text is deplorably bad here, and places the *marķūmah* on the top of the mountain, which is contrary to fact.

[8] See note [8], page 334, for an explanation of tag-āb. Some copies of the te[x]t, instead of *foot* of the mountain, have *top* of the mountain. This stream is one of the tributaries of the Dijlah or Tigris.

[9] It is said to have been surrounded with a strong wall of stone, and to have possessed two strong castles. "Mayyā-fāriķin is a celebrated city in the Diyār-i-Bakr, near a feeder of the Dijlah or Tigris. There was a church of the Christians there from the time of the Masīḥā—on whom be peace!—and some of its walls still remain. They relate that there was a physician whose name was Maronṣā or Marūnṣā, of the kindred of Konsṭanṭīn, the Lord of Rūmīah-i-Kibrī [Rome], and a daughter of Shāpūr-i Żū-l-Aktāf [that is "Shāpūr of the Shoulder-Blades," because he caused every 'Arab who fell into his power to be deprived of his shoulder-blades. Such is well known from the Persian historians, but GIBBON, in his History, assures us, on the authority of D'HERBELOT, that "*Doulacnaf*," as he terms it, signifies "*protector of the nation*"!] had fallen grievously sick, even unto death, and the physicians of Fārs were totally unable to cure her. Some of Shāpūr's courtiers—lords of his Court—suggested that it was advisable to send for Maronṣā, whose skill was famous, and so Shāpūr sent to Konsṭanṭīn, saying: "Send Maronṣā," and Konsṭanṭīn did so. When Maronṣā arrived he set about curing the daughter of Shāpūr, and the remedies he administered had the desired effect, and her cure was brought about.

"This good service was duly appreciated by the King, and he said to Maronṣā:

After Hulāū had released his mind from the affair of Baghdād, he despatched his son, with the whole of the

"Ask of me whatsoever [boon] thy heart desireth." Maronṣā made a request soliciting that the King would make peace with Konsṭanṭīn, and Shāpūr acceded to his request. Up to this time hostilities were constantly going on between the two rulers.

"When Maronṣā presented himself to take leave on his returning to Rūmīah, Shāpūr said: "Name yet another wish in order that the royal beneficence may be extended towards thee personally." Maronṣā replied: "A vast number of Christians have been slain [during the late wars]: grant me permission to collect their bones." Shāpūr granted this request likewise; and a vast quantity of the bones of the slain Christians were collected together, and Maronṣā carried them away with him into his own country.

"Konsṭanṭīn ratified the terms of accommodation, and was greatly pleased at peace being concluded, and also joyful because of the collection of these bones; and he said to Maronṣā: "Ask some boon of us likewise." Maronṣā said: "I pray that the King will afford me help and assistance in founding a place suitable [to receive these bones] in my own city and place of abode." Konsṭanṭīn acceded to his wishes; and gave command that all those dwelling near by Maronṣā's city should help him with the necessary funds.

"Maronṣā returned to his usual place of abode [which is not referred to by name], and founded a city [sic in *MSS.*]; and the bones, which he had brought back from the territory of Shāpūr, were deposited in the midst of the walls of the defences which surrounded it, and it was styled مدروسا صلا [? Madrūsā ṣālā], which signifies Madīnat-ush Shahīd—Martyropolis or City of the Martyrs. A holy man once prophesied respecting it, that it would never be captured by force, on account of the sanctity which the bones of these martyrs had conferred upon it, which has proved true.

"The defences surrounding the place have eight gates, one of which is called the Bāb-ush-Shahwat, or Gate of Desire. Another gate is called the Bāb ul-Faraḥ wa ul-Ni'am, or Gate of Gladness and of Benefits; and over the gateway are two statues carved out of stone—one in the form of a man, who, with both hands, is making signs of gladness and joy, and that they call the statue of Gladness. The other figure is that of a man with a mass of rock on his head, which is the statue of Benefits [received] In Mayyā-fāriḳīn no afflicted or sorrowful person will be found, but, on the contrary [sic in *MSS.*], all that is good and excellent.

"On the summit of a tower which they call the Burj-i-'Alī bin Wahab, facing the west, to indicate the *kiblah* [the direction to which people turn to pray], Bait-ul-Muḳaddas—Jerusalem—a large cross is set up, and on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is another cross like unto it; and it is said that the same person designed both crosses.

"Maronṣā founded a church—our author's monastery—in the midst of the city, which he dedicated to Baṭanus [?] and Barlis—بطس و برلس—and that church remains to this day, in a *mahallat* or quarter, which is known as the Rafāḳ-i-Yahūd, and in it is a shrine of black marble, and in the shrine is a vessel of glass, in which is contained some of the blood of Yūsha' [يوشع—Joshua] the son of Nūn, and that blood is a cure for every disease When any leprous person is anointed with it, it removes the disease They say that Maronṣā brought this blood away from Rūmīah, a gift from Konsṭanṭīn, at the time of obtaining permission to depart on his return home."

**Mughal army,[1] into the territory of the Malik-ul-Kāmil; and a host of infidels advanced to the gate of the fortress of Mayyā-fāriḳīn, and invested it, and commenced an attack upon it. For a period of three months or more they sat down before that fortress and besieged it arduously, and great numbers of the Mughals were killed and sent to hell, and wounded; but God knows the truth.[2]**

## ACCOUNT OF THE MIRACLE [WHICH HAPPENED IN BEHALF] OF THE MUSALMĀNS OF MAYYĀ-FĀRIḲĪN.

Trustworthy persons of 'Arab and 'Ajam have related on this wise, that, during the period of three months that the son of Hulāū carried on hostilities before the gate of the fortress of Mayyā-fārikīn,[3] [the contents of] every catapult discharged against that fortification from the infidel army came back again, and fell upon the heads of the infidels themselves, until they brought a famous catapult from Mauṣil. On the first day [after it was brought], they prepared within the fortress fire of *naft*[4] [naphtha],

Such, in a very brief form, is the account contained in an old geographer of Mayyā-fāriḳīn. European writers, quoting Greek and Syrian authorities, say Martyropolis was called Nephugard in the Armenian language, and Maifarkat in the Syrian, and style Maronṣā, by the name of, *Marutha*, and make a bishop of him.

[1] A considerable army, but not the whole by any means.

[2] Even the Pro-Mughal writers state that it held out nearly two years. When Hulākū Khān set out to invade Shām, he despatched, from the Diyār-i-Bakr, his son Yūshmūt, along with the Nū-yīns, Īlḳā and Sūntāe, and a considerable army, to invest the town and fortress, or fortified town, of Mayyā-fāriḳīn, sending at the same time, envoys, calling upon the Malik ul-Kāmil, Muḥammad, the ruler of its territory, to submit. This ruler had already witnessed enough of Mughal duplicity, treachery, and bad faith, and he replied: "Thy words are not to be believed, and no trust is to be placed in thee. It is useless to beat cold iron: I am not going to be deceived by thy words; and while life lasts I will never submit." When the agents returned with this answer, the Shāh-zādah, Yūshmūt, and his Amīrs, prepared for hostilities. The Malik-ul-Kāmil likewise got ready to encounter them, and he succeeded in making his people as determined as himself to resist the Mughals to the last. Next day, after the arrival of the enemy in his territory, he issued forth at the head of a gallant force, and attacked them, both sides sustaining some loss, and the Musalmāns retired within the walls again.

[3] This is the correct way of writing this word according to the vowel points, and not 'Mīā-fārḳīn,' as in note 7, at page 726.

[4] The words are in the original اثر نفط. An "essay on the early use of

and discharged it [the composition] along with the stones of their catapults, and burnt that other catapult.

During this period of several months that fighting went on before the gate of the fortress, every day, according to one statement, by the omnipotence of the Creator, the Most High and Holy, seven horsemen—according to another, six, and according to a third account, less than

gunpowder" might be interesting here, but it would be perfectly out of place. Attempts have been made to prove that gunpowder was known, and artillery and fire-arms were used some centuries before their recognized date of approximate introduction. One of the supposed proofs is, that the "Canunj-Khand" is said to contain the following:—"The *calivers* and *cannons* made a loud report, when they were fired off, and the noise which issued from the ball was heard at a distance of ten coss"! Another imaginary proof is, that, in the 416th Chhand of the same poem, it is said:—"The *Zambúr* lodged in his breast, and he fainted away:—thus fell Rái Govind the strength of Dehlí." Zanbūr, and another form of the word, here mean a cross-bow, and what struck Rai Gobind was a cross-bow bolt, but, because, at the present time, and since the invention of gunpowder probably, a small swivel carried on a camel's back is called by the same name, the word is supposed to be a proof that gunpowder must have been known in remote times. The literal meaning of *Zanbūr* is a wasp or hornet, and *Zanbūrak* is the diminutive form of the word—a little hornet. An inflammable composition was often attached to the head of the bolts, and hence, probably, the expressive name, or from the noise they made in mid-air.

The Dakhanī historian, Firishtah, too, is supposed to have proved the existence of artillery as early as the year in which our author's History was finished, because he had the effrontery to state, according to Briggs's Revised ed. of his History [Vol. I., p. 128]—and the same is contained in Dow's version—as rendered in ELLIOT'S INDEX, Vol. I., p. 353, that "The Wazír of the king of Dehlí went out to meet an ambassador from Haláků [I have already shown the error respecting the "ambassador," so called, at page 859], the grandson of Changez Khán, with 3000 *carriages of fire-works—Átashbázi*." Firishtah saw guns and fire arms in the Dakhan, and, without taking the trouble, apparently, to consider, at once concluded that gun-powder and fire-arms were nothing new.

The fact is that the previous names of the different missiles, and machines for discharging them, were retained after the invention of gun-powder, as may be seen from the statements of numerous Arabian and other writers, and hence all these ideas have arisen as to the knowledge of gun-powder among the ancients, and their use of artillery.

As to Firishtah's assertion respecting the "3000 carriages of fire-works," it is strange that our author, who is the sole authority for the events of that period, and who was present on the occasion of the arrival of some emissaries from Khurāsān, and the return to Dehlí of another, and describes the preparations in detail [page 856], did not see these "3000 carriages of fire-works," which, *four hundred years* after, Firishtah, who derives his information respecting the period in question from him, or rather from the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī—could give an account of. See note [3], page 631.

these—clothed in white garments, and with turbans [on their heads], were wont to sally down from the fortress and attack the Mug͟hal forces. They used to despatch about a hundred or two hundred infidels to hell, while no arrow, sword, or lance of the infidels used to injure those white-clad horsemen, until about 10,000 Mug͟hals had been sent to hell by that band.[5] Hulāū despatched Īlkā K͟hān[6] to the presence of his son, saying: "I captured Bag͟hdād in less than a week [!], and thou art not able to take a small fortress [like this] in this long period of time." His son sent reply, saying: "Thou didst capture Bag͟hdād through perfidy, whilst here it is necessary to me to wield the sword, and every day so many men are killed. It behoveth not to judge of this place by Bag͟hdād." When

[5] This number, of course, is pure exaggeration. They slew a great number, and among them many of the Mug͟hal champions, as well as others.

Among the troops of the Malik-ul-Kāmil were two valiant horsemen, one of whom they used to style Saif-ud-Dīn, Azkalī [ازكلي—in some *MSS* Arkalī—اركلي], and the other Ḳamr-i-Ḥabash [? The first word of this name is also written Ḳamīr—قمير—and also 'Anbar-i-Ḥabashī—عنبر حبشي—or the like, but both are doubtful], and, on this occasion, they each slew ten Mug͟hals; and continued to keep the fray alive. The second day, the same two cavaliers issued forth, and slew several notedly brave horsemen among the Mug͟hals, and the third day they did the same thing, and hurled a number of the enemy in the dust of contempt. The Mug͟hals began to be terrified of them. On the fourth day, a Gurjī [Georgian], named, by some, Azmādarī, and by others Aznāwarī, who was a famous champion, and used even to defeat an army by his prowess, and who, among the Mug͟hals, was a pattern of valour, resolved to encounter them. Notwithstanding all this, on his going out, he was killed, after a short resistance, and his loss filled the S͟hāh-zadah, Yūs͟hmūt, with sorrow. Next day, the Malik-ul-Kāmil placed a very powerful catapult on the walls of the city, and a number of Mug͟hals were killed by it. The Mug͟hal Amīrs, from the force of that mischievous catapult, were quite powerless, and at a loss what to do, until they found that Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Lūlū, the Ḥākim of Mauṣil, had a catapult more powerful even than this one. They had it produced, and planted it equally high with, and opposite to, that of the fortress. It so happened, one day, that both catapults were discharged at the same time, and, as we hear of cannon shot, at times, meeting in the air, stones from the coffer or bowl of either catapult, in which the stones or stone is placed—I do not recollect the technical term—met in mid air, and were dashed to atoms, to the astonishment of the spectators on both sides. The catapult worked on the Mug͟hal side however was burnt in the night by a sally from the garrison of Mayyāfārikīn, and their onslaughts on the Mug͟hals reduced them to helplessness.

[6] The Calcutta Printed text here has, *ilchīān*—envoys, etc., instead of the name of the Mug͟hal leader—the Nū-yīn, Ilkān, or Ilkā, but it was Arktū who was sent with the reinforcements, according to other accounts, for the Nū-yīn, Īlkān, was already with Prince Yūs͟hmūt's army.

this message reached Hulāū he commanded: "Say ye to my son, 'take care to keep out of my sight, otherwise I will undoubtedly slay thee;'" and Hulāū took oath and vowed: "I will capture this fortress in three days." Then, with the utmost expedition, he proceeded towards Mayyā-fārikīn, and set to to attack the place.[7]

[7] Hulākū did not do so, according to Pro-Mughal accounts. Hulākū, on becoming aware of the state of affairs, despatched the Nū-yīn, Arktū, with a large force, to the assistance of his son, Yūshmūt, with directions that he should cease his attacks upon the city and fortress, and merely blockade it, and allow famine to do the rest, as it was not necessary to give over his troops to be slaughtered uselessly. Just as Arktū arrived, and had delivered his message, these two cavaliers from Mayyā-fārikīn issued from the fortress as usual, and caused confusion among the Mughals. As Arktū had a little wine in his head at the time, he, without discretion, turned his face towards them to encounter them; and they [one of them probably] confronted him. At this crisis, the Nū-yīn, Īlkā or Ilkān, went forth to the assistance of Arktū, but he was almost immediately unhorsed by the champions [by the disengaged one?] and hurled to the ground. The Mughals, whose ideas of a fair fight seem to have been peculiar, now rushed in on all sides, and succeeded in rescuing the two Nū-yīns, and, having remounted Ilkān, brought them out of the fight.

In short, these champions continued to sally forth daily, and used to kill several of the Mughal soldiers. In this manner, a considerable time passed—over two years, it is said—the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says, until a whole year expired—until the defenders were reduced to famine; and, after having eaten all their cattle, they ate dogs, cats, and rats, and were, at last, reduced to eat human flesh, by which means they managed to hold out another month. At length, they resolved to issue forth, fall on the enemy, and sell their lives dearly, but the Malik-ul-Kāmil, Muḥammad, would not permit them to do so, being resolved to hold out to the last breath. Some few of those within now sent a letter to the Mughal Shāh-zādah, Yūshmūt, to this effect: "Within this place no one remains of those who had the power to offer resistance, and nought but a few with breath remaining, but body dead, exist, and they are about to eat each other—the father to eat the son, and the son his parent—to prolong their misery a little longer. If the Shāh-zadah should now move against the city and fortress, there is no one to resist him." Yūshmūt at once despatched Arktū with a force to attack it. On reaching the place he found the whole of the defenders dead, with the exception of 70 or 80 half dead persons, who remained concealed in the houses. The Malik-ul-Kāmil, with his brother, they also found, and conveyed them to the presence of Yūshmūt. The Mughal troops set to to plunder, when the two champion cavaliers appeared on the roof of one of the houses, and were killing with their bows and arrows all who attempted to approach them. Arktū now despatched a strong party of his troops to endeavour to capture them alive; and they came upon them in all directions. Seeing this, these lion hearted men descended from the house-top, and, with their shields over their faces, threw themselves upon the Mughals, and fought until they were slain. The persons found within Mayyā-fārikīn were subsequently put to the sword, but the Malik-ul-Kamil was sent to Hulakū's presence, at the Tal-i-Bāshir, a strong fort and small town on a *tal* or hill or mound, two

Every day, as on the previous occasions, several men in white garments, with turbans,[8] were wont to come down, and used to despatch more than two or three hundred infidels to hell. For a period of three days conflicts were fought, and, subsequently, for three days more, Hulāū continued there, and directed such severe attacks to be made that 10,000 more infidels went to hell.[9] Hulāū then intimated [to the defenders], saying: "This fortress belongs to Tingrī, and therefore I have absolved you, but I have one request to make, and it is this. Show me those white clad horsemen, that I may look upon them, and see what sort of men they are."

When this message reached the people of the fortress, they with one accord swore the most solemn oath, [saying]: "In the same manner that they are unknown to you, we likewise know not that band, and know not who they are." Hulāū replied: "On this account, for the sake of Tingrī, I present unto you, as a propitiatory offering, a thousand horses, a thousand camels, a thousand cattle, and a thousand sheep. Send out your confidential people that they may take possession of them." The people of the fortress replied: "We have no want of any offerings of thine, neither will we send any one out. If thou hast anything to send indeed, send it here, otherwise send the whole to hell," so that they [the narrators] relate, that Hulāū left there that number of cattle, horses, camels, and sheep, and that he raised the investment,[1] and went towards a place,

days' journey N. of Ḥalab, on the great caravan route from the latter city to Iṣfahān through Mesopotamia and Assyria.

[8] They were Musalmāns our author means.

[9] Our author is rather too liberal in slaughtering here.

[1] This was the rumour, probably, which reached our author at Dihlī, about the time he completed his History, and when no authentic accounts could have been received. When the unfortunate Malik-ul-Kāmil, Muḥammad, was brought before Hulākū, the latter began to enumerate all his misdeeds, the greatest of which, doubtless, was that of defending his own, and said: "My brother showed goodness to thee, and treated thee with royal favour, and the return for all this is what thou hast now done." After that he commanded that he should be put to death under the most frightful tortures. They first starved him nearly to death, and then cut the flesh from his limbs, and compelled him to eat of it, until, after he had lingered in this manner for some time, death came to relieve him. The Malik-ul-Kāmil, Muḥammad, was a devout and abstinent man—a recluse almost—and supported himself by the needle and making garments. These events happened in 657 H.

a verdant plain, which they call the *Ṣaḥrā-i-Mūsh*[2] [the Rat's Plain], where there is soft mud and stagnant water, and sank in it; while some have related that he encountered the army of Shām in battle, and was vanquished, and annihilated along with all his army, and went to hell.

Others again relate that the Malik-un-Nāṣir of Ḥalab sought help from all the forces of Shām, and from the Farangs [Franks]; and that, numerous forces having collected about him, Hulāū, the accursed, is, up to this date, occupied with them, and has, once, sustained a severe defeat; so that, what may be the issue of the matter who shall say? Please God, that it may be victory and success to the Musalmāns.[3]

The Pro-Mughal writers would not mention such a matter as this, because when they wrote, their Mughal masters were Musalmāns, and naturally ashamed of such brutal proceedings.

[2] A town of this name appears in the maps, in this same locality, near the banks of the eastern branch of the upper Euphrates, about fifty miles west of the Lake of Wān. The valley of the Furāt, N. of the Ālā Dāgh, mentioned in note [6], page 1263, para. 3, is referred to. The city of the Mūsh lies to the west.

[3] It was Kaibūḳā's defeat, no doubt, which our author heard of. News did not travel fast in his day, and people at Dihlī were in doubts, at the time he finished his work, as to Hulākū's subsequent proceedings. It is curious to read the reports which reached our author; certainly there was *some* little truth in them, and, therefore, I will, before closing the subject, give a few details respecting the events in question.

That our author, at such a distance, may have been partially misled, is not surprising, but what can one think of Ibn Baṭūṭah, who, having travelled into Shām, and other countries, some seventy-six years *afterwards*, could write such utter nonsense as the following: "Jengiz [but Chingiz in the original] Khān got possession of Māwarā El Nahr, and destroyed Bokhāra, Samarkand, and El Tirmidh: killed the inhabitants, taking prisoners the youth only, etc., etc. He then perished, having appointed *his son*, Hūlākū, to succeed him. Hūlākū (soon after) entered Bagdad, destroyed it, and put to death the Calif El Mostaasem [Khalīfah Al-Musta'ṣim, in the original] of the house of Abbās, and reduced the inhabitants. He then proceeded with his followers to Syria, until divine Providence put an end to his career: *for he was defeated by the army of Egypt, and made prisoner!*" LEE's Translation.

Hulākū had called upon the ruler of Miṣr to submit and acknowledge fealty to the Mughals. At that time, the ruler was a Turk-mān. The first of these rulers was 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, a Turk-mān, who, after the termination of the dynasty of the Banī Aiyūb [See Section xv, page 203], in the latter part of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 648 H., obtained predominance over Miṣr. He set up Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, Khalīl, son of the Malik-ul-Kāmil, of the Aiyūbī dynasty, who was then only ten years old, while he himself conducted the affairs of the kingdom, but the young Prince was set aside, and is no more referred to. On several

**One among the comers from those parts has stated to**

occasions, hostilities arose between 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and the Malik-un-Nāṣir of Shām. After reigning seven years, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, I-bak, had returned home one day from playing at the game of Chaugān, and on reaching his palace ordered the bath to be prepared. He entered it, and, while he was at the bath, Muḥṣin-i-Jauharī, one of his retainers, accompanied by a slave, entered, and slew him. This happened on the night of Wednesday [our Tuesday night], the 11th of Muḥarram—but some say the 25th, and others that it was the 25th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal—655 H. The following day, Wednesday, the assassins were taken and hung. 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, was a man of talent and valour, but a blood-shedder. The Amīrs and Ministers of the kingdom of Miṣr, on this, set up Ī-bak's son, the Malik-ul-Manṣūr, Nūr-ud-Dīn, 'Alī ; but in Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 655 H., Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḳudūz, a Turk-mān, became his Atā-Bak and Amīr-ul-Umrā, and soon after set aside Nūr-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, and under the title of Malik-ul-Muẓaffar, usurped the sovereignty of Miṣr for himself.

A number of the leaders and soldiery of the rulers of Miṣr and Shām, at this period, had been formerly in the service of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Khwārazm Shāh. After the battle at Akhlāṭ they had retired into Shām, under their Sardārs, Barkat Khān, Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Khān, son of Baltarak or Yaltarak, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ṣādiḳ Khān, son of Mangūḳā or Mangūchā, Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Kashlū Khān, son of Bek-Arsalān, Aṭlas Khān [in some I-yal-Arsalān], and Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Fushamirī [فشميري—also written Ḳaimirī, and even Ḳushairī—قشيري], and others. See pages 230 and 766.

When Hulākū moved towards Shām, they kept out of the way, but, after he left and returned towards Āẕarbāijān again, they assembled, and turned their faces towards Miṣr and Ḳāhirah [vul. Cairo], and stated their distress to Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḳudūz. He treated them generously and liberally, and took them all into his service, and they became the bulwark of his kingdom. When the Mughal envoys reached the presence of Ḳudūz, he consulted with the Khwārazmī Amīrs. It appears that they had news of the death of Mangū Ḳā'ān by the time these envoys arrived, and they exhorted him to resist the Mughals, particularly as Kaibūḳā had been left in those parts [in Shām—in Ḥalab and Damashḳ]. Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Fushamirī or Ḳaimirī, urged that it was "far better to die fighting honourably than trust to the good faith of Mughals, who never fulfilled their most solemn promises and compacts, as witness the case of Khūr Shāh ; the Lord of the Faithful, the Khalīfah ; Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Akah ; and the Ṣāḥib of Arbīl." Ḳudūz approved of this, and thought it best, since the Mughals had carried their devastations into so many parts, even as far as the territory of Rūm, in such wise that neither seed remained to sow, nor oxen to plough the land, to be beforehand with them, and attack them, and so save Miṣr from invasion, or perish honourably.

The principal of the Amīrs of Miṣr, Bandḳadār, advised that the envoys should be treated in Mughal fashion and put to death, and that they should fall unawares upon Kaibūḳā. The emissaries accordingly were put to death one night, and, the following morning, the troops of Miṣr set out. A Mughal Amīr, Pāedār by name, who, with a force of Mughals, formed the advanced post towards Miṣr, as soon as he became aware of this movement, sent a courier to Kaibūḳā, who was then at Ba'albaḳ, warning him of their coming. Kaibūḳā directed him to hold his ground firmly, and expect his speedy arrival. It so happened, that Ḳudūz drove Pāedār back as far as the banks of the river of 'Āṣī—the Orontes—and then, with much military skill, disposed of the greater part of

this effect, that Hulāū has gone to hell, and that his son

his troops in ambush, and, with the remainder, took up his position on a hill near the 'Ayn-i-Jālūt—Goliath's Spring—to act on the defensive, Ḳaibūḳā having arrived near by with a great army. The Mughals, seeing but a small force posted on a hill, proceeded to attack it, upon which, Ḳudūz, after a slight opposition, faced about, and pretended to fly. The Mughals, on this, became still more daring, and pursued them, inflicting some loss on the troops of Ḳudūz; but, when they were fairly drawn into the ambuscade, the troops of Miṣr attacked them front and rear, and on both flanks, throwing them into confusion. The engagement lasted from early morning to noon; and Kaibūḳā was charging the Miṣrīs in person, in all directions, and endeavoured to restore order, although advised to fly, to which he replied: "Since death cannot be escaped, better to meet it in fame and honour. If a single man out of this army is able to reach the presence of the Khān, let him say to him that his servant, Kaibūḳā, did not wish to return ashamed. Tell him not to take this reverse to heart: let him merely imagine that the wives of his soldiers have not become pregnant this year, and that his mares have not foaled." At this juncture he was brought from his horse to the ground and made captive. After the capture of Kaibūḳā, the Nāemān, the remnant of the Mughal army that remained, concealed themselves in a cane forest, in the Wādī, near by the scene of the battle, and Ḳudūz gave order to fire it in all directions, which was done; and they were all burnt

After this, Kaibūḳā, the Nāemān, was brought with his hands bound, before Ḳudūz, the Turk-mān, who said to him: "Kaibūḳā! because that thou hast shed a vast deal of innocent blood unjustly, hast destroyed chiefs and great men after getting them into thy power by false and treacherous promises, and hast ruined numbers of ancient families, thou hast now to answer for all this, and suffer the punishment such acts call for" Kaibūḳā boldly replied, according to the Pro-Mughal writers: "If, at thy hands, I am killed, I hold it to come from the Great God, not from thee; and, when Hūlākū Khān hears of my death, the sea of his wrath will rise into such a storm, that, from Āẕarbāijān to Miṣr's gate, the ground will be levelled beneath the hoofs of the Mughals' horses, and they will carry away the sands of Miṣr in their horses' nose-bags. He has 300,000 [some have 600,000] horsemen like unto me: account them one the less." Ḳudūz answered him [here again was the hereditary enmity between Turks and Mughals: Ḳudūz was a Turk-mān, and Bandḳadār, his Wazīr, a Khifchāḳ Turk]: "Boast not so much, perfidious man, of the powers of the horsemen of Tūrān. They effect their purposes by treachery, perfidy, and fraud: not manfully and openly like the hero, Rustam." After a few more taunts on either side, Ḳudūz had the head of the Nū-yīn Kaibūḳā struck off and sent to Miṣr. He then pushed on with his forces, as far as the Furāt, plundered the Mughal *urdūs*, made captives of their women and children, and "carried them away into the house of bondage;" slew the whole of the Mughal Shaḥnahs and officials located in Shām [Syria] by Hulākū, with the exception of the Shaḥnah of Damashḳ, who fled the very night the news of the defeat of Kaibūḳā reached him. The "horsemen of Tūrān" did not "carry away the sands of Miṣr in their nose-bags," as Kaibūḳā vainly boasted, but they carried off defeat again and again.

The overthrow of Kaibūḳā, the Nāemān, is not to be found in the Fanākatī: these defeats are ignored, and victories only chronicled.

Bandkadār above referred to, who was a Turk of Khifchāḳ, under the style and

**has been set up at the city of Rai in his father's place; but God knows the truth.**

title of Malik-uṭ-Ṭāhir [called Sulṭān Fīrūz, by Guzīdah]; dethroned the Malik-ul-Muzaffar, Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḳudūz, and succeeded to the sovereignty of Miṣr, in Zī-Ḳa'dah, 658 H. To him Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Abī-Bikr, son of Khallikān, a native of Arbal [Arbela of Europeans], near Mauṣil, known generally as Ibn Khallikān, dedicated his celebrated biographical work. He went into Miṣr in 654 H. Fasṭāṭ, also written Fusṭāṭ of Miṣr, was Bandḳadār's capital.

I must go back a little. On the approach of Hulākū towards Shām, the Malik-un-Nāṣir, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, son of the Malik-ul-'Azīz, fled from Ḥalab, and, taking his family with him, sought safety in the desert of Karak. Subsequently, after Hulākū retired from Shām, Kaibūḳā was desirous of investing him therein, but the Malik-un-Nāṣir agreed to submit, on his safety being promised; and he came down, and delivered up that fortress. Kaibūḳā sent him to the presence of Hulākū, who treated him well, and promised to restore him to the sovereignty over Shām when he, Hulākū, should have subdued Miṣr. How Mughal promises were fulfilled the following will show.

The very day before the news of the Nū-yīn Kaibūḳā's overthrow on the 27th of Ramaẓān, 657 H., reached Hulākū, near the Ālā Tāgh, on his way back into Āẕarbāījān, he had conferred on the Malik-un-Nāṣir the rulership of Damashḳ, and had permitted him to set out thither, escorted by 300 Sāḳī—Shāmī?—horse. On the news of the disaster, a great change came over Hulākū; and, at this juncture, a Shāmī, who was an old enemy of the Malik-un-Nāṣir, influenced the mind of Hulākū against him. He insinuated that he was not loyally disposed, and related matters which produced such an effect, that 300 Mughal cavalry were forthwith despatched in pursuit of him. The advance party of that force, having overtaken the Malik-un-Nāṣir, stated that they had orders, from the Bādshāh, to give him a feast, wherever they might meet him; and, with this plea, got him to alight. They began to ply him with wine, at this entertainment; and, when he was sufficiently intoxicated [and his escort too, probably], the Mughals fell upon him, and slew him, and every one of his party, with the single exception of one man, a Maghrabī, a pretended astrologer, whom they allowed to escape. This happened at the close of the year 657 H., but there is another account in which it is stated that the Malik-un-Nāṣir was put to death in 658 H [early in the year—which is much the same], on receipt of the news of Kaibūḳā's defeat, together with his son, the Malik-uṭ-Ṭāhir, and all who belonged to them, and that, thereby, that branch of the Aiyūbī Kurdī dynasty terminated.

After this act, the Nū-yīn, Īlkān, with a numerous army was despatched into Shām to recover what had been lost, and take vengeance for this defeat. Rashīd-ud-Dīn says, Hulākū intended to have done so himself, but was prevented through the disturbances which arose consequent upon the death of Mangū Ḳā'ān.

In the year 658 H., the Shāh-zādah, Yūshmūt, accompanied by the Amīr, Sūntāe, after the affair of Mayyā-fāriḳīn, by command of his father, proceeded to subdue the territory of Mārdīn. When Yūshmūt and his forces appeared before that fortified city, they were amazed on beholding its strength. It is described in the MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK, and in IBN ḤAUḲAL, as an impregnable

## ANOTHER MIRACLE [WROUGHT IN BEHALF] OF THE MUSALMĀNS.

Trustworthy persons related in this manner, that the son of Malik Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Lū-lū, the Mauṣilī, was along with the son of Hulāū, and used to witness those conflicts, the overthrow of the Mughals, and the triumph of the holy warriors of Mayyā-fāriḳīn [as already recorded]. He used to be filled with wonder at the circumstance, and was wont to extol the Divine assistance, until, one night he saw in a dream the sacred beauty of the sun [4] of the universe, Muḥammad, the Apostle of God—the blessing of the Almighty be upon him and guard him!—who,

fortress on a mountain, which produces *bilaur* or crystal, and measures, from the bottom to the summit, two *farsakhs*. Yūshmūt despatched the Nū-yīn Arḳtū, to the Malik-us-Sa'īd, the Ṣāḥib, or Lord of Mārddīn, to induce him to submit. He, too, refused, saying, that he had always contemplated doing so, but found that not the least reliance could be placed on Hulākū's most solemn promises, as might be judged of from the murder of Khūr Shāh, the Khalīfah, and many others, and that to die sword in hand was far preferable to being put to death under brutal torments. Further, that his fortress was strong, and he intended to defend it. It held out for eight months, during which the other parts of his territory of Mārddīn, Danīsur, and Arzan, near by, had fallen into the hands of the Mughals, when a pestilence broke out, and famine arose, and the Malik-us-Sa'īd fell ill. He had two sons. The eldest, Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn, wished his father to surrender, who would not hear of it. Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn then determined, in order to save the lives of the remaining people, it is affirmed, to administer poison to his sick father, and sent a message to Arḳtū, saying: "The person who opposed you is no more: if you wish me to come down and submit, cease hostilities, and withdraw your troops farther off." This was done; and Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn came down along with his brother, and their family, and dependents. They were sent to Hulākū's presence; and he, at first, required restitution of the son for poisoning his father—what a conscientious champion of justice! what a chivalrous warrior!—but, when Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn said that he had done it to save the lives of thousands, after all his entreaties were of no avail, and when his father was sick unto death, and would have died in a few days more, Hulākū's sensitive conscience was satisfied; he treated the parricide with much favour, and conferred upon him the territory of Mārddīn as his vassal. Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn was living up to the year 695 H.

Sir John Malcolm, in his *History of Persia*, crowds the capture and investment of Baghdād, the murder of the "Caliph," together with the "conquest," as he styles it, "of the *remainder* of Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria," all into *one year*—656 H.!

[4] In the Calcutta Printed Text, and one modern *MS.* copy, Khwājah—a man of distinction, etc., is used instead of Khūrshed—the sun! In some copies the word Mihr is used instead of the latter word.

standing on the summit of the ramparts of the fortress of Mayyā-fārikīn, and having drawn the hem of his blessed garment around that fortress, was saying: "This fortress is under the protection of Almighty God, and under the apostolic guardianship of me who am Muḥammad." The son of Malik Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Lū-lū, through the fear inspired by this dream, awoke; and was all the [next] day in this reflection: "This is an astonishing dream: what may be the manner of its interpretation?" The second night, and the third night, he saw the same vision; and the awe and terror in consequence of this overcame him both internally and externally. On the third day, accompanied by his own personal attendants, he mounted, under the plea of going to the chase, and separated from the camp of the infidels, and proceeded towards his own country. When his father [Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Lū-lū] became aware of this, he sent him his commands, saying: "Me and my territory thou hast plunged into death and ruin! Why didst thou commit suchlike conduct and opposition? I will not, in any manner, allow thee to come before me." The son of Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Lū-lū penned a message to his father, saying: "I cannot war with Muḥammad, the Apostle of God—The Almighty bless him and guard him! —and such was my condition;" and he wrote out a statement of the matter, and related all the vision; and he departed into some other part; and, up to this date, the condition of him and of his father is not known. God knows the truth.[5]

[5] Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Faẓā'il-i-Lū-lū, died at Mauṣil, at the age of ninety-six—some say he was over a hundred—in the year 659 H., after ruling fifty years. Hulākū Khān confirmed his son, Malik Ṣāliḥ-i-Ismā'īl, in his father's territory, but, after a short time, unable any longer to endure the yoke of the Mughal, he left Mauṣil, and retired into Miṣr, preferring to serve there rather than be a slave to the Mughals. At this time the Mughals had been overthrown by the Miṣrīs on two occasions, and the wife of Malik Ṣāliḥ—Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's daughter—gave intimation of her husband's flight, to Miṣr, to the Court of Hulākū.

Malik Ṣāliḥ was paid great attention to by Bandḳadār, who had now become ruler of Miṣr, and had subjected Damashḳ, and who sent him back, with an escort of 1000 Kurd horsemen, in order to bring away his treasures and valuables from Mauṣil to Miṣr. This having become known to the Mughals, an order was given to the Mughal forces in the Diyār-i-Bakr to occupy all the routes by which he could leave Mauṣil, and the Nū-yīn, Shidāghū or Shīdāghū, with 10,000 cavalry, set out to aid in his capture, and Malik Ṣadr-

[Here our author brings in a *ḳaṣidah*, several pages in length, composed in 'Arabic, by Yaḥyā, the son of A'ḳab,

ud-Dīn, the Tabrīzī, with a *tomān* of Tājīk levies, was also sent for the same purpose.

Malik Ṣāliḥ, who had come down to Joshak—a suburb probably—and given himself up to pleasure, was speedily brought to his senses by the danger; and the people of Mauṣil also became terrified. Malik Ṣāliḥ now shut himself up within the walls, and enlisted all the fighting men he could collect—Kurds, Turk-māns, and Shūls. The Mughals soon after completely invested Mauṣil, but were opposed with valour and obstinacy by the Kurds and Turk-māns, who made frequent sallies. Fighting went on in this manner for about a month, when eighty Mughal champions made an attempt to surprise the citadel, but they were killed to a man, and their heads falling into the camp of the Mughals announced their fate. Ṣadr-ud-Dīn, Tabrīzī, commander of the Tājīk *tomān*, was badly wounded during the investment, and was allowed to return home invalided. At Ālā Ṯāgh, on his way to Tabrīz, he reached the presence of Hulākū, and acquainted him with the state of affairs at Mauṣil, and he, without farther delay, despatched a considerable force to the assistance of the Nū-yīn Shīdāghū.

When Bandḳadār became acquainted with Malik Ṣāliḥ's danger, he detached a force from Miṣr to his aid, under Aghūsh, the Arpalū, who, on reaching Sanjār, wrote a despatch to Malik Ṣāliḥ, announcing his arrival there, and, fastening it to the wing of a carrier pigeon, despatched the bird to Mauṣil. It so happened that the tired pigeon came and perched on a catapult belonging to the Mughals, and the catapult workers caught it, and brought it, with the despatch, to the Nū-yīn, Shīdāghū He had the letter read; and, considering this incident a sure prognostic of success for the Mughals, set the pigeon free to continue its journey. He then, without delay, despatched a force of 10,000 men to fall unawares upon the troops of Miṣr under Aghūsh, which they did, slaughtering the greater number of them. Then, donning the clothes of the slain Shāmīs, and endeavouring to make themselves look like Kurds, they moved back towards Mauṣil, and gave intimation to their leader, Shīdāghū, saying that they had gained a complete victory, and the following morning, laden with plunder, in the disguise of Shāmīs, they would arrive as though proceeding to Mauṣil Next day, when they approached, a number of the people of Mauṣil, under the supposition that they were the Shāmīs from the ruler of Miṣr, coming to their deliverance, issued forth to receive them, with great glee, for, to facilitate matters, Shīdāghū had withdrawn his other forces to the opposite direction. The people of Mauṣil fell into the trap, and were surrounded, and massacred to a man, but Malik Ṣāliḥ succeeded in entering the city again. After resisting for a space of six months longer, in Ramaẓān, 660 H.—Faṣiḥ-ī says, in 661 H.—the city was taken, and the remainder of the inhabitants were put to the sword, not a soul being left alive who fell into their hands. After some time, about 1000 persons crept out of holes and corners and assembled there, and for some time were the only inhabitants of Mauṣil. Malik Ṣāliḥ fell into the hands of the Mughals, and was conducted to the presence of Hulākū [in Āẕarbāījān] The ferocious barbarian, exasperated at the defeats the Mughals had sustained, directed the Nū-yīn, Ilkā, to have him enveloped—not simply *besmeared* with fat—in fat tails of the *dumbah*, or fat-tailed sheep, sewn up in felt, and then exposed to the

who was the disciple of the Khalīfah, 'Alī, and, subsequently, the tutor of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, his sons. This *ḳaṣīdah* prophecies the irruption of the Turks,[6] the sedition of the Chingiz Khān in Chīn and Ṭamghāj, and the fall of the Muḥammadan empires; and also the total annihilation of the Turks. Our author gives a Persian translation of the poem, and argues, and draws his own conclusions, from what has happened, up to his own time, that the period of their total and complete annihilation was close at hand—it was to happen in 659 H. or in 661 H.—since he left Hulāū and his Mughals in Shām, a few pages back, where their destruction was to take place. There he relates that it had even then been reported to have happened, but "the wish is parent to the thought," and, like other prophecies, this one has never come about. As the *ḳaṣīdah* itself, and our author's commentary thereon, which is very diffuse, are of no historical value whatever, and as the former is very similar to others omitted at the beginning of this Section, I see no occasion for burdening the translation with it.]

Having recorded the prediction respecting the extinction of the power of the infidel Mughals, I desired that this ṬABAḲĀT-I-NĀṢIRĪ should not conclude with the sedition and calamity of the infidels; and, since one person of that race, and a Khān among them, has attained unto the felicity of conversion to the true faith and bliss of Islām, an

burning heat of the summer sun, until, after a week, the tails became putrid, and swarming with maggots—which was the object in view—which began to attack the wretched victim, who for one month lingered in this Mughal torment. It was such devilish doings as these that Ḳudūz, ruler of Miṣr—who was himself a Turk-mān—referred to when he taunted Kalbūḳā that they could do nothing like men.

Malik Ṣāliḥ left a son, a babe of two or three years of age, who was taken back to Mauṣil, and cut in twain, one half of the child's corpse being suspended on one side of the Dijlah, and the other on the Mauṣil side, and left there to rot, as a warning of Mughal vengeance. What became of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's daughter, Malik Ṣāliḥ's wife, has not transpired.

[6] He means the Mughal Ī-māḳ as descendants, along with the Tātār Ī-māḳ, and the other Turks, of the common parent. [See note to page 873.] Our author was not otherwise so ignorant as to class his master and sovereign, and his great patron, the Ulugh Khān, who both belonged to the Turk tribes of Khifchāḳ, of whom more anon, among Turks, or to style Mughals Turks, save with this distinction.

account of his conversion shall be committed to writing, and, with it, this book shall, please God, conclude.

## ACCOUNT OF THE CONVERSION OF BARKĀ KHĀN, SON OF TŪSHĪ KHĀN, SON OF THE CHINGIZ KHĀN, THE MUGHAL.[7]

Trustworthy persons related after this manner, that the nativity of Barkā Khān,[8] son of Tūshī, son of the Chingiz Khān, [who] was [ruler over] the land of Saksīn and Khifchāk, and Turkistān, [took place] at the time that his father, Tūshī, captured Khwārazm,[9] and marched forces into the country of Saksīn,[1] Bulghār, and Suklāb.

When this Barkā Khān was born of his mother, his father said: "This son of mine I have made a Musalmān. Find a Musalmān nurse for him, that his navel-string may be cut by a Musalmān, and that he may imbibe Musalmān milk, for this son of mine will become a Musalmān." In accordance with this intimation, a nurse severed the navel-string [of the child] according to Musalmān custom; and, at the breast of a Musalmān nurse, he imbibed milk.

[7] This portion is wanting in some copies of the text, and is imperfect in others to the extent of several pages.

[8] The I. O. L. *MS.*, No. 1952, and the best Paris *MS.*, invariably give him the name of Balkā—*l* is certainly interchangeable with *r*, in Turkish names, as in the case of the Nā-yīn, Sālī, also written Sārī, but I have never seen this name written save with r, although I have seen others, as in the case of Balkā-Tigīn.

The text is particularly defective here. Nearly every copy has: "the birth or nativity—ولادت—of Barkā Khān, etc., took place in [or was in] the land of Chīn, Khifchāk, and Turkistān," which, of course, is sheer nonsense. One or two copies have ولايت—"kingdom" or "sovereignty"—instead of ولادت—"birth"—which makes the passage no better, but gives something of a clue to a more correct reading of it. As it stands in the text it is unintelligible, and therefore, I have, as will be noticed, taken a slight liberty with it, as shown by the words between brackets, which is conformable with the statements of other writers, in order to make sense of it.

[9] Along with Ūktāe and Chaghatāe.

[1] The author of the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī says "Saksīn, also written Safkīn [in error, I should suppose], is the name of a territory in Turkistān;" but, in connexion with the other names mentioned, the former word appears to refer to a territory in Europe. The two latter are what Europeans call Bulgaria and Sclavonia.

His father intended Jūjī should invade those parts, and commanded him to do so, but, as already mentioned in note [3], page 1101, para. 4, he did not do so.

When the boy reached the period of instruction and edification, he [Tūshī] assembled a number of Muḥammadan priests together, and selected one among them, who instructed his son in the Ḳur'ān.[2] Some among the trustworthy relate that Barkā studied the Ḳur'ān in the city of Khujand, with one of the pious 'Ulamā of that city. When he attained unto the period for circumcision, his circumcision was carried out. On his attaining unto puberty, as many Musalmāns as were in Tūshī's army were directed to be attached to Barkā's following; and, when his father, Tūshī, departed from this world, from having been poisoned by the Chingiz Khān, and his [Barkā's] brother, Bātū, succeeded his father, Tūshī, on the throne, he [Bātū] continued to support Barkā in the same exalted position as before, and confirmed him in his command, fiefs, vassals, and dependents.

In the year 631 H., a party of agents of Barkā Khān came, from the land of Khifchāḳ,[3] to the presence of the august Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn [I-yal-timish]—may he rest in peace!—and brought with them presents and rarities, but, as that august monarch used not to keep the gates of intercourse and friendship with the Khāns of the Mughals open, in any way, he used not to admit their envoys to his presence, and was wont to turn them back in a courteous manner. These envoys from Barkā Khān[4] the Sulṭān sent to the preserved fortress of Gwāliyūr.[5] They were a party of Musalmāns; and, every

[2] Khwārazm was taken in 618 H., and Jūjī died in the third month of 624 H., and, consequently, Barkā must have been in his seventh year when his father died, according to this account, but, from what follows, Barkā, even by our author's own account, must have been older.

[3] Some copies of the text have "the land of Chīn and Khifchāḳ," which cannot be correct. At this time, Barkā, Barkāe, or Barkah, had not succeeded to the throne: he did so nineteen years after the above date.

[4] The most modern St. Petersburg copy of the text ends here.

[5] Here was a Musalmān sending his agents to a brother Musalmān, but the one was a Turk of the Mughal Ī-māḳ, the other a Turk claiming descent from the elder branch, namely, from the Ilbarī tribe of Khifchāḳ, which had been ousted from, and compelled to leave, their native country by the Mughals about twelve years before. I-yal-timish, however, had been sold by his own brothers, and some of the tribe had been before displaced: still we here see the natural hatred existing between Tāttār Turk and Mughal Turk, which even Islāmism could not quench, and never has quenched, I believe: but, on the other hand, I-yal-timish behaved no better to the envoy of Sulṭān

Friday, they used to be present in the *Jāmi' Masjid* of Gwāliyūr, and used to repeat their prayers behind the *Nawwāb*[6] of the writer of this Ṭabaḳāt, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, until, in the reign of the Sulṭān, Raẓiyyat—The Almighty's mercy be upon her!—the author of this book, after a period of six years, returned to the illustrious capital, Dihlī, from Gwāliyūr.[7] In the end, this sovereign was put in seclusion; and the agents of Barkā Khān likewise were ordered to be removed from Gwāliyūr to Ḳinnauj, and they were restricted to the limits of that city; and there likewise they died [in captivity].

When Barkā Khān attained unto greatness, he came from the land of Khifchāḳ for the purpose of making a pilgrimage to the surviving illustrious men and 'Ulamā of Islām, and arrived at the city of Bukhārā. He performed his pilgrimages, and went back again [into Khifchāḳ], and despatched confidential persons to the Capital of the Khilāfat. A number of trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that, on two occasions or more, Barkā Khān was honoured with dresses of honour from the Khalīfah's Court, even during the lifetime of his brother, Bātū Khān. The whole of his army,[8] about 30,000 horse, were all Musalmāns, and the orthodox ceremonies [of the *Sunnī* sect] were established. Trustworthy persons have also related that, throughout his whole army, it is the etiquette for every horseman to have a prayer-carpet with him, so that, when the time for prayer arrives, they may occupy themselves in their devotions. Not a person in his whole army takes any intoxicating drink whatever; and great 'Ulamā, consisting of commentators, traditionists, theological jurists, and disputants, are in his society. He has a great number of religious books, and most of his receptions and debates are with 'Ulamā. In his place of audience debates on moral science and eccle-

Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Khwārazm Shāh, who was a Turk like himself [but not descended from the "Gusses"], for his envoy was poisoned

6 Substitutes, deputies—the plural of نايب—those who officiated for our author as Imāms during his absence.

7 This was in the latter part of 635 H. These unfortunate men had then been under detention four years. See pages 643-44

8 His own contingent troops

siastical law constantly take place; and, in his faith, as a Musalmān, he is exceedingly sound and orthodox.*

* Having become a Musalmān he was naturally inclined towards the people of that faith; and, as the representative of his brother, Bātū, the head of the family of the Chingiz Khān, who was instrumental to Mangū's succession to the Ḳā'ān-ship, Barkā, under instructions from Bātū, had been actively engaged in establishing him therein, as already related. Barkā therefore was naturally inclined to assume a superiority over Hulākū, his cousin, who was the servant of Mangū, his brother; for, since Bātū's death, Barkā had himself been regarded as the head of the family; and now that so many Musalmān sovereigns had been sacrificed, and their dominions annexed, but, more particularly, since the cruel treatment and martyrdom of the innocent head of the Muḥammadan religion, all ties between them were broken; and Barkā vowed vengeance against Hulākū in consequence.

Hulākū died at No-shahr of Āẓarbāījān, on the night of Sunday—our Saturday night—the 19th of Rabī-ul-Ākhir, 663 H., aged forty-eight, after ruling over Ī-rān-Zamīn nine years and three months. He was buried on the mountain of Shāhū, which is opposite the village of Khwārkān, according to the Fanākatī and Rashīd-ud-Dīn, but the Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gīr says Shahāntalah, the mountain north of Tabrīz, the same place, probably, under a different name.

Rashīd-ud-Dīn, who was Wazīr to Hulākū's great grandson, as a matter of course is politic enough to view everything from the Hulākū point of view, and puts all the fault upon Barkā. He, however, acknowledges that Barkā Khān was considered the Āḳā, or head of the family, but, that Hulākū had determined not to endure Barkā's threats, whereas it was Barkā who promptly followed his threats with acts. One of the chief causes of complaint on Barkā's part was, that Hulākū had made no distinction whatever between friend and foe; and had put the innocent Khalīfah to death, without consulting himself in any way, whom, by right of his position, it was necessary Hulākū should have referred to, especially as he was a Musalmān.

At the time Hulākū retired from Ḥalab, on the news of his brother's death reaching him, Balghā or Balghān, also written Balḳā and Balḳān with ḳ, son of Shaibān, son of Jūjī, who was one of the Shāh-zādahs sent to serve under Hulākū, died suddenly at an entertainment. Soon after, another Shāh-zādah, Tūtār Aghūl, another kinsman of Barkā Khān's, was accused of having caused Balghā's death by sorcery, and he was put to death on the 17th Ṣafar, 658 H. [The Fanākatī says he was sent to Barkā, as head of the family, to be dealt with, under the escort of the Nū-yīn, Sūnjāḳ, and Alfī says Barkā sent him back again, but, in such case, how could Barkā make the execution of this Shāh-zādah a pretext for making war on Hulākū?] The Ṣadr, Sāūchī, was also executed by Hulākū's order, because he was said to have written a charm for Tūtār. Soon after these events, Ḳolī, another Shāh-zādah of Jūjī's house, serving with the Mughal forces under Hulākū, also died, upon which, his retinue, and dependents, made their escape from Hulākū's camp, and fled by way of the sea of Gīlān [the Caspian], and the Dar-Band, and made for the Dasht-i-Ḳibchāḳ, or Khifchāḳ, the territory of Barkā Khān.

When the death of his three kinsmen became known to Barkā, he despatched a message to Hulākū breathing vengeance; and sent Būḳāe, a near kinsman of the deceased Tūtār, at the head of 30,000 horse, to extort restitution; and

## ANECDOTE RESPECTING BARKÂ KHÂN'S ZEAL IN THE MUSALMÂN FAITH.

In the year 657 H., a reverend and holy Sayyid of Samrkand came to the illustrious capital, the city of

he, having passed the Dar-Band, took up a position in sight of Shirwân. Hulâkû, who, at this time, was encamped near the sources of the river Arâs, on his way towards the Koh-i-Kâf, or Kakâsus, on this despatched the Nû-yîn, Shîrâmûn, and other Amîrs, to oppose Bûkâe; and, in Zî-Hijjah, 660 H., they reached Shamâkhî. Barkâ's army fell upon Shîrâmûn and his troops, and defeated them with great slaughter. Subsequently, at the end of the same month, the Nû-yîns, Abâtâe and Shimâghû, with another force, on the part of Hulâkû, renewed the fighting, and surprised the troops of Barkâ, which had retired towards Shâburân in Shirwân, and, within a league of that place, defeated them, in their turn, with great slaughter, at the end of Zî-Hijjah, of the same year; and Bûkâe, with the remainder, fled.

On the 6th of Muharram of the next year, 661 H., Hulâkû put his troops in motion for the purpose of pursuing them, and invading Barkâ's territory, and advanced from the frontier of Shamâkhî. On Friday, the 23rd of Muharram, Hulâkû encountered the forces of Barkâ at the Bâb-ul-Abwâb, captured the Dar-Band, and defeat again befell them. A large force under Âbâkâ Khân, Hulâkû's son, was subsequently despatched in pursuit of Barkâ's troops. Âbâkâ Khân crossed the river Tarak [vul. Terek], entered the Dasht-i-Kibchâk, and reached their camp, which his troops found abandoned. Three days after, on the 1st of Rabî'-ul-Awwal, when totally off their guard—Guzîdah says Hulâkû's forces behaved most infamously in Barkâ's territory—Barkâ, in person, attacked Hulâkû's forces unawares, and drove them back with great loss. The river Tarak was frozen over at the time, and it gave way under the fugitives, the greater number of whom perished. Âbâkâ Khân, with the remnant, succeeded in reaching Shâburân. Barkâ's forces then retired within their own frontier. Hulâkû, on the 11th of Jamâdî-ul-Âkhir, reached Tabrîz, filled with rage and despondency at the upshot of affairs. He ordered great preparations to be made for a renewal of the war, in order, as soon as his preparations should be complete, to wipe out the disgrace, but death prevented him.

Other operations subsequently took place after Hulâkû's death, but can have no place in this work. For the date of Barkâ's succession, however, see note [6], page 1291.

It may not be amiss to mention here why Hulâkû is known as the Îl-Khân, and his dynasty as the Îl-Khânî. Hulâkû was subject to his brother Mangû, and the headings of all *yarlîghs* and other documents bore the name and title of Mangû Kâ'ân. Hulâkû had nothing whatever to do with the revenues of the countries west of the Âmûîah, which department pertained to Arghûn Âkâ—Guzîdah says his brother was Dîwân of the revenue—and consequently Hulâkû became renowned by the name of the Îl-Khân, îl [the plural form when used is *îlât*] signifying, in Turkî, people, a society, assemblage, an array, race, tribe, etc., and Khân, a chief, but, among the Mughals, Khân is applied to a sovereign, as our author also mentions at page 862.

The Amîr, Arghûn Âkâ, who for a period of thirty years had held the administration of the revenue affairs of Î-rân, died, in his camp, in the plain of Râdakân of Tûs, in 673 H.

Dihlī, to trade. In the audience hall of the sovereign the asylum of Islām and Sulṭān of the seven climes[1]—May God long preserve his rule and sovereignty!—he received kindness and encouragement; and was distinguished by the reverence, and princely benefits of the Sulṭān. The grandees of this illustrious capital, every one of whom is a bright constellation in the firmament of Islām, and light-diffusing star in the sphere of the Faith, all deemed it right likewise to confer favours and benefits upon that illustrious Sayyid, who was [named] Ashraf-ud-Dīn, the son of the Sayyid, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Ṣūfī, and unto whom appertains the service of the khānḳah [monastery] of Nūr-ud-Dīn-i-A'mā [the Blind]—on whom be the Almighty's mercy!—in the city of Samrḳand. From this eminent Sayyid two statements were heard [by the author] respecting the firmness of Barkā Khān in the Muḥammadan faith. May God protect him and increase his blessings!

## FIRST STATEMENT.

That eminent Sayyid thus related, that one of the Christians[2] of Samrḳand attained unto the felicity of Islām; and the Musalmāns of Samrḳand, who are staunch in their faith, paid him great honour and reverence, and conferred great benefits upon him. Unexpectedly, one of the haughty Mughal infidels of Chīn, who possessed power and influence, and the inclinations of which accursed one were towards the Christian faith, arrived at Samrḳand. The Christians of that city repaired to that Mughal, and complained, saying: "The Musalmāns are enjoining our children to turn away from the Christian faith and serving 'Īsā—on whom be peace!—and calling upon them to follow the religion of Muṣtafā [the Chosen one—Muḥammad]—on whom be peace![3]—and, in case

[1] The Ḳur'ān copying puppet, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, his sovereign and patron, to whom this work is dedicated.

[2] Tarsāyān is used here again.

[3] All the later copies of our author's work copied in India are more unctuous and diffuse in their glorification of the Muḥammadan faith, and in their praises of their Prophet, than copies made in other parts of Islām, and they despatch all and everybody else "to hell" much oftener.

that gate becomes unclosed, the whole of our dependents will turn away from the Christian faith. By [thy] power and authority devise a settlement of our case.[4]

That Mughal commanded that the youth, who had turned Musalmān, should be produced; and they tried with blandishment and kindness, and money and wealth, in order to induce that sincere newly-converted Musalmān to recant, but he did not recant;[5] and that garment of freshness—the Musalmān faith—he did not put off from his heart and spirit. That Mughal ruler then turned over a leaf in his temper, and began to speak of severe punishment;[6] and every punishment, which it was in his power to inflict, or his severity to devise, he inflicted upon that youth, who, from his vast zeal for the faith of Islām, did not recant, and did not, in any way, cast away from his hand the *sharbat* of religion through the blow of infidel perverseness. As the youth continued firm to the true faith, and paid no regard to the promises and threats of that depraved set, the accursed Mughal directed so that they brought that youth to public punishment; and he departed from the world in the felicity of religion—God reward him and requite him!—and the Musalmān community in Samrkand were overcome with despondency and consternation in consequence.[7]

Ashraf-ud-Dīn related on this wise: "A petition was got up, and was attested with the testimony of the chief men and credible persons of the Musalmān religion dwelling at Samrkand, and we proceeded with that petition to the camp of Barkā Khān, and represented [to him] an account of the proceedings and disposition of the Christians of that city. Zeal for the Muhammadan religion was manifested in the mind of that monarch of exemplary faith, and the defence of the truth became predominant in his disposition. After some days, he showed honour and reverence to this Sayyid, appointed a body of Turks

[4] With this sentence the best St. Petersburg copy of the text ends.

[5] The following three pages and a half are not contained in the Haileybury, the Bodleian, or the Ro. As. Soc. copies of the text. The two latter begin and end with precisely the same words.

[6] In one good copy of the text—'punishment with the sword.'

[7] The second British Museum copy is defective of the remainder of the text from this place.

and confidential persons [8] among the chief Musalmāns, and commanded that they should slaughter the Christian sec who had committed that dire oppression, and despatcl them to hell.

"Having obtained that mandate, it was preserved unti that wretched sect assembled together in the *kalīsā* [church] and they seized them all together, and despatched the whol of them to hell, and reduced the church again to bricks."

This vengeance was [obtained] through the auspiciousnes of that monarch [9] towards the faith of Muḥammad—the bless ing and peace of Almighty God be upon him, and favourabl regard among those of the true faith the Ḥanafī sect!

## SECOND STATEMENT.

This same Sayyid, Ashraf-ud-Dīn, related, that, whe Bātū Khān departed from this world, a son survived him Surtāḳ [1] [by name]. He determined to proceed to th

[8] The Calcutta Printed Text has مفسدان—rebels, seditious persons—fo معتمدان here!

[9] Barkā Khān ruled over the Dasht-i-Kibchāḳ, and its dependencies farthe west, according to the Pro-Mughal authors, who wrote after our author; and according to them, his authority did not extend to Samrḳand; for the territorie immediately east of the Jīḥūn or Āmūīah pertained to the descendants o Chaghatāe Khān. See note [1], page 1292.

Rubruquis mentions a city on the Ātil or Wolga, which he reached on hi return homewards, under the name of Samarkant, which, he says, is encom passed like an isle with the river, when it overflows, that the Tartars [Mughal] were eight years besieging it before they could take it, and that it was inhabite by Ālāns and Muḥammadans. Whether such a city or town ever existed under that name, is doubtful, but some have supposed it to be the city after wards called Ḥājī-Tarkhān, Europeanized Astrakhan. The founder of thi place has been mentioned however elsewhere

[1] His name is incorrectly given, in the remaining copies of the text availabl as Surtāf—سرتاف—a dot having been omitted from the last letter. Th Calcutta Text makes it Surnāf—سرناف Not only did Surtāḳ survive him, bu also Ūlāghchī, another son, mentioned in a subsequent note.

On his way back from Mangū Ḳā'ān's court, Rubruquis and his party wer two months and ten days travelling from the *urdū* at Ḳarā-Ḳuram to Bātū' *urdū*, in which space they found neither town, nor habitation, except one poo village [of felt tents probably], where they could not get even bread, and fron time to time graves of the inhabitants. After he had travelled twenty day from Mangū's *urdū*, he heard that the king of Armenia had passed by, and a the end of August he met with Surtāḳ and his family, his flocks, and herd going to the presence of Mangū Ḳā'ān—the very journey referred to by ou author above. Rubruquis paid his respects to that Prince, who sent him tw habits—dresses of honour—one for himself, and another for King Louis. Th friar reached [the late] Bātū's *urdū*, at Sarāe, on the 16th September, 1254.

presence of Mangū Khān, from the country of Khifchāķ and Saķsīn, that, through the means of Mangū Khān, he might succeed to his father, Bātū's, position. On reaching the presence of Mangū Khān in the country of Tamghāj, he [after receiving him] sent him back with honour. As Surtāķ shunned coming to the presence of his uncle, Barkā Khān, and altered his route, and did not come near his uncle, Barkā Khān despatched persons unto him, saying: "I am unto thee in the place of a father: why dost thou pass by like a stranger, and not come near me?" When the persons despatched delivered the message of Barkā Khān, Surtāķ, the accursed, gave answer, saying: "Thou art a Musalmān, and I follow the Christian faith; to look upon the face of a Musalmān is unlucky"—The Almighty's curse be upon the whole of them [the Christians]![2]

When this unworthy remark reached that sovereign of Musalmāns, Barkā Khān, he entered into his khargāh[3] alone, fixed a rope round his own neck, firmly secured the door of the khargāh with a chain, and stood up; and with the most entire humility, and most perfect submission, he began to weep and groan, and say: "O God! if the Muḥammadan faith[4] and the laws of Islām are true, do me justice against Surtāķ." For the space of three nights and days, after having performed his religious duties, he continued, in this manner, to groan and lament, and to supplicate, until, on the fourth day, when Surtāķ, the accursed, arrived at that place of encampment,[5] the hour of his death came. The Most High God afflicted him with bowel complaint; and he went to hell.[6]

[2] All are accursed who are not of his own faith: the same failing exists everywhere, no matter what the faith may be, but we might hope for something better from Christians, in these, so-called, "enlightened" days.

Rubruquis, who knew Surtāķ, did not think much of his Christianity.

[3] A large round tent constructed of *namads* or felts, such as are used by the Turkish nomads.

If Barkā was alone, it is strange that the very worthy Sayyid knew what he did, or what he said. This shutting himself up is more after the fashion of his ancestor, the Chingiz Khān, when he cried out to Tingri, than of a Musalmān. See page 954.

[4] Here the imperfect copies, previously referred to, begin again.

[5] The place where death overtook him, probably, as just above we are told that Surtāķ would not come near Barkā.

[6] On the death of Bātū Khān, his eldest son, Surtāķ, was in the camp of

Some [persons] related on this wise, that, on Mangū Khān perceiving signs of sedition upon the brow of Surtāḳ, he despatched confidential persons, secretly, so that they administered poison to the accursed Surtāḳ, and he departed to hell.

Barkā Khān took the wife [wives?] of Bātū Khān to wife;[7] and there were fifteen sons and grandsons of the generation of Tūshī Khān,[8] all of whom departed to hell. The possessions of the whole of them passed under the sway of Barkā Khān; and, through the auspiciousness [attendant on his embracing] the Muḥammadan faith, the whole of the territory of Khifchāḳ, Saḳsīn,[9] Bulghār, Saḳlāb, and Rūs, as far as the north-east [boundary] of Rūm, and Jund, and Khwārazm, came into his possession. In the year 658 H., which is that of the conclusion of this ṬABAḲĀT, parties of persons coming from the territory of Khurāsān state that Mangū Khān has departed to hell, and that, in all the cities of the east and west, and in the countries of 'Ajam, Māwarā-un-Nahr, and Khurāsān, the Khuṭbah is read for Barkā Khān;[1] and that they have

Mangū Ḳā'ān. He was held in great estimation by the latter, who despatched him to his father's *yūrat*, to succeed to the sovereignty over his dominions. He never reached it, however, but died on the road in 651 H. Ūlāghchī, another son, succeeded to the sovereignty, but he too died very soon after, in the same year. Some writers do not enter the names of these two brothers in the list of sovereigns of the house of Jūjī, and put Barkā, Barkah, or Barkāe, which is written in as many different ways, immediately after Bātū, his brother. Barkā ascended the throne in 652 H. Sir John Malcolm, in his History of Persia, among many other grave errors, says [p 425, vol. I.] that "Barkah" was *a descendant of "Chaghtae!"*

[7] A custom among the Mughals

[8] The I. O. L *MS*, No 1952, the best Paris *MS.*, the Ro As Soc *MS*, and the Bodleian *MS.*, all have any name but the correct one here, namely, ترشهان — برتهان — ترایهان and تربهان The Printed Calcutta Text follows the first named copy, but there ought not to have been any doubt as to who is undoubtedly referred to

[9] For Saḳsīn and Rūs the Calcutta Text has "Safīn" and "Wurs"

[1] Our author appears to have been well informed upon most matters which happened about his own time especially, and he may be correct here too, and, no doubt, the above is what he heard The Pro-Mughal authors, who began to write nearly a century after, under the patronage of the sovereigns of the houses of Hulākū and of Chaghatāe, and whose officials they were, out of policy, refrained from setting down anything likely to be unpalatable to their masters, as is amply proved by their writings. It is evident too that Bātū exercised authority in Khurāsān long before this time, for he appointed a governor to Hirāt in 638 H., and again in 641 H, as already mentioned, in

assigned to that Sulṭān the title of Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Ibrāhīm ;[1] but God knows the reality.

In this same year, likewise, one of the great men among the 'Arabs, whom they style the Imām, Shams-ud-Dīn, the Maghrabī, has been despatched from the presence of his Lord,[2] on a mission to the presence of the Asylum of the Universe, the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, NĀSIR-UD-DUNYĀ WA-UD-DĪN, MAḤMŪD SHĀH—God perpetuate his sovereignty!—and, having dedicated services, which will be worthy of this Court, has caused himself to be strung upon the thread of the servants of this sovereign, the Asylum of the World, which felicity is, to him, the most excellent of all happiness.

May the Most High God prolong the happiness and felicity of the Monarch of the Universe to the extreme limit of possibility, and may He keep it uninterrupted and increasing; and grant that this ṬABAḲĀT may be deemed worthy of acceptance in the Sublime Audience-Hall, and that this author, in the garment of prayer, may thereon, pronounce its conclusion[4] with this verse :—

"Be Khiẓr, with the bowl of immortality, the Shāh's cup-bearer!
Be the portico of his gate like unto the nine-vaulted sphere!
May it continue in the world as long as the world continues—
The name of the ṬABAKĀT of MAHMŪD SHĀH-I-NĀSIR-UD-DĪN."

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note [9], page 1126 It is therefore clear, from these facts, that, in the interregnum which occurred on the death of Mangū Ḳā'ān, the parts above referred to must have come under the rule of Barkā, temporarily, or, as head of the family, until the time when, after the submission of Artuḳ-Būḳā, also called Irtuḳ-Būḳā, and death of Alghū, Ḳubilāe became established in the Ḳā'ān-ship, and, at which time, he assigned all Ī-rān-Zamīn, as far east as the Āmūïah, to Hulākū.

[1] No other writer mentions this title, but it is doubtless correct, for it was usual with the subsequent Mughal sovereigns, who became converts to Islām, to take a Musalmān name and title, as in the case of Nikūdār Aghūl, Hulākū's son, who was styled Sulṭān Aḥmad : in fact, it is incumbent on a convert to take a Musalmān name.

[2] Ṣāḥib : some have Khwājah. The four *MSS.* before mentioned, and the Printed Text, leave out the word Lord, and thus make the Imām come *from* the presence of himself! Who his Lord was, does not appear

This was just sixty-seven years before the Maghrabī, Ibn-i Baṭūṭah, set out on his travels.

[4] The I. O. L. *MS.*, No. 1952, and Printed Text are defective here again : even the verse is imperfect.

## CONCLUSION.

As much as was possible to, and lay in the power of, and came within the circle of the hearing of, and was related to, this votary, has been written and recorded. Should the observation of the ruler of the people of Islām —God perpetuate his sovereignty!—or of the Khāḳān-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam—may his prosperity endure!—or of the Maliks, or Nobles, or Grandees, or Ṣadrs, or Pillars of the State, or Eyes of the Faith, during the lifetime of the author, or subsequent to his decease, notice, in this ṬABAKĀT, an error, mistake, deficiency, or redundance, may they veil it with the skirt of the robe of kindness and forgiveness, which will be the extreme of favour, and perfection of benevolence.

Praise be unto Thee, O God, the all-sufficient helper in every respect! By Thy mercy, O Thou Most Merciful of the Merciful, have pity upon us! May God bless the best of His creation—Muḥammad, the chief of the prophets, the noblest of the dwellers in earth and in heaven, and all the prophets and divine messengers, and their descendants, every one of them!

The frailest of the servants of the Divine, MINHĀJ-I-SARĀJ, the Jūrjānī, who is the author of this ṬABAKĀT—Almighty God protect him!—thus states, that, when this History was submitted by him to the SULṬĀN, NĀṢIR-UD-DĪN, MAḤMŪD SHĀH—God prolong his reign!—he ordained him a royal dress of honour, and the washaḳ[5] [marten] pelisse [trimmed] with fine ermine, which was on his own blessed shoulders. He likewise bestowed upon the author an allowance of 10,000 *jītals* yearly, and the grant of a village;[6] and, when a transcription of this History was transmitted to the KHĀKĀN-I-MU'AZZAM

[5] Not one of the four now remaining copies of the text has this word correct. The Printed Text too is as defective and incorrect here as elsewhere. The washaḳ is described as an animal something similar to the fox, of the skins of which they make *postīns* or pelisses; and it is said that whoever wears one will not be troubled with hemorrhoids.

[6] The revenue arising from the village, without prejudice to the proprietary rights of the landholders.

ULUGH KHĀN-I-A'ẒAM—may his prosperity endure!—he sent [to the author] 20,000 *jītals* in ready money,[7] a Māhī Subāḥī,[8] a bundle of ermine, and another of fox [skin]. This strophe, out of gratitude for those gifts, was pronounced [by the author] and inscribed upon the back of the Khān's copy. Strophe:—

"To the Shahr-yār of the universe, Ulugh Khān, he
Who is Khān of the Ilbarī, and Shāh of the Yamak.[9]

Whosoever found acceptance in his presence
Never more turned face towards the heavens.
Before him [indeed] who is Ḥātim-i-Ṭā-ī?
Near unto him what is Yaḥyā-i-Barmak?[1]
The dust from the tablet of the heart of Minhāj—
The cares of the world—he with kindness wiped away.
Listen to this assertion from me, all people,
By the way of certainty, not by the road of doubt.—
Ninety and nine shares of [his] generosity belong to me
Of it, all others have but one out of a hundred.
Every prayer I may offer up from the heart for him,
The angels, with sincerity, say, Āmīn! thereto."

The book of MINHĀJ-I-SARĀJ,[2] the JŪRJĀNĪ, on the 5th

[7] The Printed Text has مقرر—established, fixed, etc., while the *MSS.* copies have معدود—counted, numbered, etc., and ready-money, which must have been sufficiently apparent from the context.

Our author was much more fortunate than some authors of the present day, who, in many cases, find their writings transferred to another man's book, who appropriates your labours as his own work, trades upon the fruit of your brains, gets honours for them, and probably abuses the work he pirates.

[8] Certain emblems of rank and honours conferred upon and carried before princes and great men, denoted by the figure of a fish—*māhī*—and other insignia, also styled Māḥī-Marātib, or something of a similar kind.

[9] See page 1097. And yet this Ilbarī Turk is one of many other Turks whom compilers of Indian History turn into "Afghāns," and "Patāns," which words are synonymous. See pages 599 and 796.

[1] The paragons of Oriental liberality and generosity. A good anecdote of Yaḥyā-i-Barmak is contained in Lane's "*Arabian Nights,*" Vol. 2.

[2] The I. O. L. *MS.*, No. 1952, Ro. As. Soc., and Bodleian *MSS.*, all have *bin* here, while the Printed Text omits it, an iẓāfat being understood. Here is an illustration, and a very good one, taken in connexion with the Khalīfah's words, announcing the death of our author's father, at page 244, as well as in many other places herein, which demolishes the theory put forth by the late Mr. W. H. Blochmann, M. A., in "*The Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*" for 1876, page 325, that "Minháj i Siráj *does not mean in prose* 'Minháj the son of Siráj,' but 'Minháj who writes under the name of Siráj'," that "*his name is not* Minhaj ud Dín, the son of Siráj ud Dín," and that "the *izáfat is never used in prose* in place of Arabic *bin*," while, at the same time, the

**of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, in the year 658 H.,[3] was brought to its**

CONCLUSION.

Calcutta Printed Text has actually "Minhāj-ud-Dīn, *bin* Sarāj-ud-Dīn," on its title-page! Our author's own words, too, in the body of the work, completely disprove these rash statements. See the Memoir of the author, page xix, and APPENDIX, page xviii.

[3] This would be about the 17th February, 1260 A.D. At page 865, he says he finished it in S͟hawwāl—the tenth month—while, at page 799, he states that he completed it in Rajab—the seventh month!

# APPENDIX A.

*On the year of the occupation of Dihlī by Malik, afterwards Sultān, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and the inscription on the minārah of Ḳutb Sāḥib, page* 621.

MR H. BLOCHMANN, M.A., in Part III., of his "Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal," in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal* for 1875, criticises the date given by our author, and by me, for the occupation of Dihlî by Ḳuṭb-ud-Dîn, Î-bak, at page 515, and would, instead, fix upon the year 587 H. for that event. He says:—"Mr. E. Thomas fixes it at 587 H. as consistent with the best authorities." But who are these best authorities? Two pages farther on, Mr. Blochmann states that "the Ṭabaqát is the only authority we possess for this period."

Now I will just give a specimen of Mr. Thomas' "best authorities." At page 11 of his "PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLÍ," he says: "In 587, in a more extended expedition into Hindustán, Muhammad Ghori was totally routed on the memorable field of Thaneswar. * * * *After a year's repose* * * * on the self-same battle ground, he again encountered his former adversary * * * This time fortune favoured the Ghories * * * By this single victory the Muhammadans may be said to have become the virtual masters of Hindustán," &c., &c.

I will take it for granted that *a year after* 587 means 588 H., but turn to the foot-note at page 23 of the same work There Mr. Thomas, forgetting, apparently, what he wrote a few pages before, says:—"As regards the historical evidence to the date 587 A. H for *the capture of Dehli* by the Muslims, it is complete and consistent with the best authorities!"

Mr Thomas adds "and Minháj-*us*-Siráj repeats in various forms, while treating of the life of Aibeg, the confirmation of the same date." In this I cannot agree with him. Let us turn to page ١٣٩ of the Calcutta Printed Text, the foot-note, and also to this Translation, page 515, in both of which we find (leaving out the first defeat by the

Hindūs, but again referring to Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's being taken captive], he "took possession of that place—Mīraṭh—in 587 H. [see note 5, page 515 of this Translation]. From Mīraṭh likewise *he issued forth in the year* 588 H., and captured Dihlī."

These are the actual words in the different *MSS.* collated. It is not actually said that Dihlī was taken in 588 H., merely that Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, in 588 H., marched from Mīrath, and it must have been towards *the close* of that year, as will be shown farther on, for, according to the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir [see page v of this] he had to start to relieve Hānsī in the *ninth* month of that year, and only took Mīraṭh after that. It is evident, therefore, that Minhāj-ud-Dīn did not intend it to be understood that Dihlī was taken and made the seat of government in 588 H, unless he stultifies himself by upsetting his previous statements at pages 248, 378, 456, 457, and 464, which see.

I will now leave the "best authorities" and go to facts.

Minhāj-ud-Dīn states [pages 456—477] that troubles arose in Khwārazm in consequence of the outbreak of Sultān Shāh, the Khwārazmī, in 587 H.; that, subsequently [but in the *same* year], Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, advanced into India, took Tabarhindah, left a garrison there with orders to hold out for *six months*, and was preparing to retire [in consequence of the hot season, it being the third or fourth month, at latest, of 587 H —April or May, 1191 A.D]; was defeated by Rāe Pithorā; and had to retire, leaving the garrison still there. In the cold season of that year—five or six months after—instead of being able to return as he intended, he was under the necessity of preparing to attend his brother, Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, along with other dependent Princes and their troops, against Sulṭān Shāh, the Khwārazmī Prince, who threatened Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad's dominions in Khurāsān. Besides, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn had been badly wounded in the first battle, and it must have taken him some time to recover This campaign, Minhāj-ud-Dīn states, at pages 248 and 378, took place in 588 H., and occupied *six* months. Ḳutb-ud-Dīn accompanied his master, and was taken captive by the Khwārazmīs, but, after a battle, and defeat of the enemy, he was re-captured. "This victory," says Minhāj-ud-Dīn, "was achieved in the year 588 H"

I also take it for granted that Mr. Blochmann will allow that this capture of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn must have taken place *before he captured* Dihlī. But what will totally overturn any theories on this matter, unless people *will not* be con-

vinced, is the fact that Minhāj-ud-Dīn's relative, Ḳāẓī, Muḥammad, the Tūlakī [Mr. Dowson's "Kází Túlak"], was left with a body of troops to hold Tabarhindah for the space of *six months* [that is to the next cold season—the ninth or tenth month of 587 H.—September or October, 1191 A.D.]. Why did he do this, it may be asked? and the answer is plain enough: he could not remain in India any longer with safety. The hot season was close at hand, and he would have been unable to return if he stayed much longer, for, besides the heat, the six mighty rivers in his rear would have *all been unfordable*, and would have to be crossed by boats, even if boats were procurable, a dangerous matter with regard to most of those rivers at that season, witness the strong Railway Bridges washed away in these days. The Sulṭān, having been defeated immediately after he placed the Ḳāẓī in Tabarhindah, and having subsequently to accompany his brother towards Marw, where they were occupied *six months*, could not return as he intended, and the Ḳāẓī, having held out *over thirteen months* [see Translation, page 464], the Sulṭān still not having come, had to give it up to the Hindūs.

Now if we calculate, say, fourteen or fifteen months from the first defeat, for the Sulṭān's return [i. e. from the setting in of the hot season—the *ninth* month of 587 H.], we shall come to the *last month* of 588 H.; and, in the same way, if we calculate six months of 588 H. for the operations in Khurāsān, we must allow some little time for the Sulṭān to reach Ghaznīn, and he would then even require a month or two to prepare for a campaign in India; and besides, *even if he were ready before*, he could not move towards India during the height of the *hot season*. There were the same six mighty rivers to be crossed, and all unfordable at that period; and, all these things being thought of, it was utterly impossible for Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, to have entered India, at the earliest, before the middle of September or October—the end of the ninth or tenth month of 588 H, previous to which period no man in his senses, would have attempted to march from Ghaznīn, to cross the six rivers, and advance into India

Then followed the battle with Rāe Pithorā, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn is left in charge at Kuhṛām, and the Sulṭān prepared to return home again.

These being the facts, how is it possible, on Mr. Thomas's "best authorities," that Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn could have occupied Dihlī in 587 H.?

I am glad also to find that General Cunningham, on his visit to Dihlī in 1862, considered that 589 H. and not 587

H. was the correct date on the *Minārah*—*not* of "Qutbuddin Aibeg," about which so many reams of paper have been written, but of a wholly different ḲUṬB. I refer to the date on this *Minārah* about which "doctors disagree," and with regard to which Mr. Thomas would fix on 587 H. for the occupation of Dihlī, and so all other dates must be made to suit it, and Mr. Blochmann too prefers 587 H. I suppose, however, that all the "best authorities" never considered *how it could be possible* for Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn to be defeated by Rāe Pithorā just before the hot season of 587 H., to take "*a year's repose*" [Thomas], again enter India, be occupied some time even then against Rāe Pithorā before finally overthrowing him [according to the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir also], leave Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn at Mīraṭh, retire again from India, for Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, subsequent to all this, to occupy Dihlī, build a great Mosque, upon which [notwithstanding the address of the President of the Archæological Section at the Oriental Congress of 1874] Musalmān artisans brought from different parts of Asia were employed, and all these events *to have happened* in the *one* year of 587 H.! The idea is simply preposterous.

It occurs to me, on considering this subject further, that the inscription on the fourth circlet of the lower story of the *Minārah* as given in Thomas [PATHÁN KINGS, page 21-22] refers not to Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Sām, if the *name* given is correct, but to his elder brother. It will be found at pages 368 and 370 of this Translation, and in the corresponding places in the original, that the elder brother and suzerain of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Sām, was first called Muḥammad and his title was Shams-ud-Dīn, and that the younger brother *was also called Muhammad*, and his title was Shihāb-ud-Dīn. The first brother, after he came to the throne, assumed the titles of "Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of [Bahā-ud-Dīn] Sām, Ḳasīm-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn," and after the successes in Khurāsān, in 588 H., the younger brother, Muḥammad, who, up to that time, bore the title of Shihāb-ud-Dīn, *received the title of* Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, so that, when defeated by Rāe Pithorā, he bore the title of Shihāb-ud-Dīn, but afterwards, on his return the second time, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn. This may account for the subsequent Indian Muḥammadan writers calling him Shihāb and Mu'izz indiscriminately.

At the period in question, when these inscriptions *are said* to have been recorded [I fancy they were recorded subsequently. See note 6, page 621, of this Translation], the elder brother and *suzerain* was still living, and lived for *ten years after*; and, I imagine, it will be allowed, that the

two sovereigns, and both the brothers, *at the same identical time*, could not bear the title of Ḳasīm-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn, or Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and, therefore, leaving out the additional titles, the work of the artist probably, the title in the said inscription is,—" SULTĀN-US-SALĀṬĪN, GHIYĀṢ-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, BIN SĀM, ḲASĪM-I-AMĪR-UL-MŪMINĪN," and throughout the inscription [given by Thomas] the name of *Mu'izz-ud-Dīn*, or *Shihāb-ud-Dīn* even, *never once occurs*.

The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir is quoted as an authority, and a sufficient authority, to upset the statements of Minhāj-ud-Dīn, whose father, Sarāj-ud-Dīn, was Ḳāẓī of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's army, and whose kinsman, the Ḳāẓī of Tūlak, was present on the spot; but I do not place trust in the statements contained in that inflated work, unless they are corroborated or confirmed by some other contemporary writer.

In ELLIOT [page 211, vol. ii.] it is stated that the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir is *rare* in Europe. I have had *four* copies to compare with the extracts from it given in that work, and I find that the date mentioned there—587 H.—for the Sulṭān's victory [it totally ignores his *defeat*] over Rāe Pithorā, is written سبع [which may be either سبع or تسع] without any points in two copies of the four *MSS.*, in the third ىبع with one dot over and one under, and in the fourth تسع It is, therefore, evident that that date may be either 7 or 9, just as one chooses to read it; but, as the first battle, *according to every other author who has written on the subject*, took place in 587 H., the same year, 587 H., cannot, for reasons already stated, be the same in which the Sulṭān defeated Rāe Pithorā, and the former's slave occupied Dihlī. See note 6, page 521, para. 3 of this Translation.

If the "best authorities" had looked at the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir attentively however [see also ELLIOT, vol. ii., page 217], they would have found that, even according to that work, in Ramaẓān, the *ninth month* of 588 H.—the middle of October [1192 A.D.]—Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn had to march from Kuhṛām to relieve Hānsī [see also note 2 to page 516 of this Translation], and that, *subsequently*, "When" [according to ELLIOT, page 219], "the chief luminary threw its shade in the sign of Libra, and temperate breezes began to blow, after putting to flight the army of heat, Kutbu-d-din marched from Kahram and took Mirath," and *subsequent to that* "he then encamped under the fort of *Dehli, which was also captured*." This means 587 H. I suppose?

These events are very briefly, but most clearly and

unmistakeably recorded in Faṣiḥ-ī, in which it is stated :—
"588 H. a battle between Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Sām, son of Ḥuṣain, Lord of Ghaznīn, and the Rāe of Dihlī; the Rāe is slain in the battle; Dihlī [territory] subdued; Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, locates Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, in the fort of Kuhṛām, assigns him the government of Dihlī [territory], and retires from Hind. 589 H. Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, marches from Kuhṛām towards Dihlī [the city], captures Dihlī with its dependencies."

If Mr. Blochmann had looked at "that excellent work" the Haft-Iḳlīm, he would have seen therein stated, that the defeat of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, took place in 587 H., his victory in 588 H, and that Dihlī was occupied, as the seat of government, in 589 H.

The Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, the author of which "*must have had the good MSS. older than*" mine, also says, "defeated 587 H, victorious 588 H, Dihlī occupied and made the seat of government by Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, in 589 H"

The Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk also says, first battle and defeat of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn 587 H., his victory 588 H, Dihlī *taken* 589 H, and, next year, 590 H., Mu'izz-ud-Dīn came again on an expedition to Ḳinnauj.

The Tārīkh-i-Alfī says that the Sultān gained the victory over Rāe Pithorā in the year 578 of the *Riḥlat*, that is 588 H.

The Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh also says that Dihlī was made the seat of government in 589 H, and that, in the following year, 590 H., the Sultān returned on the expedition against Ḳinnauj.

The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh likewise says that Dihlī was made the seat of government in 589 H.

Budā'ūnī and Firishtah also will be found to agree with the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, and, to crown the whole, and put the finishing touch to the picture, "the A'īn," so often quoted by Mr. Blochmann, says that the first battle and defeat of the Sulṭān took place in 587 H, the second and victory in 588 H., and that in *the same year* his slave *took* Dihlī, but nothing is said of his making it the seat of government; and this agrees with the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, where nothing is said of making Dihlī the *capital in that year;* but that, "from Dihlī," after staying some time there, "he marched forth against Kol, in 590 H."

I need not say more on this head, I think, and do not doubt but that Mr Thomas is open to conviction

# APPENDIX B.

***On the name of Malik, afterwards Sulṭān, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Shil—of the Powerless Finger, page* 513, *and the use of the Iẓāfat in Persian.***

IN the "*Contributions*" previously referred to, the correctness of the name, and by-name of this Turkish slave-king is criticised.

Mr. Blochmann "thought" the name of "Qutbuddín of the Paralyzed *Hand*," [see BRIGG'S translation of Firishtah, referred to in note at page 519 and 521 of this Translation, which makes a very energetic warrior of him, considering his "Paralyzed Hand"], had been "set at rest" by Mr. Thomas—but in this I cannot agree any more than in the date 587 H for the occupation of Dihlī, and 599 and 600 for the conquest of Bengal—and he says that my different *MSS.* "have clearly the same words as the Bibl.-Indica Edition of the Ṭabaqát" but I assert to the contrary: my *MSS.* run thus:—

بظاهر جمالی نداشت و انکشت خنصر او شکستکی داشت

but, in the Calcutta Text, after the word او the words ار دست—"of a" or "the hand"—occur, and the Hamilton *MS.*, the worst of the whole number collated, has the same, but ***the other two MSS. from which the Printed Text is taken have not those words***, and another *MS.* has ار پا—"of a" or "the foot"—but all the rest of the *MSS.* are as I have given it above, and translated it.

I fail to see much difference in Mr. Blochmann's "literal translation:"—"*Outwardly* he had no comeliness, and ***his*** little FINGER [of one hand] ***possessed an infirmity.*** For this reason they called him *Aibak i-Shall* [Aibak with the paralyzed HAND]" and my: "He possessed no outward comeliness, and the little ***finger*** [of one hand?] ***had a fracture***, and on that account he used to be styled Ī-bak-i-Shil [the powerless-***fingered***]." The only difference is that where I translate داشت ***had***, Mr. Blochmann translates it ***possessed***—a mighty difference truly—and that I translate

the word گفتندی—*guftandī*—which is the *imperfect* tense of the verb, used also to imply *continuity* or *habitude*, and is *not the* PAST *tense*, and that I give to شکستگی the meaning of a concrete noun. I see no reason to alter my translation, as lexicographers, who are supposed to know something of the meanings of words, render شکستگی *a rupture*, *a fracture*, *defeat*, as well as *breaking*, *brokenness*, &c.

Mr. Blochmann calls the Haft-Iḳlīm "an excellent work," and in this I quite agree with him. Let him look at it however, and he will find with respect to Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Shil, that, in it, are the following words—زانی که انگشت خنصر او شکسته بود او را ایبک میگفتند—which I defy any one to translate otherwise than—*from*, or *on this*, *that his little* FINGER WAS BROKEN *they used to call him Ī-bak*." Which hand is not stated.

The author of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, Budā'ūnī, and even Firishtah, all of whom Mr. Blochmann states ["Contributions," page 138], "MUST HAVE HAD *very good MSS. of the 'Tabaqát-i-Náçirí,'*" have THE VERY SAME WORDS, copying one from the other, as are contained in the Haft-Iḳlīm, the Taẕkarat-ul-Mulūk has the same, and also the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh. Some others say the same, but I need not name them here, as those I have mentioned are easily obtained for reference, but all leave out the شل without which ایبک—finger, is meaningless. Mr. Blochmann quotes the *Shams-ul Lughat:* let him look at it for the word ایبک and he will see these words—ایبک بکسر بمعنی انگشت—"*Ī-bak with kasr means* FINGER," as well as the *other* meanings mentioned in the "*Contributions.*"

The Tārīkh-i-Majāmi'-ul-Khiyār—not the work even of a resident in India—has چون انگشت خنصر او شکسته بود او را ایبک شل گفتند—"As his little finger *was broken* they called him I-bak-i-Shil." The Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh, which copies Minhāj-ud-Dīn, has the same words as given in this Translation, and it is satisfactory to know that those authors, who say his little finger *was broken*, read the word شکسته as I have read it. Of course, neither Minhāj-ud-Dīn, nor any other who writes Ī-bak-i-Shil which even, on Mr. Blochmann's own showing, is in the Calcutta Printed Text as in other copies, is right in putting شل whether it be *shil or shall* LAST, and it ought, according to Mr. Blochmann, to be *inverted* into "Shall Aibak," otherwise it is "*un*-Persian." None of these authors who write Ī-bak-i-Shil therefore, according to this theory, could have known their own language! He also, in his literal translation, renders the passage "and his little *finger* [of one hand] possessed an infirmity," and yet he turns him into "Aibak with the

paralyzed HAND." Because one finger was broken, or "possessed an infirmity," it does not follow that the whole hand was paralyzed. Mr. Blochmann could not have thought of these matters when he proceeded to criticise the correctness of my rendering.

I have never said that Ī-bak alone meant *Ī-bak of the broken finger*, but, with *shil* added to it—Ī-bak-i-Shil—as I have already stated in note 1, page 513-14 of this Translation, and I have also stated that, in *Turkish*, I-bak "means finger" only: *not* broken or fractured-fingered, or the like. Mr. Blochmann could not have read the notes through, or failed to see what I said of Ī-bak-i-*Lang* in the same note. Nor have I said that Ī-bak was not Turkish, for he was a *Turk*, and so bore a Turkish name.

Neither have I ever hinted, much less stated, that his *real name* was Kutb-ud-Dīn: to have said so would have been absurd. That is his Musalmān titular name only, as Shams-ud-Dīn was the Musalmān title of his slave, I-yal-timish. In my note 1, page 513, I have said that Kutb-ud-Dīn could *not have been his real name*, nor I-bak either, which I looked upon as a nick-name or by-name. So Mr. Blochmann here, unknown to himself probably, has come to the same conclusion. I should not write his name however under any circumstance "Qutbuddín," any more than I should translate it *Thepolestarofthefaith*, but Kutb-ud-Dīn—The Pole-star of [the] Faith.

There is not the least cause for "the *izāfat*" to be cancelled in Ī-bak-i-Shil. to do so would be contrary to the primary and simplest rules of the Persian Grammar—the Īrānī I mean—of the "Túrání" dialect I know nothing. In Shil Ī-bak an adjective precedes the noun, and the اضافت —*izāfat*— does not take place; but, when the adjective or qualifying word follows the noun, the *kasrah* of *izāfat* is required. See the "A'ín," page 629 for an example, where Mr. Blochmann himself writes "A'ZAM KHAN, vide KHÁN-I-A'ZAM." Any Persian Grammar, however simple, will show this, as well as Lumsden, or Sir W. Jones, Forbes, &c. The following is given as an example, and is very pertinent to the subject.—

"The last letter of every Persian word is quiescent, or un-accented—i. e. ساکن as اسب *asp*, a horse; دست *dast*, a hand; مرد *mard*, a man. But, in composition, when such word is either the مضاف *muzāf*, or governing noun, or the موصوف *mauṣūf*, or substantive noun, the last letter must be accented with the *kasrah* of *izāfat*: as for example—اسپ جلد *asp-i-jald*—a swift horse, دست زید—*dast-i-Zaid*—the hand of Zaid; مرد نیک *mard-i-nek*—a good man, راه راست *rāh-i-rāst*

—a true or right way, the *kasrah* being the sign of the governing noun, or the antecedent of the relative adjective."

Again: "When the adjective follows the substantive, the latter must be accented with the *kasrah*; as اسپِ سیاه *asp-i-siāh*—a black horse, but, on the contrary, when the adjective precedes the noun, the *kasrah* must not be used, as سیاه اسپ *siāh asp* —a black horse. The same rule is likewise applicable to the governing and the governed nouns substantive; as بادشاهانِ زمین — *bādshāhān-i-zamīn* —kings of the earth; شاهِ جهان *shāh-i-jahān*—king of the world; جهان شاه *jahān-shāh*—world-king," &c.

When I learned these simple rules just *thirty years since*, I did not expect I should have to quote them again. Shil I-bāk therefore and Ī-bak-i-Shil, and Ī-bak-i-Lang, as he is styled in the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, and in Fanākatī, come under these rules, but no writer who pretended to elegance of style would prefer the former to the latter. In میرِ ماه which Mr. Blochmann himself translates ["*Contributions*," page 136] *mīr-i-māh*, "Lord *of the* Moon," why is he so *un*-Persian, and why does he not "cancel the *izáfat*," and write ماه میر *mah-mir*—Moon Lord? and without an *artificial* izāfat whence comes "*of the*"?

I do not know that any one has said that Mr. Thomas is *not* quite correct in looking upon ایبک as "the original name." I, certainly, have not said so. I only write Ī-bak what Mr. Thomas writes *Aibeg* and Mr. Blochmann *Aibak*, but I think Mr Blochmann would have some difficulty in showing me the word written with a *madd*, viz.: آیبک He certainly cannot show it to me in any copy of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī, and I never saw it anywhere else so written.

As to what is given as the legend on coins he is said to have issued, and his being merely called Ī-bak therein, which Mr. Blochmann deems quite sufficient to refute me by my own remarks, it is evident that, before Mr. Blochmann had calmly read my statements, he penned this portion of his "*Contributions*." I read in the legend given at page 525 of this Translation the words—Sulṭān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, as plain as it is possible to print. He would scarcely have put *shil* or *shall* upon his coins. Did Tīmūr add the word *Lang* to the legend on his? Of course not. See the ADDITIONAL NOTE to this Translation, on the subject of the legends on these coins: end of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, page 717.

I do not consider that Mr. Thomas or any one else has "set this question at rest" with respect to "Aibeg;" and had Mr Blochmann not been quite so hasty he might have

read a note in this Translation [note ⁴, page 729], where I have remarked upon the number of other Maliks styled ايبك—some five or six or more, including Ulugh-Khān's brother.

As to there being no such word as *shil* in Persian meaning limp, weak, soft, paralyzed, &c. ["*Contributions*," page 136] I do not agree with Mr. Blochmann. It is not "Túrání," and may be Irānī, or possibly local, and peculiar to the Fārsīwāns of Afghānistān, but is commonly used; and another Persian word—*shul*—is used with it in the sense mentioned. As to Mr. Blochmann's "*rare* Arabic word *shal* or *shall* [which "rare" word *I have also referred to* in my note, page 513], he says it means "having a withered hand," but I say it means a *hand or foot* paralyzed or powerless, &c., on the authority of an excellent Lexicon in Persian, which explains it thus:—

و عربی دست و پای را گویند که ازکار باز مانده باشد

I think I may venture to assert that Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Sām, was rather unlikely to have purchased a slave with the whole of one *hand* paralyzed: a finger broken or paralyzed would have been no very great detriment, but how could a one-*hand* paralyzed man fight on horseback? See too the wonderful feats Dow and Briggs—not Firishtah—make him perform. As to its being "a *rare* Arabic word" I beg to say that it is a *most common* one among the Afghāns: in fact, they rarely ever use another word, except by adding شل *shull* to it—"*shall-o-shull*." See my Pushto Dictionary, page 656.

In the following page [137] of his "*Contributions*" Mr. Blochmann, referring to my mentioning in a note to my Translation, that Ārām Shāh, said to be the son of Ī-bak, and, by some, the adopted son, is called Ī-bak's *brother* by Abū-l-Fazl, says he takes "the opportunity to justify Abul-Fazl, and that, in his [own] A'ín text, Abul-Fazl states twice distinctly that A'rám Sháh was Aibak's son." Mr. Blochmann's A'ín may, but in my A'īn—the *MS.* I quoted, and which is now before me—a "good old copy"—has these words, in which *may be* a clerical error:—

در چوکان بازی نقد زندگانی در باخت امرا آرام شاه برادر او را بر مسند مرادنمی نشاندند

At page 137 of his "*Contributions*" Mr. Blochmann considers the word اى *ái* "a moon" in the word ايبك to occur in other names of Indian History, and in what he calls "*Ai*-tigín" or *É*tigín [he is not certain which perhaps: اى can be written *É* in "Túráni" pro-

bably], and in "*Ai*-lititmish, the *emperor* Altamsh," but unfortunately آی with *madd* over the ا does not occur in either of those names nor will Mr. Blochmann show them to me so written even in the Bibl.-Indica edition of the "Tabaqát."

If "Ai-lititmish" be the name of the so-called "emperor" [but why not write also the "emperor" Maḥmūd, son of Sabuk-Tigin, the "emperor" Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and the "emperor" Ḳutb-ud-Dīn? They were Sulṭāns by title as well as "*Ai*-lititmish" was] and if "*Ai*-lititmish" be right why style him "Altamsh" still? Such must be "behind modern research." If ای be contained in the words ایتکین and ایلتمش — there are no *madds* here — and entirely separate from the تکین and تمش of those words, how does Mr. Blochmann account for the words قلتمش Ḳal-timish, تقتمش Taḳ-timish, and سلتمش —Sal-timish? These are names often occurring as well as ایلتمش — I-yal-timish, elsewhere than in Indian history, because they are Turk names, but the last part of these compound words is تمش sometimes written تمیش and تیمش and the first part سل—قل—تق and ایل respectively, and not ای at all. After this same fragile theory, I-yal-Arsalān — ایل ارسلان and I-yal dūz — ایلدوز which latter the author of the Ṭabakāt-i-Nāsirī and some others write یلدوز Yal-dúz [where is the "ای *āi* 'a moon'" here? ایلدوز is said to mean *a star* in Turkish], those names must be written *Ai*-liarsalān and *Ai*-lildūz. I should like to know the titles of these "oldest Dictionaries" which give the pronunciation "*Ai*-lititmish." No, no, the "آی *āi* 'a moon'" in these last names is all *moonshine*.

In the Farang-i-Rashīdī—a Dictionary published in the Bibl. Indica Series, among the meanings assigned to ایلک is *six-fingered*. This is something new In that work also ای signifying *moon*, is not written آی with *madd*

Since the above was written I also find that the same Dictionary contains the word شل but that form of it which signifies, soft, ductile, lax, feeble, relaxed, weak, &c., is written with short *u*—*shul*, which is evidently the same word as used by the Afghāns referred to at page xi of this.

# APPENDIX C.

***On the correct name of the conqueror of Bihār and Lakhanawatī, Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār-ud-Dīn, the Khalj, and others of his tribe, and the use of the kasrah of izāfat for* bin, *son of, &c., &c.***

THE name of this Malik is also criticised in the "*Contributions*," page 137. Mr Blochmann says:—

"The only thing we knew hitherto (and I believe it is all we know now) is that the conqueror of Bengal was called

Muhammad Bakhtyár,

and the name of his paternal uncle was

Muhammad Mahmúd.[1]

"The names of these two persons Major Raverty breaks up, by introducing an artificial *izáfat*, or sign of the genitive [see *ante* on the use of the izāfat and the کسرهٔ توصیفی and any Grammar on the subject], into four names, viz. Muhammad-i-Bakhtyár, and Muhammad-i-Mahmúd * * * *

Major Raverty says in explanation that "in his older *MSS*" the word *bin*, or son, is inserted between the words Muhammad and Bakhtyár *in the heading* of Chapter V, which contains the biography of the conqueror of Bengal; hence the conqueror of Bengal was Muhammad, and "the father's name, it appears, was Bakhtyár, the son of Mahmúd." It is not stated in how many *MSS.* this *bin* occurs, but, though it occur in the heading, it never occurs in the text.

The name of Muhammad Bakhtyár occurs more than thirty times in Major Raverty's Chapters V. and VI. (pages 548 to 576); but in every case Major Raverty gives Muhammad-i-Bakhtyár, i. e. the Izáfat Hence his *MSS.* have no *bin* in the text In the heading of Chapter VI, there is no *bin*, though Major Raverty puts it in; he tries even to do so in the heading to Chapter VIII., in the name

[1] See page 549 and note [4].

of Husámuddín 'Iwaz, and "one or two authors" get the credit of it."

"Nor does the word *bin* occur in the *MSS.* of the Tájul-Maáșir, in Firishtah, the Tabaqát i Akbarí, Badaoní, and later writers, though the authors of these histories *must have had* very good *MSS.* of the Ṭabaqát i Naçirí, some of which, in all probability, were older than those in Major Raverty's possession Hence I look upon the correctness of the solitary *bin* as doubtful"

My answer is, I "put" nothing "in": the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir has no *Arabic headings* like the Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣirī, and does not use the word *bin*, but, that work not being written in the "Túrání idiom," the *Kasrah* of *izāfat*, where necessary, is understood. The author of the Tāj-ul Ma'āsir, which work Mr. Blochmann has, of course, examined, could not possibly have had a "good" or "old copy" of the "Ṭabaqát" seeing that it was not written until more than *thirty years after*, the Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir was finished. Neither has the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī Arabic headings, Budā'ūnī says he copies from his patron's work I have already shown, in my notes 6 and 4 to pages 697 and 711, and in many other places of this Translation, what the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī is. The Author in all probability *saw* the Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣirī, but, as I suppose, he did not take the trouble to collate different copies, or devote a year or two to that task alone, as I have done, and contented himself with one—for example say the I O L *MS* 1952, "a good old copy" too, which one person, at least, styles an "autograph"—the short comings of the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī may be accounted for. Firishtah contains *nothing whatever*—not a *single event*—respecting the Turk Sultāns of the Mu'izzi and Shamsī dynasties, but what is contained in the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī, even to the poetical quotations and the blunders also.

I do not *propose* to change the name of the "conqueror of Bengal": I do more I *do* change it without the least hesitation on the authority of the best extant copies of the text of the "Tabaqát," which, as Mr. Blochmann most correctly observes, "*is the only authority we possess for this period,*" and it will require positive proof to the contrary to make me give up the point Because a name has been written incorrectly before, on wrong assumption, or on mere theories, and because the two names Muhammad and Bakht-yār have been handed down and repeated from one writer to another as that of *one* man only, is there any reason why such error should be obstinately stuck to through thick and thin?

But at the same time I must state that I have naught to

gain or lose by the change: I have no object in changing it, and only do so on the "undoubted authority" of my author. The matter lies in a nut-shell: either the father *was* called Bakht-yār, or he *was not*. If he *was* so called, then *he* has hitherto had the credit *for what his* son performed.

As to Muḥammad with the *kasrah* of *izāfat* being correct, I fancy Mr. Blochmann, even in a Muḥammadan "School Register," [a great authority certainly,] never found one person called Muḥammad Maḥmūd without the last referred to his father—certainly not if a Musalmān in his senses wrote it down. But with regard to the "conqueror's" name, Muḥammad, and Bakht-yār—that is to say Bakht-yār-ud-Dīn—his father's name, the word *bin*—son of—I first noticed in the oldest British Museum copy, one of the three best I have had for my translation, and Professor Rieu, on whose words, opinion, and experience in such matters, I place implicit confidence, considers it a *MS.* of the 14th century—or about a century after the time that Minhāj-ud-Dīn wrote. The word *bin* also occurs in the other British Museum *MS.*, and in the best St Petersburg copy, which is another of the three I refer to, and in the very old copy I have—which apparently looks, but may not be, much older than either of the other two—the whole of the headings are pointed, and in this last *MS.* the word *bin* does not occur, for at this particular place, as well as in a few other instances where *bin*, as in the case of Muḥammad *bin* Sūrī, of whom more anon, is, subsequently, given, the *bin* has clearly been left out, accidentally, by the copyist Mr. Blochmann's "solitary *bin*" also occurs in the best Paris copy. So *bin*—"son of"—occurs in four *MSS.*. in three of the best and oldest copies, the izāfat in a fourth *which often uses the izāfat for* BIN *in other instances where son of is undoubtedly meant*, and *bin* in a fifth, considered to be a precious "autograph" of the author's. In the other *MSS.* vowel points are not marked, but the izāfat is, without doubt, meant there, as in other places where not marked. The "one or two authors" seems to be disapproved of—I had an object in not stating all my author's names at the time

I can give hundreds of such like instances of *bin* and an izāfat being used indiscriminately. But just look at the Calcutta Printed Text for example—the first page that meets the eye—page ۴۴—44. the heading is "Al-Amīr Muḥammad, *bin* 'Abbās," and immediately under, second line, are the words:—ممالک غور • • • • • • بامیر محمد عباس سپرد and, as rendered in my version, page 332, "He made over

the kingdom of Ghūr to Amīr Muḥammad-i-'Abbās," and which Mr. Blochmann, according to his theory, would have written "Amír Muḥammad 'Abbás," and so have made *one person of the plural.* There is another good example at pages ۱۱۶ and ۱۱۰ viz :— غیاث الدین محمود بن محمد سام — Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmud *bin* Muḥammad-i-Sām Here *bin* is used for one person—the son, and an iẓāfat understood and required for a third person—the grandfather : there is no iẓāfat marked, but it *must* be used, because Muḥammad, the father, was not called Sām, but he was the son of Sām—that is Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām. Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd's father's name, is written in full in the headings with *bin*, but under, غیاث الدین محمد سام —Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, and likewise his brother's, معز الدین محمد سام — Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-*i*-Sām, but, by the theory put forth in the "*Contributions,*" and the system followed in the translation of the "A'ín-i-Akbarí," they would both be turned into Sām, which alone refers to their father, and not to them, as the headings as well as the text—including the printed text—most undoubtedly show, and many other examples are to be found in the work The names in the headings are written in Arabic, in every copy, throughout the whole book, and in the body of the work, according to the Persian idiom, the izāfat for *bin* is understood, as is also the case with the name of Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad *bin* Bakht-yār[ud-Dīn], the Khalj, and others.

Another matter tending to prove that Bakht-yār is the father's titular name, is the fact that the author of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī—one of those "who must have had" the good old *MSS*—styles him "Malik Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār-ud-Dīn" Muhammad *could* not possibly, be called Bakht-yār-ud-Dīn, and Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn *too* The same author, by the bye, at the head of the chapter, styles the "conqueror" of Bengal IKHTIYĀR-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, *only* Why? Because he understood that Bakht-yār-ud-Dīn was his father's name

"Further," says Mr Blochmann, "supposing *bin* to be correct, is it not strange, nay totally un-Persian, to speak continually of Muhammad-*bin*-Bakhtyár, or Muhammad-*i*-Bakhtyár, instead of using the single name of Muhammad? This would be Arabic usage Thirdly, if Mahmúd were the grandfather, it would have been extraordinary on the part of the author to have left out the grandfather in the heading, and in the beginning of the chapter, when Muhammad Bakhtyár's descent is spoken of and merely incidentally to mention it in connexion with the paternal uncle."

It certainly would be *un*-Persian to speak continually of

Muḥammad-*bin* Bakht-yār, hence, after the Arabic heading, as in other places throughout the whole work of Minhāj-ud-Dīn, the Persian iẓāfat is understood. Scores of examples in the text also show that a man's single name, such for example as Muḥammad would be here, is unusual except in the case of some slaves whose fathers' names appear to have been unknown. So engrafted is the custom of using the father's name with the son's [but not the grandfather's], that in our Indian Courts we find *bin* and *walad* always used, and even in Bombay we find low caste Hindūs, Dehṛs, &c., styled, for example—"Lakhsmaṉ *walad* Nursia," and "Pāndū *bin* Santo," &c. A grandfather's name is very seldom put in the headings of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī—it is not usual to do so. Had the paternal uncle's name occurred in a heading the word *bin* would have been written no doubt; but, as I have before noticed, did any person ever hear one man called Muḥammad Maḥmūd? I know, however, that one of the sons of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn is styled Muḥammad-*i*-Maḥmūd, and that his uncles are styled, Naṣr-*i*-Sabuk-Tigīn, and Yūsuf-*i*-Sabuk-Tigīn respectively. What a nice thing for a translator to make one man of them!

"Lastly," writes Mr. Blochmann, "the use of the Izáfat, instead of *bin* or *pisar* (son), *is restricted to poetry, and does not occur in prose* [see note ‡, page 138]. I see, therefore, no reason to change the name of the conqueror of Bengal, as proposed by Major Raverty."

This is a matter of such vital importance that I must give two examples, out of very many, of what may be caused through a translator not knowing where to place the *iẓāfat* so much objected to by Mr. Blochmann as "never occurring" in Persian *prose* in place of *bin*, son of, which is so "*un*-Persian."

A careful and conscientious writer like ELPHINSTONE says, in book v., chap. 1, of his "History of India," that "Mahommed Cásim" invaded Sind, and, page after page, and paragraph after paragraph, it is said that "*Cásim*" did this, and "*Cásim*" did that, and that "the Mohametan arms ceased with the death of *Cásim*."

In ELLIOT also, vol 1, page 138, the extract from the Chach-Nāmah commences with the death of Rāe Dāhir "at the hands of Muhammad Kásim Sakifí." These names—for they are used as that of *one* person—"*Muhammad Kásim*" occur in scores of places throughout the extract, but, at page 157 we also have "'Imádu-d-dín *Muhammad Kásim bin* Abí 'Akíl Sakifí."

"Muḥammad Kásim," as though it were the name of one

man, duly appears in vol. vi. of the same work, as conqueror of Sind.

Now "Cásim" or "Kásim" ***had nothing whatever to do*** with Sind or its conquest. He was ***dead*** before ***his son, Muḥammad,*** was appointed by his uncle to lead the 'Arabs into Sind, and so the ***father, who was in his grave at the time,*** has had credit, up to this moment, in our so-called Histories of India, ***for what his son performed,*** in the same manner that Bakht-yār-ud-Dīn, the Khalj, has had the credit for what his son, Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, performed in Lakhaṇawaṭī.

From Ṭabarī downwards, the name of the conqueror of Sind is 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, *son* of Ḳāsim, *son* of Muhammad, *son* of Ḥakam, *son* of Abū-'Uḳail, and Al-Bilādūrī, an extract from whose work is given in Elliot, says the same as Tabarī, but, because the author of the Chach-Nāmah headed his chapters in Persian instead of Arabic, the necessary izāfat indicating *son of*, which is declared *never to occur* for that purpose, was not recognized, and hence this lamentable and absurd error. Such is History.

I have already given examples of this; but turn to page ۴۰—40 of the Calcutta Printed Text, which is the same as other copies in these instances, and the fourth line from the heading are these words چون تخت غزنين بامير محمود سبكتگين رسيد—*chūn takht-i Ghaznīn ba Amīr Maḥmūd-i-Sabuk-Tigīn rasīd.* Does Mr Blochmann mean to assert that Sabuk-Tigīn is not the father's name? So much for the random assertion that "the *izāfat* instead of *bin* or *pisar* [which last I have not used] is *restricted to poetry, and does not occur in prose,*" and according to the foot-note that it "*is rare in poetry, and poets do not like to use this Izáfat*" If Mr Blochmann met with the following in Indian History—شهاب الدوله هارون بغرا ايلك خان—I wonder what he would think of it · he would write it "Shihábuddaulah Hárún Bughrá Ílak Khán," and make one person of it I, however, read it—"Shihāb-ud-Daulah, Hārūn-i-Bughrā-i-I-lak-Khān," because I know for certain that Hārūn who is entitled Shihāb-ud-Daulah is the son of Bughrā, who is the son of the I-lak Khān, who is named Mūsā, who were Khāns in Māwar-un-Nahr—of the Afrāsiyābī dynasty.

Next, in the same foot-note ‡, page 138 of the "*Contributions,*" Mr Blochmann says that "Minháj-i-Siráj" [I write *Sarāj*] does not mean in prose, 'Minháj, *the son of* Siráj,' but Minháj who writes under the name of Siráj. That the father's name was Siráj has nothing to do with it"

Mr Blochmann would find it difficult to show me where

he "writes under the name of Siráj." I suppose it will be allowed that our Author *knew his own name*, and his father's, and if that be allowed, he calls himself repeatedly Minhāj-ud-Dīn-i-Sarāj, and he further says that his father was the Maulānā Sarāj-ud-Dīn, whose father was the Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn, 'Uṣmān, whose father was the Imām, 'Abd-ul-Khālik, the Jūrjānī. For these reasons ABŪ-'UMR-I-'USMĀN, who is also called MINHĀJ-UD-DĪN, sometimes styles himself in this work—MINHĀJ-I-SARĀJ-I-MINHĀJ—referring to father and grandfather also Here are two *izāfats*, in prose too. See also note 7, page 727 of this Translation.

I have already shown Mr. Blochmann's theory of "artificial" iẓāfats, as he calls them, to be "*un*-Persian," but, to prove that another statement here made is likewise incorrect, I must prominently notice another izāfat. It refers to the article "*Who were the 'Patán' or 'Patháu' Sultáns of Dihlí*"—the paper in the JOURNAL A. S BENGAL, for 1875, page 31. Mr. Blochmann says in the same footnote ‡, page 138, of his "*Contributions*," para. 2, "The form of the name of Muhammad-i-Surí, on whose name Major Raverty has built a hypothesis, is doubtful for this Izáfat"

Mr. Blochmann, apparently, did not notice that the matter of the *kasrah* of izāfat, at page 31 of the JOURNAL, has reference *solely* to FIRISHTAH and his translators If he will take the trouble to refer to this Translation, page 316, and to the corresponding place page ۳۸—38 of the Calcutta Printed Text, he will find the heading, "SŪRI, *bin* MUHAMMAD," showing that here Sūri is itself a Ghūri name. Then let him turn to page 320 of the Translation, and he will find the heading "MALIK MUHAMMAD *bin* SŪRI," but in the corresponding place in the printed text, page ۴۰—40, merely ملک محمد سوری If I chose to be guided by Mr. Blochmann's theory on that heading alone, and did not *know* that the *kasrah* of سوری or description was required, and was in any doubts respecting the persons I was writing about, I might have called him, as Mr Blochmann would, and as Mr. Dowson, in ELLIOT [vol ii, p 285], has done—Muhammad Súri, as though the two names belonged to *one* man, and have turned *two* men into *one* accordingly. The printed text also mentions him as محمد سوری *twice in the same page*, but a third time, in the last line of that page, when speaking of Malik Muhammad having made over Ghūr to his *eldest* son, his name is given with his father's and grandfather's name—امیر بو علی بن محمد بن سوری viz:—Amīr Bū 'Ali, *son of* Muhammad, *son of* Sūri.

Look again at the following heading in the Printed Text —page ۴۱—41, and there it is again confirmed, and we have ابو علی بن محمد بن سوری— Abū-'Alī, *son of* Muḥammad, *son of* Sūrī, but, in the ninth line, the father is again called محمد سوری the *iẓāfat* being understood. The next heading also refers to Muhammad being Sūrī's son, viz :—'Abbās, *son of* Shīṣ, *son of* Muḥammad, *son of* Sūrī.

If my long note on this subject, 7, page 321, had been read before taxing me with building up a doubtful "hypothesis," it might have been seen that in the Kitāb-i-Yamīnī, the author of which was contemporary with this very Muḥammad, *son of* Sūrī, who, it is pretended [merely because Dow and Briggs so rendered it and made a "Pa-thán" of him], was called *Muḥammad Sūrī*, he is never once referred to as Muḥammad but as ابن سوری—*the son of* SŪRĪ. The Tārīkh-i-Alfī, Faṣīḥ-ī, Jahān-Ārā, Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafā, Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā, and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, call him *son of* SŪRĪ only; and in the account of Maḥmūd-i-Sabuk-Tigīn's raid upon the Ghūrīs in the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh he is also merely called *son of* SŪRĪ: never Muḥammad. The Bengal A. S. Library contains a copy [No. 14] of this work, and Mr. Blochmann can refer to it. He will find, if the portion copied for me has been correctly copied, that in the first two places this Ghūriān chief is called شوری Shūrī—a mistake of ش for س but, four or five lines from the end of the paragraph, he is styled پسر شوری—*pisar-i-*Shūrī—that is the *son of* SHŪRĪ, and it is clear that Rashīd-ud-Dīn followed the Kitāb-i-Yamīnī and styled him *son of* SŪRĪ likewise, but that, in two instances, the copyist of that *MS.* No. 14, or the Calcutta *kātib*, left out the word پسر before the name, in the first two instances.

If the two words 'Alī Mardān *alone* mean 'Alī *who was as valiant as many* Men, and if Muḥammad Sherān *alone* also mean Muhammad *who was equal to many* Lions, and his brother is also "equal to many Lions" [rather strange that *both* brothers should be so], whence come these *five* or *six* "artificial" words, since, without artificial means being adopted, the words 'Alī Mardān are—*'Alī men*—and Muḥammad Sherān—*Muhammad Lions?* These words would, without the *kasrah* of description, be much the same as Shāh Jahān—*King World*—referred to in what I have said on the iẓāfat, and which is a complete answer also to these questions. Muhammadan "School Registers" have nothing to do with it. The Khalj Turks of Garmsīr did not keep any Registers.

As this answer to Mr. Blochmann's criticisms may fall under the notice of readers not acquainted with the Īrānī

dialect of the Persian, and as he constantly refers me to his A'ín, I must point out how inconsistent he is himself about these *izāfats*—I do not think I can be taxed with inconsistency—and how often his *izāfats* are used *when they are not required*, and *wanting when not used.* These inconsistencies, which I take from his translation of the *A'ín-i-Akbarí*, may be seen at a glance; he appears to have no *fixed* system:—"Mír Sharíf-*i*-Amulí" requires the izāfat according to his theory, but, as Mír Sharíf was a native of Āmul, the *yā-i-nisbat* or of relation affixed to Āmul—ی—i. e. *of* Āmul—as it is written in the *MS.* from which it is taken, was sufficient, as *Fārs*—Persia, *Fārsī*—Persian or of Persia; and Panj-āb—Panj-ābī; Afghān, Afghānī, &c.

The same occurs in "Shaikh Faríd-*i*-Bukhárí," which last word containing the *yā-i-nisbat* means OF Bukhārā, or the Bukhāriān. As it now stands it is "Shaikh Faríd *of* or the *Bukhárí*. Again, in the words "Alauddín-*i*-*Khiljí*," although, at the very first page of Part III. of the "*Contributions*" referred to, the word Khiljí is called *an adjective*.

In another place, I find, "A'zam Khán" vide *Khán-i-A'zam* [see example of Izāfat previously given], and we find "Khán-i-A'zam" accordingly, but Mír-*i*-'Ādl [as I should write it] is not correct according to Mr. Blochmann's theory: it must be "*Mír 'Adl.*" For example, I will give a list of some of the titular names and patronymics, and Mr Blochmann's *different ways* of writing them.—

"Chingiz Khán" in histories called "Qaán i Buzurg"; Çadr Jahán Muftí requires no *izāfat*, but "Muftí-i-Mamálik" and "Umará-i-Kibár"; "Khán Khánán" and "Khán-khánán" require none "Khán-i-Kalán" and "Khán-i-A'zam" require it, "Khán 'A'lam Fírúzjang," "Nuçrat-jang" and "Khán Zaman" require none "Rustam-i-Zamán," Túzak-i-Jahángírí, and Farang-i-Jahangírí want it; but Bahār-i-Dānish from me would be a dangerous innovation too, and *my* "Shāh-i-Jahān" is dangerous and *un*-Persian, but "Malikah *i* Jahán" is not!!: "A'çaf Khán 'Abdul Majíd" requires no izāfat, but *the same person* "'Abdul Majíd-i-A'çaf Khán" requires it; Sulaimán Kararání [by-the-bye, there is *no such name*] requires no izāfat, but, a little farther on, it requires to be written "Sulaimán-i-Kararání"!

I could multiply these examples *ad infinitum*.

"Burdan-kot may be due north of Bagura (Bogra) in Long. 89° 28′, Lat. 25° 8′ 25″, close to Govindganj, on the Karataya River," but I fail to find it in the 119th Sheet of the Indian Atlas; but great changes must have taken

place since Minhāj-ud-Dīn wrote, when "a river" flowed in front of *his* Burdan-koṭ, "of vast magnitude, the name of which is Bag-matī; and, *when it enters the country of Hindūstān*, they style it, in the Hindūī dialect, Samund (ocean) and, in magnitude, breadth, and depth, it is three times more than the river Gang" [see page 561], and the Karataya must therefore have grown "small by degrees and beautifully less."

I did not "*identify* Maksadah:" My words [note 4, page 576] are "the Maxabad *probably* of the old Maps," &c.

Mr. Blochmann at page 142 kindly recommends me to Mr. Thomas's "INITIAL COINAGE OF BENGAL," regarding the reigns of "Muhammad Bakhtyár's" immediate successors; but as I have the account of "Minhāj-ud-Dīn," "*the sole authority for the period*," and some others, I can dispense with it, and have already done so in my Translation. Perhaps some coins of Muḥammad *bin* Bakht-yār may yet come to light.

I beg further to notice here, now that I am on the subject of coins, that, although the Shansabānī rulers, and some of their freed-men after them, used the title of "ḲASIM-I-AMĪR-UL-MŪMINĪN," it did not follow that they "shared *their property*" with the "Commander of the Faithful," as Mr. Blochmann imagines from his remarks on Thomas's readings of rare Bengal Coins, at page 203 of the Society's *Proceedings* for 1872 Our author's derivation of the title will be found at page 315 of this Translation See also page 368, and the *Shams-ul-Lughat* wherein the word is also explained, but it is evidently of Arabic derivation.

# APPENDIX D.

*On the date of the capture of the city of Adwand Bihār by Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār-ud-Dīn, the Khalj, page* 551.

THE next matter is the conquest of Bihār by Muḥammad, *bin* Bakht-yār, the Khalj, which Mr. Thomas fixes at 599 H. on the authority, Mr. Blochmann "believes," of the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir [ELLIOT'S version probably], which states that Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn took Kālinjar in that year; but the *MSS.* of the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir examined by me, unfortunately, have that same stubborn سع and what makes the date still more doubtful سعين—viz.: سبع و سعين و خمسمايه which, from the want of diacritical points, may be 577, 579, 597, or 599, just as the reader chooses to render the words.

At page 523 of this Translation [note, para. 2] I have noticed that "it is astonishing that the Musalmāns remained quiet for *six years*," assuming that 599 H. was the correct year in which Kālinjar was taken, which, I add, "was the same year in which Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn died," but, from the examination of these four *MSS* of the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir again, I am in doubt whether 597 H. is not the most correct *according to that work* Minhāj-ud-Dīn says the Sulṭān died in 599 H, but, as I have noticed in note 4, page 383, some authors give 597 H., and some 598 H. as the date of his death.

Those who suppose that "Bengal was conquered" [the surprise and capture of Nūdiah I refer to] in 599 H. do not consider how Muḥammad, *bin* Bakht-yār, could have "reigned," as he is said to have done, "*twelve years*," seeing that he was assassinated in 602 H.

I am told that I am mistaken, according to my own authorities, in connexion with the very doubtful date in the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir above referred to Mr. Blochmann says, page 134, Part III. of his "*Contributions*":—

(1) That Muhammad Bakhtyár appeared before Qutbuddín *in Dihlí*, and was rejected by reason of his humble condition.

According to Major Raverty, Dihlí was occupied in 589 H.[1], hence Muhammad Bakhtyár must have been rejected in or after 589 H.

(2) After his rejection, Muhammad Bakhtyár goes to Badáon where Hizabr gives him a fixed salary.

(3) *After some time*, Muhammad Bakhtyár goes to Audh, where he obtains certain fiefs near the Bihár frontier. He now undertakes plundering expeditions, which continue, according to the printed text, for *one or two years.*

In a foot-note is added, "Major Raverty has left this out."

(4) He invades Southern Bihár[2] and takes the town of Bihár. He then goes to Dihlí, where he remains for some-time at Qutb's court.

(5) The second year after his conquest of Bihár, he sets out for Bengal, and takes Nadiya.

Now how is it possible, with these five chronological particulars, that Muhammad Bakhtyár could have left Bihár, as Major Raverty says, in 589 H.? [A foot-note has, "Major Raverty says that Muhammad Bakhtyár presented himself to *the Sultán* at *Láhor*, but the text has Dihlí (page 549).] It would, indeed, be a close computation if we allowed but five years for the above events, *i. e.* if we fixed the conquest of Bengal as having taken place in 594 H., or A D 1198."

To this my reply is that "the text [page 549] says *not one word* about "Muhammad Bakhtyár" presenting himself before "*the Sultán* at Láhor" ["*the Sultán*" in this instance was *a slave*, continued a slave during his master's lifetime, and did not obtain his freedom and the title of Sulṭān until 605 H —only *about fifteen years after this time!* See page 389 of Translation, and corresponding place in the original]. The words in the Translation, and in the Text, are, that "Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār presented himself *before the Muster-Master at Dihli*," and so, the probability is, that Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn was at Lāhor, as I have stated in note 6, page 550, *on the authority of another writer*, and Muhammad, *bin* Bakht-yār, straightway went to Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Ughul-Bak

If looked at in a different light, although the time seems very short, it is not so utterly impossible for Muhammad, *bin* Bakht-yār, to have waited on Ḳutb-ud-Dīn at Lāhor, or gone to Ughul-Bak, as the case may be, proceeded to Awadh, have been sent to Bhīūlī and Bhagwat, have taken

[1] Early in 589 H the second month probably.
[2] It should have been stated above that his fiefs were *close* to the frontier of South Bihār, as in this Translation.

Bihār which only required a party of 200 horsemen, in fact, it may be said Muḥammad *bin* Bakht-yār took it alone, and might have occupied him a couple of weeks, or even say a month from his fiefs, a distance of under 200 miles as the crow flies, have gone to Dihlī to Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn in 589 H., or to Mahobah, as the case may be, and have invaded Bengal the following year, for "*the second year*" means the following year—I quote my authors as I find them. That in the *following year after* 589 H., he took Nūdiah, agrees with the statement of Shiam Parshad, whose work Mr. Blochmann, of course, has referred to; but he appears not to have noticed the statement of Minhāj-ud-Dīn at page 556 of this Translation [page ١٥٠ of the printed text], that when Muḥammad *bin* Bakht-yār *returned* from the presence of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, *he* subdued Bihār, thus contradicting his previous statement.

The only thing I can blame myself for in this matter is, that I did not mention in a note, that the printed text, which at one time is so utterly "untrustworthy," and then so trustworthy, contained the words "*matters went on in this way for one or two years*" after the words "and ravaged that territory," at page 551 of this Translation. The reason why I did not do so is, that, in all probability, I did not look at the printed text here, or that it escaped my attention, otherwise I certainly should have done so: I think I have noticed the printed text pretty often, when *right* as well as when *wrong*. I had no object not to do so: I had built up no theory or made statements anywhere else that I wished to support I might also have added that the two *MSS*. on which that printed text is based—two of the three worst of those collated—contain the same words, and that other collated *MSS. had no such words*.

I would, however, remark here that I did not profess to translate the Calcutta Printed Text, but to translate the work from *MSS*., and as advertised on the covers of the Society's publications.

Why the expression "some years before 601 H." can make it *clear* ["*Contributions*," page 135] that Nūdiah "*must have been taken* about 594 H. or 595 H. *i. e.* in A.D. 1198 or 1199," any more than *about* 591, 2, 3 or even 596 or 7, I am at a loss to understand. But one thing, at least, is very clear—that the year 599 H. for the conquest of Bengal, even "as consistent with the best authorities," is utterly impossible.

Another theory is then raised. Although it is clear to Mr. Blochmann that Nūdiah "must have been taken in 594 or 595 H.," the statement contained in the Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir

[*Firishtah*, who merely copies from his immediate predecessors, more particularly, is a *very* trustworthy authority to quote], that Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār waited on Kuṭb-ud-Dīn at Mahobah, in 599 H.—a doubtful date in that work, as before stated, which may be 597 H., and *four or five years after* Mr. Blochmann says Bengal was conquered—"*involves no contradiction as far as chronology is concerned.*" No, not in the least, even though our author, Minhāj-ud-Dīn states, that Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār waited on Kutb-ud-Dīn *before* he surprised Nūdiah! With that city Bengal—or rather Lakhanawatī—fell. There is no mention of any fighting after; and so, if it is correct according to the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, that Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār only waited on Kuṭb-ud-Dīn at Mahobah, in 599 H., not *from* AWADH and BIHĀR as incorrectly rendered, in ELLIOT'S version [page 232, vol ii.], but from اَوَدهْ بهار—the points are thus given, according to the text of the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, I now have before me—that city could only have been taken *after* that time—599 H. See also foot-note page 134, of the "*Contributions*," in which it is contended that اوده—as Minhāj-ud-Dīn writes it—cannot be correct, because the Calcutta Text has اوده!

The author of the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī, like some others, takes Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, from the presence of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn *direct* to Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Ughal-Bak, and says, that Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, when subsequently he came to Kutb-ud-Dīn's presence, "was deputed to conquer Lakhanawatī." The Tazkirāt-ul-Mulūk also takes Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār *direct* from Ghaznīn to Ughal-Bak, and states that he took Bihār before he went to Kuṭb-ud-Dīn. See page xxiv of this.

"The time fixed upon by Mr. Thomas for the conquest of Bengal is 599 H., that is, *four* or *five years after* the time assumed by Mr. Blochmann, while I have stated, according to my author, that it was the year following 589 H., that is 590 H.—but *three* or *four years* before Mr. Blochmann's chosen time. Mr. Thomas is only "a *little* too late:" mine is "impossible as being *too early.*" Probably Mr. Blochmann did not notice that at page 340 of the *Ro. As. Journal* vol. vi. for 1873, Mr Thomas has again changed his opinion, and says that "*the first occupation of Bengal* by Muhammad Bakhtyár *Khilji*," was "in 600 A.H." As Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār is said to have held the territory of Lakhanawatī for *twelve years*, and was assassinated in 602 H., how is it possible that the conquest of Bengal could have taken place in either 599 H. or 600 H.?

# INDEX

## IN TWO PARTS.

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(*b* stands for *ibn*; *n* for *footnote*).

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## ERRATA

P. 7, *for lines* 5–7*a* substitute :—

Akbar-Nāmah, of Abu'l Faẓl 'Allāmī, the, 869 *n* 2, 880 *n*, 883 *n*, 888 *n* 889 *n*, 894 *n*.

Akbar-Nāmah, of Faiẓī the Sarhindī, the, xvi.

P. 13, *l.* 42 *b*, *dele* p. 145 *n* 4, and add —

Ayāz,—one of the officers of Malik Shāh, son of Rukn-ud-dīn Barkiārūḳ, the Saljūḳī sovereign, 145 *n* 4.